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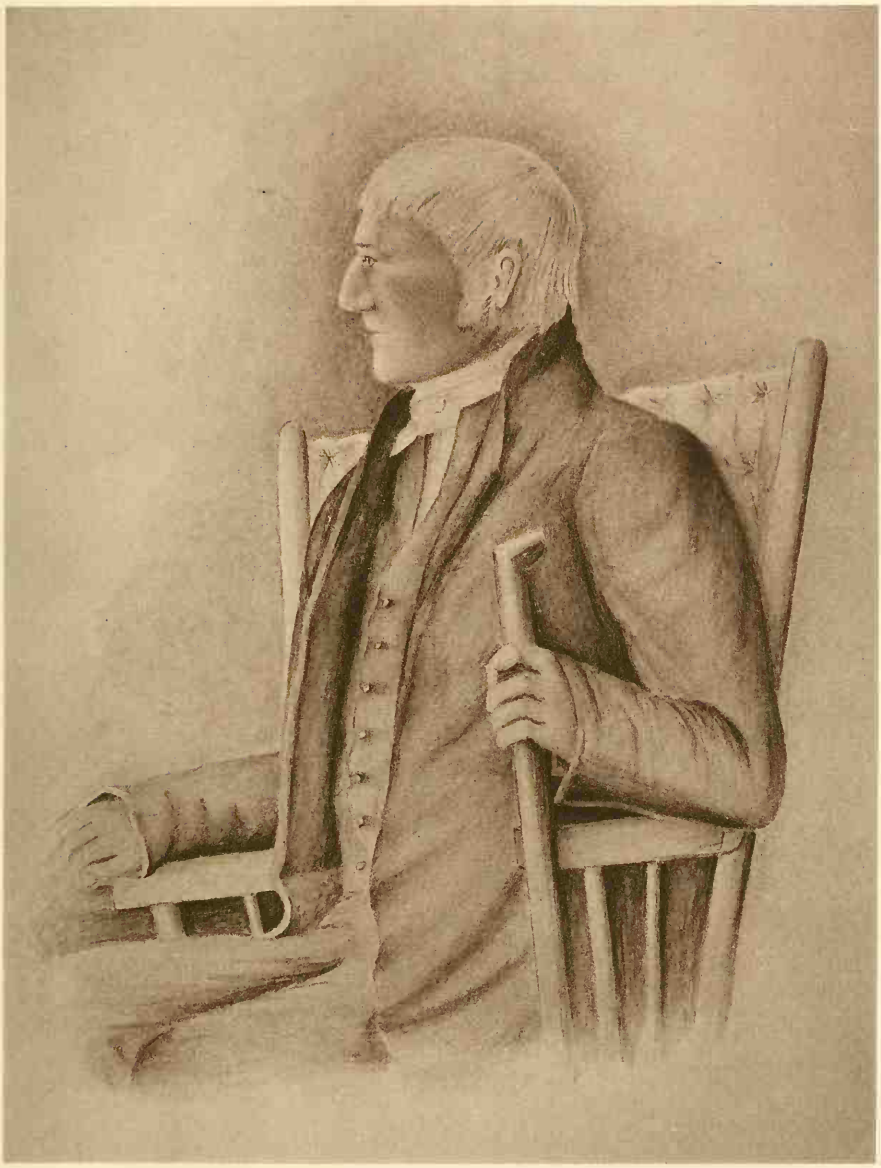
Thomas C. Cornell

Anna Mott

DAGUERREOTYPE TAKEN ABOUT 1850.

AUTOTYPE, E. BIERSTADT, N. Y.



Adam Mott

FROM A PENCIL DRAWING MADE IN 1837, BY HIS GRANDSON THOS. C. CORNELL.

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ADAM AND ANNE MOTT:

THEIR ANCESTORS AND THEIR DESCENDANTS.

BY

THOMAS C. CORNELL,

THEIR GRANDSON,

YONKERS, N. Y.

PRINTED FOR THE FAMILY.

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1890.

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Thomas C. Connell
(1862)
Johns Hopkins 1892

He walked the dark world in the mild
  Still guidance of the Light;
In tearful tenderness a child,
  A strong man in the right.

PREFATORY.

I give to my cousins in the following pages some of the traditions and records of our grandfather and grandmother, Adam and Anne Mott, and of their ancestors, which it has been one of the recreations of my brief leisure for many years past to collect and to arrange.

My mother's father and mother are still among the most conspicuous memories of the first twenty years of my life, and these notes of them were gathered for my own gratification, and without a thought of ever printing them.*

But more recently, as my materials have accumulated, I find other members of our family sharing in my interest, and desiring to know what I have gathered.

Richard Mott, of Toledo, the last of his generation, and the last whom all of us — except his daughter — could call uncle, was always interested in these researches. Many of the traditions are from his lips; some of the records had been gathered and preserved by his care, and it was he who at length first asked that they be printed for the information of the

* Such family traditions and recollections as my mother could give me I began to put in writing in September, 1866. These six or seven foolscap pages of pencil notes are now before me. The following month (21 Oct., 1866) brought the opportunity to add the first of Uncle Richard's recollections, and I found him quite as much interested as I was in our family history. He was already gathering and preserving such information as I was seeking, and had then in his possession a number of interesting original and copied documents. One was a copy, by his grandfather, of the Will of the first Adam Mott of Hempstead, and another was the original marriage certificate, of 1731, of his great-grandparents, Adam[2] Mott and Phebe Willitts, afterwards known to us as Grandmother Dodge. This ancient marriage certificate a few years later he sent to me, and it is reproduced in *fac-simile* in this volume, a few pages forward. And thus, from my first inquiry in 1866, down to his last sickness in January, 1888, he was always ready to aid and co-operate in every research. To each of us it was a recreation. On two different occasions we spent a day together searching the records of Westbury Monthly Meeting. We often found occasion to rectify traditions, when they came to be tested by the records. But after sifting conflicting accounts, we finally agreed in the conclusions set down in these pages. Thus, we began with the theory that the first Adam Mott of Hempstead, in 1657, was the son of Adam Mott of Boston and of Hingham, in 1636,— but in the end could find no connection between them. The Adam of Hingham was recorded from Cambridge; the Adam of Hempstead called himself of Essex, etc.

Perhaps it ought to be added, however, that in some of the lines of research no opportunity occurred for Uncle Richard to verify my conclusions, as, for instance, in the account of Capt Thomas Willett of Plymouth, the first mayor of New York, most of which I found in the State Records of Albany, and in the City Records of New York; and in the case of Governor William Coddington of Rhode Island, and some others, and in these cases he accepted my conclusions.

family. Had it not been for his wish and his co-operation, the work would not have been undertaken. And after the decision to print had been reached he took new interest in it, and often expressed the hope that the printing might be accomplished during his life-time. And it will always be a source of regret that the pressure of many other calls delayed the preparation for the printer until it was too late. But most of these pages had been read by him in manuscript, and his Will contributed to the cost of the printing. To each, therefore, of his nephews and nieces to whom this book shall come — and it was his wish that none should be omitted — it must be counted as a gift from Uncle Richard Mott, of Toledo.

In selecting, for the printer, from among the many interesting family letters and papers* which my inquiries have brought together, it has been assumed that what interested one would interest others, and I have given personal incidents and details, seeking to show truthfully what manner of men and women our ancestors really were, and the surroundings in which they lived.

Those extracts from family letters and papers have become much more numerous, and longer, than was at first intended, because they were so full of the lives of the writers, and of their times, that it was often difficult to determine what could be omitted.

All of our cousins, and all of our friends to whom I have applied, have freely given me the use of any papers I have asked for, and have given me the benefit of all the information they had.

THOMAS C. CORNELL.

YONKERS, October, 1890.

* Adam Mott preserved family letters. Anne Mott always maintained an intimate correspondence by letters with her father, and subsequently with her children. All of these letters were considered common property in the family, and but few of those that went out of Adam Mott's hands are preserved. But a trunk full of letters and papers had gone with Adam and Anne Mott when they made their home with their daughter, Mary U. Hicks, in Market street. These letters, to which, possibly, a few may have been subsequently added, followed the Hicks family in their removals, and finally went with her children, James and Sarah, to their country place of Heronwood, on Cowneck, and were almost forgotten in the attic store room, when my continued inquiries for old traditions and records brought them again to the memory of James M. Hicks, and he offered to send them to me. He said they had at one time proposed to burn them, and some of them, he said, were burned, but a rain delayed the completion of the work; and now the trunk and what remained of its contents have been a dozen years in my possession. The majority of the letters and papers quoted in this volume were found in this trunk. Among them was Anne Mott's journal to Newport, in 1794.

Uncle Richard Mott of Toledo had also preserved many of the letters of his mother and of her father, and his mother's letters were enriched by his pencil notes, explaining names or initials that might otherwise have been unintelligible to later generations. The opportunity has been given me to make use of all of these letters.

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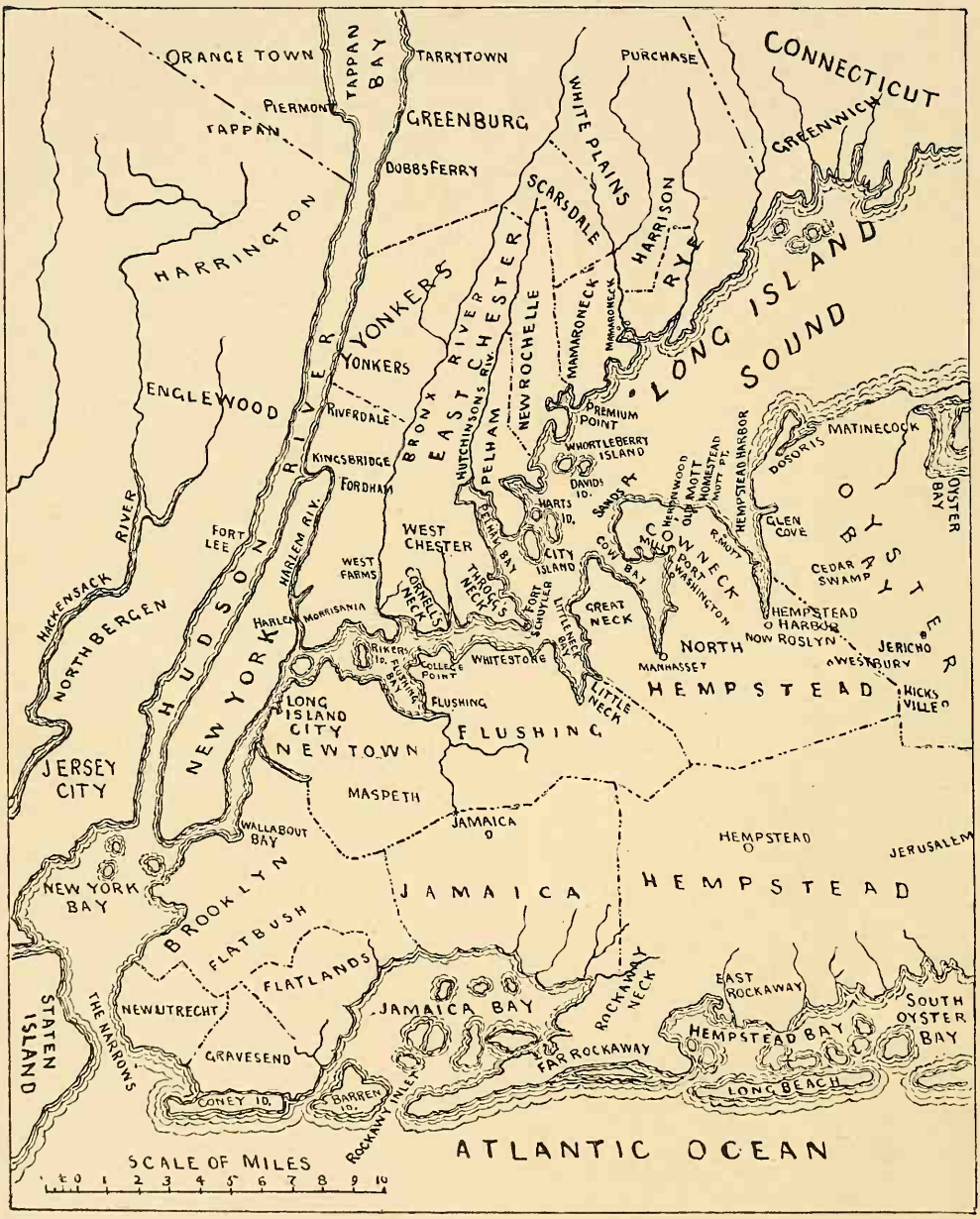
MAP OF WESTERN LONG ISLAND, NEW YORK AND PART OF WESTCHESTER COUNTY.



The immigrant ancestors of Adam and Anne Mott came chiefly to Western Long Island. A little later some of them were in the Eastern part of Westchester county and in New York City. A few of them, the Willetts, the Coddingtons and perhaps a few others first settled in Massachusetts or Rhode Island, but the descendants from whom we come soon removed to Long Island, and this map covers almost the whole territory in which they lived for a hundred years or more.

THE OLD MOTT HOUSE, COWNECK.

PROBABLY BUILT ABOUT 1715.

FROM A DRAWING BY W. R. MILLER, 1869

ADAM AND ANNE MOTT:

THEIR ANCESTORS AND THEIR DESCENDANTS.

CHAPTER I.

ADAM MOTT.

IN THE OLD MOTT HOMESTEAD AT COW NECK.

1762—1785.

My mother's father, ADAM MOTT, was born in the autumn of 1762 "on ye 11th of ye 10th month,"—while New York was yet a British Province, and still loyal to the King. George the Third, then but 24 years old, had succeeded to the throne of his grandfather but two years earlier.

My grandfather's birthplace, the rural Quaker home of his parents,—was situated on the north shore of Long Island, they called it Nassau Island in those days, in that portion of the town of North Hempstead then, and long afterwards called Cow Neck. He was the third child, and the oldest son of an elder ADAM MOTT,* and after his father and his grandfather they called him also Adam.

The name Adam was so long hereditary in the family, that in now recalling their history it is necessary to discriminate between father and son and grandfather, and father's grandfather, each bearing after the other the simple name, ADAM MOTT. Under the system sometimes adopted of making the first immigrant Ancestor No. 1, and counting his descendants from him, this infant Adam, born in 1762, would be ADAM[4].

The young father of this infant ADAM[4], and inheriting the same name, had been born in the same house on the 10th of 10th mo., 1734, and was now 28 years old. The mother, SARAH WILLIS, daughter of SAMUEL and MARY (FRY) WILLIS, esteemed friends of Jericho, had been born on the 14th of 7th mo., 1736, and had therefore completed her 26th year.

The two elder sisters of this infant ADAM[4], of 1762, were Elizabeth, born 19th of 9th mo., 1756, and Lydia, born 6th of 11th mo., 1759, and his only brother Samuel was born eleven years later on the 29th of 9th mo., 1773.

* To make it more convenient to the reader to follow the narrative, the names of the direct ancestors of Adam Mott and of Anne Mott are printed in capital letters wherever there seems to be room for misapprehension or for doubt.

The parents of this family of four children, were among the most respected of their rural neighborhood, and lived in thrift and diligence on their ample acres. They were strict members of the Society of Friends, and almost all their relatives were Friends and the descendants of Friends, since the days when George Fox himself preached in Hempstead, in 1672. The gentleness of manner, the reserved spirituality and self-watchfulness of Friends mingled with the habits void of ostentation of their yeoman descent.—Let a page or two be here devoted to an attempt to describe the simple manner of their life,—and the local memories and influences in which the infant ADAM[4] was to grow to manhood.

THE OLD HOMESTEAD.

The ancient, low-beamed, two-storied shingled house, looking southward up over its own cultivated fields and orchards, and far from any road, stood where the upland has sloped gently down northeasterly to the shore of the Sound, a few hundred yards behind the house, on the western side of the wide opening to Hempstead Harbor. Eastwardly the house looked out on the broad water. On the opposite shore of the Harbor, Musketo Cove (now Glencove) and far across the Sound to the northwest, New Rochelle and Mamaroneck occasionally sent a sloop, each adding one to the scattered fleet of sloops, coming and going to the small city of New York, twenty miles distant and then numbering about twelve or fifteen thousand souls.

The ancient house still stands (1888) in its ancestral fields, still the inheritance of the Motts descended from its founder. The interior is now somewhat modernized, and the ancient kitchen has been more than once rebuilt. The roomy, cheerful, well-lighted kitchen of a hundred years ago, as tradition now describes it,—with the trammel chains and pot hooks hanging in its great fireplace, was situated westerly of the present dining-room, which is itself three or four steps lower than the parlor floor. The kitchen looked to the south and west,—and with its sculleries and sheds covering the well, extended towards the irregular group of barns and granaries, and farm buildings, then as now, beginning a score or two of yards further to the west,—where cattle and sheep, and swine and poultry and farm horses, and saddle horses throve under careful hands. In the house was a simple and unluxurious but hospitable life. There was no fire in winter in the family bedroom on the parlor floor, but in the parlor itself the fire was often lighted and its doors were often opened to friendly guests. There were many relatives and friends within easy riding distance. The farm lane from the house and barn, ascending southerly the gentle acclivity to the uplands, among orchards and cultivated fields and meadows and woods, led on to the distant borders of the farm, and to other lanes. Few highways were maintained in Cowneck in those days, and in their place people used gate roads,—private lanes and rights of way.

The house was already ancient when the infant ADAM MOTT[4] was born in it in 1762. It had been built by his grandfather, the ADAM MOTT[2] of his day, about 1715, when he bought from his brother, RICHBELL MOTT, for £269, the original 260 acres, which formed a portion of his farm. The ADAM[2] of that day was already a forehanded man,—and there he prospered, and to this house he brought his wife, when at the mature age of nearly sixty years, he married,—"at the meeting house at Westbury, according to the good order used among the people called Quakers"—on the 5th of 11th month, 1731. PHEBE WILLETTS, then 32 years old, and already for several years a Minister in the Society of Friends. And in this house his children were born, Elizabeth, ADAM[3], and Stephen, and there he died, seven years after his marriage, early in 1739, leaving a handsome dowry to his daughter Elizabeth, then in her sixth year, and an ample and well stocked farm to each of his two boys,—ADAM[3] being four and Stephen two years old. And thoughtful to keep the young children with their mother, and on their place, he directed that she should have the use of his houses and of his lands "until my son Stephen cometh to be twenty-one years of age, for the bringing up and maintaining my children, and giving them good school learning, that is English fit for country business." And then foreseeing the probability that after his death, the mother of his children might take another husband, he went on to direct that—"if my wife should marry again before my children come of age, then my will is that she may live with her husband on the farm till they are of age, and she then have nothing to do with it longer"—and then he adds a precaution—"if a husband come to live with her there, they shall not cut any wood to sell off the farm, nor clear any land,—but if my wife shall remain a widow after my children come of age, she shall have the equal third part of all my housing and land during her widowhood."

GRANDMOTHER DODGE.

Not quite four years after ADAM MOTT'S[2] death, on the 28th of 11th month, 1741, his widow married Tristram Dodge,—himself a widower. She had no children after her second marriage, but as Grandmother DODGE, her memory is still green among the numerous descendants of her three children by ADAM MOTT[2], and to some of them at least, any incident of her life will be of interest. Tristram Dodge had one son, Joseph, by his former marriage.

Of course Grandmother DODGE brought her second husband to the old Mott homestead and her children grew up under their stepfather's eye. At the time of her second marriage Elizabeth was eight and one-half, Adam past seven, and Stephen nearly six years old. She lived to lend the influence of her personal presence for many years in the training of her children's children, and it is partly because she was so conspicuous a figure in the first twenty years of the life of her grandson,

the ADAM MOTT[4] who was born in 1762, that this mention of her seems to come in here.

Grandmother DODGE was diligent in the ministry. In 1744 she made a religious visit in the "Jersies," and in 1752 and 3 an extended visit to England and Wales. Her certificate to visit England appears on the records of Westbury Quarterly meeting dated 2d month 26th, 1752. It recites that she has the consent of her husband, and the approval of Friends. She was absent a large part of two years. On her return she brought with her a minute from the meeting of Ministers and Elders of London, dated 18th of 6th month, 1753, that PHEBE DODGE has "nearly finished her religious visit, and intending shortly to return, requests of us a certificate. These may therefore certify that she has visited the meetings of Friends in diverse parts of this Nation. Her labors of love in the service of the Gospel have been comfortable and edifying, and her conversation, as becomes a minister of Christ * * " &c. The certificate is signed by 44 Friends; Rich[d] Partridge, John Hunt, William Pitts, John Fry, &c. On the 30th of 1st month, 1754, she presented to Westbury Meeting the above certificate from London, and a similar one from Wales. And she also brought home with her many little articles of household use which are still in existence, and are now distributed among her numerous descendants, who prize them highly because, "Grandmother DODGE brought them from England."

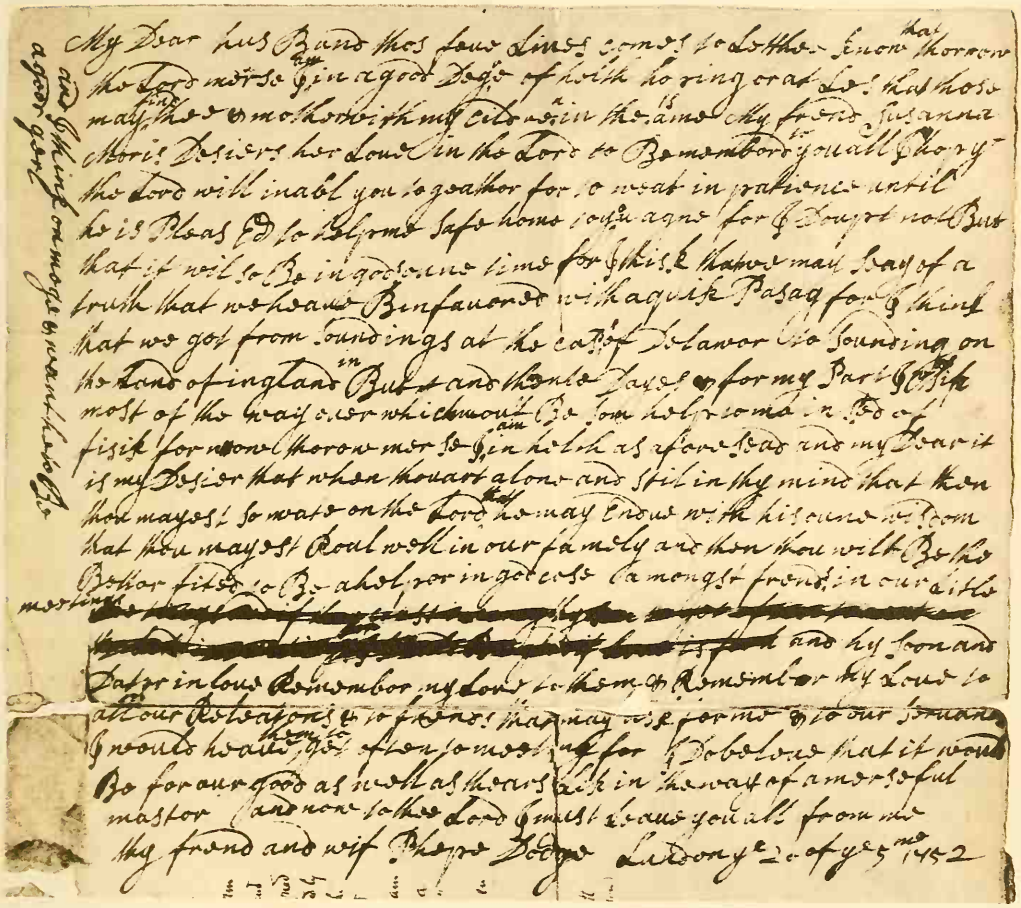
The following letter was written by Grandmother DODGE while in England, to her husband who had remained at home.

"My dear husband, these few lines come to let thee know that through the Lord's mercy I am in a good degree of health,—hoping at least that these may find thee and mother and my children in the same. My friend Susannah Morris desires her love in the Lord to be remembered to you all. I hope the Lord will enable you to gather together to wait in patience until he is pleased to help me safe home to you again, for I doubt not that it will be so in God's own time. For I think that I may say of a truth that we have been favored with a quick passage, for I think that we got from soundings on the coast of Delaware to soundings on the land of England in but one and twenty days. And for my part I was sick most of the way over, which would be some help to me instead of physic, for now through mercy I am in health as aforesaid. And now my Dear, it is my desire that when thou art alone, and still in thy mind, that thou mayest so wait on the Lord that he may endue thee with his own wisdom, that thou mayest rule well in our family, and then thou will be better fitted to be a helper in God's cause among friends in our little meeting"—two lines here erased—"and thy son and daughter in law, remember my love to them and remember my love to all our relations, and to friends that may ask for me, and to our servants. I would have them get often to meeting, for I do believe it would be for our good as well as theirs, like in the way of a merciful master. And now to the Lord I must leave you all, from me thy friend and wife, PHEBE DODGE—London ye 20 of ye 5 mo., 1752."

The penmanship of the letter is very close and compact, but bold and strong, and not always in the orthography of a hundred years later. It is

GRANDMOTHER DODGE'S LETTER TO HER HUSBAND,

Written when she was in London on a religious visit, 2d. of 5th. mo. 1752.



My Dear Lues Band thos few Lines comes to Lether Enow that Morrow the Lord mirsefully in a good Degree of health to ring or at Lest has those may find more Strength my Cild a sin the same my friend Susanna Morris Desires her Love in the Lord to Remember you all & pray the Lord will inabl you to goather for so neat in patience until he is Pleas ed to Return Safe home to us again for I Dought not But that it will be in good time for this I have may Say of a truth that we have Been favored with a quik Passag for I think that we got from soundings at the Capes of Delawor to sounding on the Land of ingland in But 4 and thirty Days for my Part I Was sick most of the Way & ever which must Be Jon to Reconcile in Stead of sisik for now Morrow mor to Gin health as afore Said and my Dear it is my Desier that when thou art alone and Still in thy mind that then thou mayest so wate on the Lord that he may Endow with his sence from that thou mayest Read work in our family and then thou will Be the Better fitted to Be a hol rer in good Case Among st friends in our little meeting [redacted] and thy Son and Dafter in Lous Remember my Love to them & Remember my Love to all our Relations & to friends that may ask for me & to our Servant I would have them to move up for I do believe that it would Be for our good as well as theirs to walk in the wat of a merciful master and now to the Lord I must Leave you all from me thy friend and wife Phebe Dodge London ye 2^d of ye 5th mo 1752

For Tristram Dodge Nantucket Long Island To the Care of Mast Bowne New York

Width of page reduced from Seven and a Quarter, to Five and a Quarter inches.

written on part of one page of letter paper, so folded as to bring on the back of the same half sheet, the address written in a different, elaborate and rather ornate hand: "For Tristram Dodge, Kouneck, Long Island, to the care of Marg[t]. Bowne, New York."

In the intervals between her distant visits, Grandmother DODGE attended all the meetings of Friends where she belonged, and it may be assumed that when at home her domestic duties were not neglected. Saddle horses were then much used, and her husband's will made it her duty—"to give to each of my two sons a young mare fit to ride, when they come to be 17 or 18 years old, the mares and their increase to be maintained on my farm until my sons are 21 years old."—As ADAM[3] was in his 18th year when his mother sailed for England, it is probable the mares were provided before that epoch.

The tradition remains that her younger son Stephen was a round-headed, practical joker, with dark hair and eyes, and sometimes made his step-father his victim. In going by water to Matinecock meeting, it was Stephen's place, at times when the tide was down, to wade out to the boat carrying his mother dry shod, which he cheerfully did; but when called upon to carry his step-father, the case seemed to him different, and he was not always able to avoid letting the old gentleman fall in the water!

According to another tradition, Stephen took an opportunity to whitewash the horse of a guest while in the pasture, and in the evening the owner of the whitewashed horse was not able to find, or at any rate to identify his steed, and Stephen kindly loaned him a white one, which his friend on reaching home turned into his own pasture. But so much rain fell in the night, that in the morning the borrowed white horse could not be found, but the friend's own horse had found his way home!

ADAM[3] & STEPHEN MOTT MARRY SARAH & AMY WILLIS.

A little more than a year after grandmother DODGE'S return from England,—on the 5th of 3d month, 1755—occurred the double marriage of her daughter Elizabeth with John Willis, and her son ADAM[3] with John's sister, SARAH WILLIS. John Willis was a minister among Friends. ADAM of course continued to make his home in his father's house, which now became his, and grandmother DODGE removed with her husband to his own farm, near the hamlet of Cowbay, about three miles from her son's house, and there in 1760 Tristram Dodge died. He left his farm to his son Joseph by a former marriage, but he reserved to Grandmother DODGE a home in the house when she chose to occupy it, with the keep of her horse, cow, &c.—and he gave her "the negro girl Rachel." For most Friends then on Long Island kept one or more Slaves.

In 1762, on the 6th of 10th month, Stephen Mott married Amy Willis, a younger Sister of his brother ADAM'S[3] wife; The alliance between the Mott and the Willis families was thus very intimate,—the Sister and the

two brothers on the Mott side having married the brother and two Sisters on the Willis side. And now a new house was set up for Stephen. The farm was divided between the two brothers. An extant map made in the Spring of 1763 by SAMUEL WILLIS, the father of John and SARAH and Amy,—a man of note in his time, and serving occasionally as a Surveyor,—makes a division of the land, apportioning to ADAM[3] "262 acres, 3 roods and 13 perches" and to Stephen "255 acres, 3 roods and 34 perches,"—showing that their father had left them more than 518 acres of land. The Western portion was assigned to Stephen, and his new house was built on the Eastern slope of the upland, a quarter of a mile or more beyond ADAM'S[3] barn. When land was so abundant it becomes a question why Stephen's house was so placed on the sloping hill side that an area wall was needful about 10 feet back of the house, and a later, but still ancient extension in the rear, is entered from the ground on the level of the second story. But the situation was sheltered from the Northwest winds, and it looked to the East, towards the old house. Stephen's new house was about 30 by 50 feet on the ground, with a hall through the middle and has since received several additions, but the house and the adjacent land has never been out of the family and is now (1888) owned and occupied by Stephen's grandson, Benjamin Mott.

ADAM[4] GOES TO SCHOOL & TO MEETING.

This was the local world into which ADAM MOTT[4] was born in 1762. He was bred to the frugal, laborious life of a farmer's boy of a hundred years ago, and in the strictest observances of speech and dress and manners of the Society of Friends. He was early sent to school, to be taught as his father had been taught before him—"English fit for country business." The accurate penmanship, and the vigorous use of the English language of his extant letters and business papers are witnesses to his natural capacity, and to his training. William Ryckman, an English Friend and a minister, then taught the children of Friends in Cowneck and Westbury, and ADAM was one of his pupils. William Ryckman was Clerk of the New York Yearly Meeting in 1777, when it was held in Flushing, as it had been for more than thirty years preceding, and his neat penmanship, and full and clear statements, as they may still be read in the yearly meeting minute book, imply equal skill as a pedagogue. There were not many books, a hundred and fifty years ago, in the rural homes of Long Island, and the few found in Friends' houses, were select and highly prized. The Bible, some writings of Friends, perhaps Josephus, and a few similar books made the library. A large folio volume of the works of George Fox, formerly in the household of Grandmother DODGE, and now in the possession of the family of her great-great-granddaughter, Sarah H. Hicks, is a sample of the literature among Friends in those days. The title page and date are lost, but as it purports to have belonged in part to ADAM MOTT, the first husband

of GRANDMOTHER DODGE, it must have been bought before 1739, the year in which he died. On a blank page is written in a clear, distinct hand—"Rich[d] Cornell, ADAM MOT, Robert Hubbs, William Hutchings and William Mott. Their book." The date, "Anno Christi 1742," seems to have been subsequently added. Under date of 1762 is an entry that the book belongs to the heirs of the above. On p. 103 is an entry of the date of birth of all the ten children of Rich[d] Cornell, from Mary, born 7th of 11th month, 1703, to Benjamin, b. 18th of 9th mo., 1723. On p. 250, it is written—"ADAM MOTT, Stephen Mott, with Elizabeth Willis own the one-fifth part of this book. A. D. 1762." On p. 225—"ADAM MOTT, his hand 1766."—On margin of p. 518—"'Tis better to take up a daily cross and suffer the pangs of a new birth, than to miss of an Inheritance in the good land."—A quaint humour shows itself in an entry on p. 206—

> "Having an opportunity now for to write
> By our Curteous Friend and Sister Hester White—
> Who with her comrade Fisher Grace—
> Hath visited all the meetings in this place."

In partial explanation of the ownership of the book, it may be stated that Thomas Story, a minister of great repute, relates that in 1702 he "went to Great Neck to the house of William Mott, a young man lately convinced by the ministry of Thomas Thompson,"—and a meeting was settled at his house. In 1708 "the First day meeting was appointed at Richard Cornwell's, and the sixth day meeting at William Hutchings', at Cowneck." Robert Hubbs was one of the stanch grand jury (Rich[d] Cornwell being Foreman and Isaac Hicks, RICHBELL MOTT, &c., being Jurors) who in February, 1703, persistently refused to obey the order of the Court to bring in an indictment against Samuel Bownas, a travelling Quaker preacher there in jail on a charge of "speaking scandalous lies and reflections against the Church of England,"—&c. The above named Richard Cornwell was the grandfather of my grandfather Benjamin Cornell, of Scarsdale, and the William Mott was the great-grandfather of Dr. Valentine Mott, the celebrated surgeon of New York.

Another important force in the formation of the young Adam's character was the habit of regular attendance twice each week at the religious meetings of Friends. The Cowneck meeting, now Manhasset, was six miles distant. His own kin were among the most prominent members of these meetings, and the social element in these religious assemblies was another power in the training of the young. Here Friends met Friends, excluding the outside world. This social force was especially felt in the Monthly and the Quarterly meetings, when the hospitable doors of every Friend's house within reach of the meeting opened with welcome to every Friend who chose to come. And the natural pleasure with which young people meet, glowed with the added consciousness of a faithful fulfillment of the religious duty of attendance on the meeting!

MANUMISSION OF SLAVES.

But the outside world made itself felt within the Quaker fold. ADAM MOTT was in his fourteenth year when, on the 4th of July, 1776, the British Colonies of America declared themselves independent and became the United States of America. But the Quakers of Long Island had already given the broadest interpretation to the principle that all men are entitled to liberty. Four months before the adoption of the declaration of American Independence, Grandmother DODGE had executed the following paper:

"COWNECK, 3d month 15th, 1776.

"I, PHEBE DODGE, of Cowneck, having for some years been under a concern of mind on the account of holding negroes as slaves, and being possessed of a negro woman named Rachel, I am fully satisfied it is my duty, as well as a Christian act to set her at liberty, and I do hereby set her free from bondage, and manumit her.

Witness, ADAM MOTT. PHEBE DODGE."
Stephen Mott.

Grandmother DODGE was almost the first to manumit her slave, one or two had preceded her by a few days, the earliest being James Titus, on the 8th of 3d month, seven days before her. But she was promptly followed by others. On the 7th of 1st month, 1777, her sons ADAM and Stephen set free—"the negro man Dick, about 35 years old." The same year Henry Whitson set free nine slaves, Thomas Pearsall ten, and Richard Willitts eleven. SAMUEL WILLIS (grandfather of the young ADAM[4]) set free the negro man "Mingo." He had on the 9th of 3d month, 1776, set free the "negro woman Betty" and in 1781 his sons John Willis, Fry Willis and Edmond Willis, set free—"our negro man named James, whom we purchased of Hendrick Vandervelt." In 12th mo., 1778, Elias Hicks set free his—"negro man named Ben," and in a few years no slaves were any longer held by Friends.

THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

This was in the beginning of the Revolutionary war, and this manumission of slaves was accompanied by the marching of armies, and the sound of hostile cannon, but neither cannon nor armies had any connection with the manumission, for the Long Island Quakers were faithful to the testimony against war. William Ryckman told in after years how Friends were sitting silent in Pearl street meeting in New York, while they heard the cannon of the battle of Long Island thundering in the distance. The presence of war however was a great event in the young life of Adam Mott.

In July, 1776, Washington had seventeen thousand soldiers in New York. But on the second of July the British General Howe arrived at Staten Island with an army from Halifax,—on the 12th his brother Admiral Howe joined him with a fleet and a second army, and about

the 1st of August General Clinton reached the lower bay with more troops from South Carolina, and General Howe then had thirty thousand men besides his fleet. Towards the end of August the British made a landing on Long Island at Gravesend and defeated the Americans on the 27th. Early in Sept. Washington retreated from New York, by way of Harlem to White Plains, and New York and Long Island came into the possession of the British, and companies of troops were quartered in Hempstead and its vicinity. The British army could thus draw supplies from Long Island, and a good cash market was thus made for all farm produce. Fire wood was in such request that much of the woodland of Long Island was cleared up and specific contributions were levied on the farmers for additional supplies. The requisition of 20th February, 1781, for six thousand cords of wood from Long Island for the British army demands of Stephen Mott 36 cords and of ADAM MOTT 50 cords— "to be delivered at the landing so as to be put on vessel." Requisitions for forage were made by order of Gov. Tryon, under penalty that if the hay, or other articles were not brought in by a day specified they would be taken by force, and no payment made. But property taken by soldiers was not always paid for, even when delivered as demanded, and many hardships were suffered in the rural districts.

And for the Quakers the hardships were still greater, for, faithful to their testimony against war, they refused to supply any requisitions for purposes of war, or even to sell anything to the army. What the army took by force could not be resisted. But when produce or goods were taken for military uses, and payment offered, it was refused. ADAM MOTT[3] Snr. suffered in this way. The younger ADAM[4], in after years told of levies made on his father's barns and cribs,—and on one occasion, in his father's absence, the officer ordered the young ADAM to show him where to find the forage, and the young man, reluctant to supply the army, or to be made a party in robbing his father, hung back till the officer struck him with the flat of his sword, and then went and helped himself. Military supplies could not be refused with impunity. The penalty might be double—or more than double the amount first demanded. But these were penalties to which the "testimony against war" had already subjected Friends in times of peace, and also long after the war—down to within the memory of many still living, like exactions, with penalties to many times the amount were taken from Friends for refusal to render Military Service. Nor were peaceable citizens, during the troubles of revolution, always protected from outside violence Marauders on Long Island, as it was in the occupation of the British, were usually from the American side of the lines, claiming to be patriots and "Whigs"—They were commonly called "Whaleboatmen." "ADAM MOTT, on the East side of Cowneck," says a contemporary record," was twice robbed by Whaleboatmen—once of considerable clothing." And

thus, in these stormy times on the skirts of the revolutionary war, the younger ADAM MOTT[4] grew up, and had nearly completed his twenty-first year when finally peace was concluded on the 3d of Sept., 1783.

LOSS OF RELATIVES.

The years about the close of the revolutionary war also brought other and sadder experiences to young ADAM MOTT. Within three years he lost by death six of his nearest relatives. His Uncle Henry Willis,—his mother's younger brother, died in the Autumn,—on the 28th of 9th month, 1780, at the age of 31,—and the following Spring on the 15th of 3d month, his aunt, his mother's younger sister Keziah Willis, died at the age of 34; and before his Aunt's death, his own sister Elizabeth was stricken with a cancer in the breast, of which she died unmarried on the 10th of 4th month following (1782) in her 26th year;—"For sometime before, and at the time of her departure"—says the Westbury Monthly Meeting records—"in a quiet frame of mind,—often dropping many heavenly expressions." And at the time of his sister's death, his mother was already sinking into a consumption, of which she died the following winter. But before his mother's death, his father's mother—his grandmother DODGE, full of years and good works, died at Cowneck on the 7th of 9th month, 1782, aged 83; in the language of the Westbury records—"a minister in good esteem near sixty years, and continued lively in the faith to the last." And three months later his mother's father, SAMUEL WILLIS, died at his home in Jericho, on the 24th of 12th month, 1782, in his 79th year. And a few days after his father's death,—in the bleakness of mid-winter, his mother died on the 10th of 1st month, 1783—at the age of 46. An extant letter of her husband, ADAM MOTT[3] Snr., written a few weeks after his wife's death, to her mother, MARY (FRY) WILLIS,—herself just left a widow by the death of SAMUEL WILLIS,—is of considerable interest as showing the life and character of the writer as well as of his wife, and is entitled to a place here. As indicating the habits of the writer it may be stated that the letter is written on a large sheet of foolscap paper, in a clear, neat, round, accurate hand, guided by pencil lines and over punctuated.—It is as follows.—

"Mutch regarded Mother" "Cowneck 6th of 2d mo. 1783."

"It is with me to impart to thee something of my mind concerning my dear, loving wife, and the comfortable enjoyment we had in each other during the time of our living together, which is near 28 years. I have had seriously to look over the time, and it affords me great satisfaction; for it appears to me to have been in great nearness and love,—endeavouring whatever we could to make each other comfortable and happy; for when cross occurrences happened, and through inadvertance, had any tendency to divert from that comfortable enjoyment of each other in which we lived together; oh! the trouble of mind it gave us until all was removed out of the way.

"Her agreeable deportment and conduct in the management of her family affairs demanding the obedience of those under her direction more through love than fear. And when of ability of body was diligent in the attendance of our Religious Meetings; and when there was solid and exemplary, and had, I make no doubt, to partake of that Bread & drink of that cup, which nourisheth the inward man, and giveth ability to perform acceptable worship unto him to whom worship is due,—but sometimes would say she found hard work to have her mind redeemed from roving.

"As it is my lot to be divested of so dear a wife and sure a helpmeet, who was the chief comfort of my life, as now being taken away, the prospect of these lower regions affords me little—yea, very little, satisfaction.

"When I have to reflect on these things, which is often the subject of my mind—especially the happy life I did enjoy with my dear spouse, and the final separation from so near, so dear, so loving a companion, and most affectionate wife, it overcomes me with grief—yea, very deep sorrow; but herein at times am I greatly comforted, as having a well grounded assurance that she now enjoys that peaceful Habitation where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest.

"For several years before her death the world was so little in her view that she would sometimes say to me, 'Was it not for thee and our dear children I should have no desire to live here any longer.' But for some time before her departure her mind was so fixed on things above that the world, with its enjoyments, became as nothing in her view; longing for the dissolution of this body, and that the Lord would fitly prepare her for his Kingdom, where no unclean thing can enter.

"May that Omnipotent Sovereign, who is said to be a father to the fatherless and a husband to the widow, be thy comforter and my comforter, guide and protector, the remainder of our stay in this mutable state of probation, is the longing desire, dear mother, of thy affectionate but sorrowing son. ADAM MOTT."

But, two years later, ADAM MOTT[3], Senior, brought a new wife to the old homestead. He married at Westbury, on "the 5th of 1st month, 1785, Abigail Batty, daughter of Daniel Batty, of S. Hempstead," then in her 52d year. He was then in his 51st year, and died 12th mo., 1790, in his 57th year. She survived him nearly seventeen years, and died 2d mo. 10th, 1807, in her 74th year.

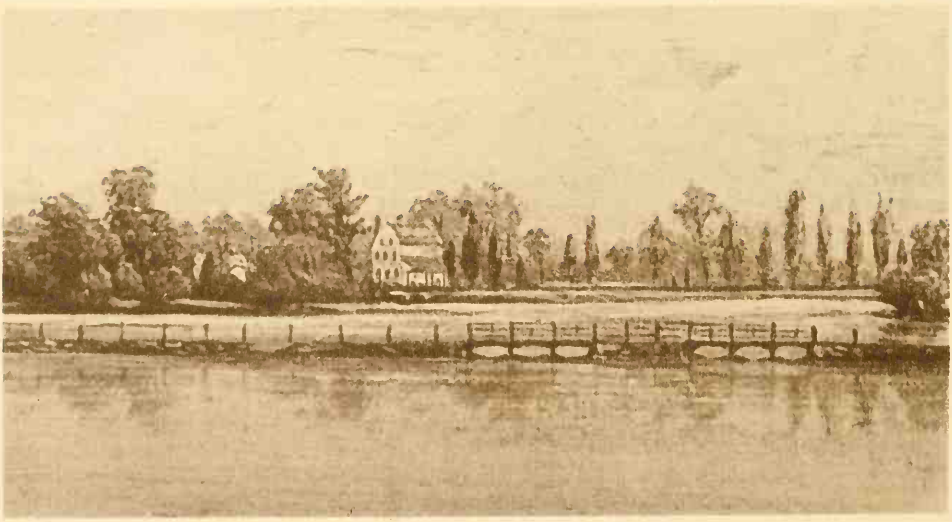
Among the social events of interest, in the life of the younger ADAM, was an occasional marriage among his neighboring cousins. One of the double first cousins, with whom he grew up in intimacy, was Phebe Willis, the daughter of his father's sister Elizabeth, who had married, as above mentioned, his mother's brother, John Willis, and lived at Jericho. Phebe Willis was born on the 4th of 5th month, 1761, making her nearly a year and a half older than Adam. She grew up to be unusually handsome, and of attractive manners, and was much sought after; and some of her friends urged her to accept some of the prosperous young merchants of New York, with whom, they told her, she would have wealth, "and could ride to meeting in her carriage." But she preferred Joshua Powell (b. 11 mo., 15, 1784—d. 5 mo. 6, 1817), a young countryman of

comparatively limited means. This question was unsettled when her mother took sick and died, on the 13th of 9th month, 1783. But Phebe was faithful to her rural lover. She said she "would rather Joshua Powell should take her to meeting in a wheel-barrow than to ride there in a carriage with any one else." They were married on the 5th of 5th month, 1784, and she lived to enter her ninety-first year, and died 12th mo. 29, 1851. She had five children, of whom Mary, the third, born 7th mo. 2d, 1788, married Samuel Titus, and now survives him (1883), clear in mind and memory, in her ninety-sixth year, the oldest of four generations, now living in the house of her daughter's daughter, the wife of Isaac Hicks Cock, of Westbury, and, of course, a cousin to all the descendants of ADAM MOTT.[4] And this tradition of her mother is from the lips of Cousin Mary (Powell) Titus.

P. S.—Cousin Mary Titus died in her 97th year, on the 12th of 9th month, 1884, and was buried at Westbury, on the 15th. Her mind was clear until within a few hours of her death. Her daughter Elizabeth P. Willets, the mother of Mary Cocks and in the same household, died on the 29th of 12th month, 1884, in her 69th year.

James Mott – born at Hempstead Harbor (now Roslyn) 8th mo. 8th 1742 – died in Newyork 5th mo. 7th 1823 – photographed from a cut profile taken probably as early as 1810 – found among the papers of his daughter Anna Mott – It is a good likeness – I remember him well. ——

Richd. Mott (his grandson)
– 1851 –



RESIDENCE OF JAMES MOTT, PREMIUM POINT, 1776-1815.

FROM A WATER-COLOR DRAWING BY HIS SON ROBERT ABOUT 1830.

CHAPTER II.

ANNE MOTT.

IN HER FATHER'S HOUSE AT MAMARONECK.

1768—1785.

The young Adam Mott[4] found his wife among his more remote cousins. From his father's house, on the Cowneck shore, he could see across the Sound, five or six miles to the northwest, on the shores of Mamaroneck, almost in front of the little village of New Rochelle, the situation of the house and mill of JAMES MOTT, the grandson of his own grand uncle, Richbell Mott. James Mott's only daughter, Anne, was four years younger than Adam, and an intimacy between the second and third cousins was natural. The waters of the Sound made a convenient pathway between the two houses. To Anne's many social gifts of grace of person, and of manner, and of conversation, were added the solid virtues of trained diligence in household affairs, and a devout and religious life.

The family of James Mott came from the city. He had been a prosperous merchant in New York. All his children had been born in a pleasant house on the north side of Beekman street, between Cliff and Pearl streets, when Beekman street was a street of pleasant residences. Of James Mott and his ancestors an opportunity to say a few words is made elsewhere. His family was living in Beekman street in the troubled times before the American Revolution. There remains a tradition that when the captain of the ship of war Asia threatened to bombard the disobedient city, in 1775, James Mott sent his children for safety to the open fields, off the "Bowery Road," near where Hester street is now situated. About this time, his wife being in failing health, he closed up his business in New York, giving him a competence, and removed to Mamaroneck. His wife's father and mother, Samuel and Ann (Carpenter) Underhill, had been living in the neighborhood since 1769. Here he bought of his wife's brother, Samuel Underhill, Jr., for "£2,100 current money of New York," the mill property and farm on the shore of the Sound, where the southeasternmost point of Mamaroneck juts out in front of the village of New Rochelle, and including a portion in the town of New Rochelle, containing in all about seventy acres, and many years later known as the "Premium Mill Property."

The deed is dated July, 1776. The dwelling house which he bought on the place was subsequently burned; but the handsome two-storied framed house, with a double-pitched roof, which he erected in its place towards the close of the century, is still standing in good preservation, with some additions, still looking southerly among surrounding trees, on the low and narrow land between the Sound and the inlet or bay, where the tide-water was arrested to drive "the old red mill," then standing on the margin of the mill-pond, a few rods southwest of the house. Here James Mott settled in 1776, and here was his home for more than forty years.

James Mott was a prominent man in the Society of Friends for half a century. He was a man of high character, tall and erect, and unusually handsome in person; and, although somewhat diffident, was always dignified, and easy and graceful in manner, and in everything a gentleman. He was zealous in all the interests of the Society of Friends; and although he continued to operate the old mill, which was on the property when he bought, he was in easy circumstances, and put himself at leisure for all society affairs. He was clerk of Purchase Monthly Meeting before he had been a year at Mamaroneck, and was clerk of New York Yearly Meeting at least as early as 1790, and was active in the organization of the "Meeting for Sufferings," and one of its earliest clerks; and was often called upon to travel with ministering Friends in their religious visits. Although thus staunch in his Quakerism, he was willing to coöperate with others in all good work, and freely used his pen, his means and his influence in the advancement of education and religion, and in the suppression of slavery, intemperance and war. He was liberal towards others but strict towards himself. In his "testimony" against slavery he would use nothing produced by slave labor, either in food or in dress. For this reason he limited his family to maple sugar, and unless they could get coffee free from the taint of slavery they made it from peas, and he always wore linen in the place of cotton. In furtherance of his testimony against war he would not use imported goods, when the duties were imposed as a war tax. And later he refused to pay postage, when the rates were increased to pay war expenses. His cloth was always of domestic manufacture, gray or drab in color, and made in small clothes, or knee-breeches; and occasionally, in stormy weather, he wore white-topped boots, and always a broad-brimmed white hat. His wife died before he was thirty-five years of age, but he never married again, and her influence and memory were never forgotten. After he was seventy-five years old he put in writing his vivid recollection of her personal qualities, and his manuscript is here copied in fac-simile.

In the minutes of Purchase Monthly Meeting, held 9th mo. 11th, 1776, occurs this entry. "A certificate of the Monthly Meeting held at

Fac-Simile of James Mott's description of his wife. (Written about 1818.)

Altho more than forty years have elapsed since the decease of my precious wife, yet her amiable person, and many virtues have so frequently, and even of latter time, been presented to my mental view in such a manner, that I am disposed to mention some of the traits in her character.

Her person was tall and erect. — Complexion fair, rather pale than ruddy. — Eyes light blue — Hair dark brown, bordering on black — Countenance placid and open Manner, gentle and easy — In conversation cheerful and pleasant, rather diffident of her own abilities — Temper mild and even — of great self command — Disposition kind, sympathetic and benevolent — Industrious and economical, but not parsimonious — Humbly pious, without bigotry — a tender affectionate mother, but not improperly indulgent — Studiously careful to promote conjugal harmony and happiness. — What an invaluable treasure is such a wife.

Flushing, 1st of 8th month, 1776, on behalf of James Mott and his five small children, recommending them to the care of this meeting was received and accepted."

It must be remembered that it was the New York Monthly Meeting which was then held at Flushing. The New York Yearly Meeting was always held at Flushing until near the close of the century. And it will be noted that the certificate speaks of five small children—one of whom died in infancy,—and that their mother not being named was no longer living. It is the tradition that she died after the removal to Mamaroneck, but it was before the granting of the certificate. She died at the age of 31, leaving her four young children—Richard, born in 1767, ANNE b. 1768, Robert b. 1771, and Samuel b. 1773—to grow up in the perils of a border land between hostile armies.

For unlike Long Island, which after the taking of New York in August, 1776, was always within the British lines, and always, therefore, under a government, at least able to give protection, the shores of Westchester County were between the lines of the opposing armies. After the battle of White Plains in October, 1776, the British army fell back to New York, and during the remainder of the war maintained its outposts in the neighborhood of the Harlem River. The American lines were in the hilly country above White Plains, leaving between the armies a space of ten or fifteen miles, subject to partisan strife, and to depredations from each side without protection from either. The adherents of the King, the royalists or tories, were refugees when the Americans were in power, and the Marauding Cowboys were of the tory party.

By the loss of New York, the interior was deprived of foreign goods, but New York in turn was cut off from country supplies. Small coasting vessels could make a very profitable trade by bringing country produce to New York. To cut off this trade with the enemy, the Americans used long, light-built boats, that could be rowed with great swiftness, like whaleboats, each boat manned by eight to a dozen men. One or two of these boats could capture any of the coasting sloops they could reach. Hence the American partisan bands were usually on the water, and were called whaleboatmen. The whaleboatmen never molested JAMES MOTT, but occasionally called at his house and mill, and were sometimes there when a predatory band of refugees or cowboys came for plunder. His daughter Anne, in after years, told her grandchildren how she had in her girlhood, on emergency, driven the cattle behind the knolls to conceal them from the Cowboys.

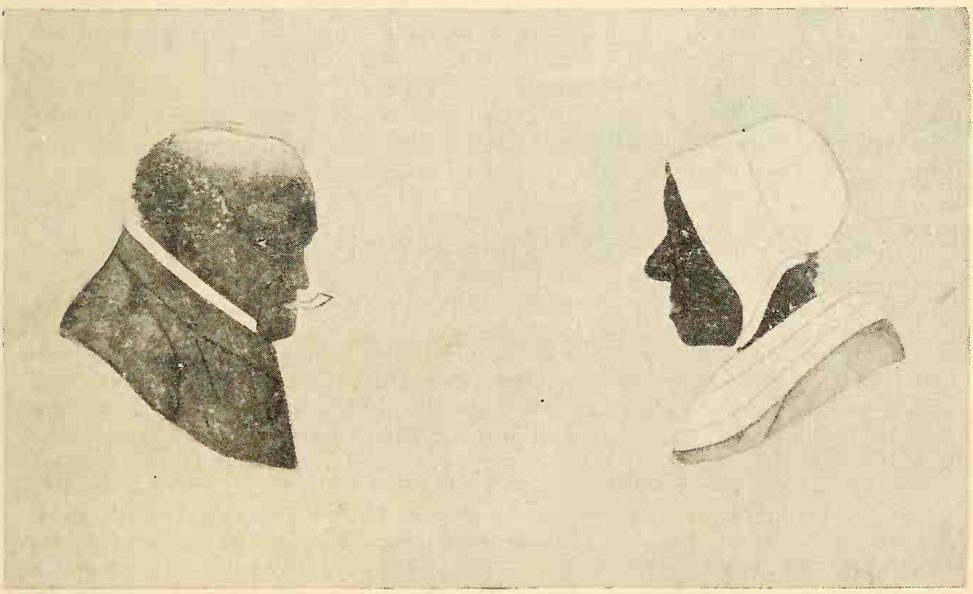
During all these years the children's maternal grandmother, Ann (Carpenter) Underhill, was often with them; and after 1780, when her husband, Samuel Underhill, died, she made her home at James Mott's house, among her grandchildren.

Any traditions of the life of Anne Mott, during the seven years of the war, will be of interest to all her descendents. Some of these traditions, as they were heard by her youngest son, in his childhood, he put into writing after he had entered his eightieth year, and are here copied from his manuscript, with little abridgment:

SECOND-HAND REMINISCENCES OF HIS MOTHER'S HOME, DURING THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR, BY RICHARD MOTT, OF TOLEDO.

These second-hand reminiscences are of happenings of more than a century ago, derived from recollections of them *as told* by participants and eye witnesses.

Prominent among the characters from whom these reminiscences were derived loom up "Uncle Billy and Aunt Jinny." I can hardly recall the time when I did not know them. She was never known as Jennie—it was always *Jinny*. They were old people—how old, I can only conjecture. My grandfather, then upwards of seventy, they seemed to look upon in a respectfully patronizing way, as a somewhat youthful member, who became so by marrying into the family they had faithfully served through three generations. She once told of the narrow escape of one of the little boys from drowning, a long time before. I found, on inquiry, that the little boy was my grand-uncle.



BILLY AND JINNY.
From a Water Color by Robert F. Mott, about 1814.

Jinny was a native African, black as anthracite. Stolen when a child, but old enough to remember much of her young life. She liked to have us understand that her father was a king, or a chief, or somebody of consequence, and that her young African life was free and happy—no

frost, no ice, no snow there, but summer all the time—without care and without clothes. Of the latter she had no experience till she was offered for sale in New York. She was bought by some far back ancestor, and had been successively heired by younger members of the family till about 1770, when the Quaker Yearly Meetings, after many years of earnest discussion, decreed that all slaves still held by their members should be forthwith set free. A few resisted this summary "confiscation of property," as they claimed it to be. All such recusants were dealt with promptly and excommunicated. The old couple were thus set free. *They*, however, did not set free their former owners, but held the same attached relation that had previously existed. Uncle Billy was a famous banjo player. Not on the fanciful instrument of to-day, handled by cork-blacked counterfeits, but the genuine banjo of the negro. He not only *played*, but he *made* banjos, having a large dried gourd for the sounding-board. Hence his soubriquet of Billy Banjo.*

From recollections of the stories told by these old people, corroborated by others of the family, the main incidents herein are drawn. Billy's chief employment in his old age, when I knew him, was fishing, he was famous at it. Earlier in life he went out in a boat to reefs for larger fish, but when he became clumsy from age he ceased to venture off, but betook himself with rod and short line to the rocks by the bold shore, at high tide. Memory brings before the mind, as if to-day, the old man as seated for fishing, he puffed at a stubby old pipe which he claimed was better than a longer one, for keeping his nose warm. He was short and strongly framed, broad shouldered, bowed by age. These shoulders had borne the burden of many an honest day's labor, head bald and shiny, circled by a narrow rim of wooley white hair from ear to ear below his hat. Irving's Knickerbocker's history, read years afterwards, wherein is described Governor Van Twiller, brought Billy forcibly to mind. This history says that "Dame Nature, with all her ingenuity, found it impossible to construct a neck capable of supporting the governor's head; wherefore she wisely declined the attempt and settled it firmly on the top of his back bone just between the shoulders." It was so with Billy; the isthmus between head and body was lacking.

* According to the traditions preserved in the sketches of "Colored Americans" by Abigail Mott, wife of Anne Mott's elder brother, Richard, Billy was born about 1738, his parents, Tom and Caty, being slaves of Thomas Bowne, of Long Island. Jinny was landed from the slave ship which brought her from Africa about 1744. In the New York slave market she was bought by Samuel Underhill, the grandfather of Anne Mott, who wanted the little slave girl to wait on his wife (Ann Carpenter Underhill) and their children. He then resided at Cedar Swamp, a farming settlement in the town of Oyster bay, where his daughter, Mary Underhill, afterwards Anne Mott's mother, was born 31st January, 1745, and was consequently cared for in infancy and childhood by young Jinny. Billy had become the property of one of Samuel Underhill's neighbors, and when Jinny was about twenty years old she and Billy were married. They raised a family of nine sons and one daughter. In 1769 Samuel Underhill removed to a farm he had bought in Mamaroneck, and in order not to separate Jinny from Billy, he exchanged for him one of his female slaves with Billy's Master, and so brought Billy and Jinny together to Mamaroneck.

Jinny died in 1818 and Billy in 1826. "More genuine politeness"—writes Abigail Mott—"and unremitting attention between a man and his wife are rarely to be found in city or country, than was manifested by this sable pair."

The portraits here given are reproduced from a water color painting made by Robert F. Mott (son of Abigail Mott) about 1814.

Here on the fishing ground, or sitting in Uncle Billy's lap by the kitchen fire—I listened with attention that never flagged, under more than twice told tales, while he droned stores of unwritten history of the war times that had come within his observation. If Billy chanced to omit any part of the story Jinney would break in to correct him and was apt then to go on with it herself, and whatever could redound to Billy's credit was alway dwelt upon with proud satisfaction, and more in detail than ever was Billy's habit of telling the same thing—not that she romanced at all, but had the womanly knack of showing off in the best light.

The old man was a hearty patriot. Experience with refugees and Hessians was the ground work of this feeling and of his hatred for all Tories. On the other hand he was hand in glove with the whaleboatmen, who made the inlet by the mill a frequent point of departure on their expeditions, or a place of refuge in case of retreat. Two of these boats were under command of Peter Davis (Cap^{n} Pete was his familiar cognomen), who had previously been skipper of a small coaster belonging to my grandfather, and was consequently well known by the family.

On one occasion Captain Pete had invited Billy to accompany them on a trip to New York City on an approaching moonless night when the tide should be favorable; Billy gladly accepted the invitation. During the day he and Jinny picked a corn basket full of wild black berries, to sell in the City. The boats were at the cove by sundown, and with them were Cap^{n} Pete's wife and daughter. It soon became understood that the daughter was to be married to the mate, and the object of their trip was to obtain better dresses and some needful finery for the occasion. These incursions to New York, then strongly garrisoned with English troops, were risky and daring, but they were often accomplished successfully. Powder and shot were scarce in all country places, in fact the supply for all the whaleboat crews came generally from these secret expeditions. Dark nights were taken advantage of, preferable if stormy. Leaving and hiding their arms securely, the boats were quietly rowed along the northern shore among the rocks and islands to a low and narrow space on Throgs Neck, this was made a portage, across which the light boats were readily carried. An English gun brig was anchored as a sentinel off the point where is now Fort Schuyler, less than half a mile distant. The bell for change of watch on board the brig, they could hear easily. Once on the other side of the neck, with the ebb tide in their favor, the row of a dozen miles was no difficult task, to the salt meadows at the upper part of the town, now in the heart of the city. Here in a deep creek, one of the boats was sunk at low tide that it could not be seen, and the crew then dispersed so as not to attract suspicion. The other boat kept on and pursued similiar tactics on the Long Island side at Wallabout, the present site of the Navy yard. The last party scattered and reached the ferry at Brooklyn, when the people were crossing from the country to sell vegetables, &c., at the market. The mother and daughter took a goodly supply of butter, eggs, &c., all of which were readily disposed of at great prices, as the demand in the half beleagured town was so much in excess of the supply, that 4 and 6 York shillings and sometimes a dollar, were paid a pound for butter, and eggs 3 for a shilling—a York shilling being 12½ cents. Many families residing there could not indulge in the luxury of either.

Billy was early at the Fly Market. His two bushels of blackberries were quickly sold to the hucksters, for silver money, a rare sight for all outside of the British lines during the sad experience of Continental *brown-backs*. He made a few purchases, such as he thought might gratify Jinny, adding thereto some powder and shot, in readiness for duck shooting in the coming fall; and, as he said, "If I didn't shoot no ducks I might have to do some other shooting, and so it is well to be ready any way."

At the appointed time, on the following night, the party from the Wallabout were at the place with their purchases. The boat was bailed out and floated, and then, with all hands on board, was pulled quietly to Stuyvesant's meadows, at the other rendezvous. Here was an unfortunate delay. The boat had been raised, and all of their party who were present were in their seats with oars in the row-locks; but three of the men had not arrived. After some waiting one of the absentees staggered to the edge of the creek. He had evidently been drinking, but knew enough to find his way. The others were waited for till the approach of morning made it necessary for the boats to leave the stragglers. The flowing tide was in their favor, but when the portage was reached the East was gray with the coming daylight. Whether their return had been watched or they had been betrayed by some Tory was uncertain, but they were discovered by the watch on board the brig. Their crossing was not accomplished as quickly as on the previous night. Before the boats were in the water on the Sound the alarm was sounded, by the drum beating to quarters. The enemy was speedily under way, and when opened beyond the point would have them in range. The two women were good sailors and could steer. The mother took the steering-oar in one boat and the daughter in the other. These boats, like the whale-boats of to-day, had no rudders, but were guided by an oar. The oars were all unmuffled, and every man bent to long-reaching and quick strokes. The boats' heads were turned along shore, towards Pelham bay, a rocky and dangerous coast. But Capt" Pete's experience now came to useful purpose. He knew every rock, every shoal, every turn of tide and eddy; prompt to avoid one, or take advantage of the other. By the time the brig had fully rounded the point they were nearly out of her reach, and in a short time were quite so. The boats were flying, and aiming to get behind City Island, where they would be sheltered from the brig's guns. Thus far the shots, skipping on the surface of the water, had not reached them. But a new danger was in waiting. Daylight had fairly come. The firing had awakened a squad of their old antagonists, the refugees, who had found shelter in a barn near the shore on Pelham bay. Scylla would be escaped, could the boats attain the narrow strait back of City Island. But Charybdis was there. The first intimation of the new peril was a volley of balls from among the bushes that lined the water's edge, whistling over their heads in uncomfortable proximity, but luckily hitting no one. The attack was so sudden and unlooked for that it caused a momentary halt. The dauntless woman at the helm was the first to recover from the surprise. She called, loudly, "Pull, boys, pull! no time to stop now!" And they did pull; hardly a stroke was lost; all strained at the oars, with desperate determination; and although at the next firing the nearest boat was hit, no one was hurt. Under cover of the island they were safe from the guns of the brig, but fearful of danger from the shore, they sheered out from it as

soon as the island was passed. The passage in which they then were is dotted with reefs, and can be threaded by a practiced pilot only. Had the brig been supplied with a competent pilot she could have followed them; but she evidently dared not attempt, and kept outside of Hart's Island, over which her topsails were plainly seen. Capt[n] Pete watched her anxiously, knowing that when Hart's Island should be passed they would be in plain sight again, and if she kept closely to the island, and the dangerous rocks beyond, her guns might reach them. It was with great relief that he observed her haul up for the main channel. When again in sight she opened fire upon them; but the shots all falling short, she suddenly bore away before the wind to return to the usual anchorage.

The rowing was now kept up restfully. They were congratulating themselves on their escape and anticipating soon being in the safe little cove by the mill, when just as they passed the woody point on the eastern end of Allen's island, the sails of another brig met their astonished sight over Whortleberry island—evidently intending to cut them off, as she was standing athwart their course. This vessel had been stationed only the day previous off the dangerous group of boulders in the middle of the Sound known as the "Execution rocks"—perhaps because so much execution was done by them among vessels, until the light-house now there was erected. At the first glance Cap[n] Pete exclaimed, "She's got a pilot who knows where to go." He well knew that with the stiff breeze then blowing, as soon as the brig rounded Wortleberry island, they would be in full view, and although, perhaps not in reach of the pop-gun cannon of those days, she might with press of sail, close the distance so as to come within range before they could get to cover behind the point of the cove. On the course of each, the brig going northwest with all sail set, and the boats east, escape was improbable or impossible. Little islets, rocks just above the water, and rocks sunken out of sight, lined the shore. Cap[n] Pete knew them all. The boats bows were turned in that direction. Refugees or other enemies might be hidden there, but in view of positive danger from the water; the possible danger from the land must be risked. The captain had up to this time rowed with the men, pulling the stroke oar which he now relinquished to steer the boat through the intricate mazes of the course, the stout-hearted wife taking his place.

The wind had increased and was blowing heavily from the east. Under the lee of the islands the water had been comparatively quiet, but now they were exposed to the full force of the waves, over which the boats mounted and pitched lightly, but were rather impeded in speed. Then came the test of strength and skill. Every man and two women laid to the oars with all their powers of muscle and sinew. In the other boat the daughter, like her mother, had changed places with the mate, his boat following exactly in the wake of the captain's. Close to the surf-beaten coast, threading the labyrinth of foam-covered rocks, which the rowers struck with their oars as they darted between them, behind little islands of rock that might prove a momentary barrier against the brig's shot, the seas dashing over the bows, wetting to the skin; with confidence unshaken in Cap[n] Pate's guidance on they flew, not a word was spoken. As Billy used to say, "everybody was thinking too hard to talk." The brig had fired her bow gun only, but in the heavy sea, was pitching and rolling so that aim was uncertain. In fact not a shot had come dangerously near them. But driven before the

high wind. the distance was fast decreasing. The boats were nearing the broader opening of Echo bay, across which they must pass wholly exposed. It would require but a few minutes to do it. Once behind the opposite point they would be in safety. Cap^{n} Pete afterwards said that before passing the last islet he was inclined to stop and remain there entirely out of sight and reach of the brig. But when just opposite a man sprang over the fence, out of a corn-field by the shore, and shouted something which they could not hear for the surf. He waved his hat for them to go on, pointing at the same time backward with his other hand. Looking along the beach in the direction of the pointing, Cap^{n} Pete saw a dozen or so armed men (he did not stop to count) crossing the sand along the west side of the bay. The warning was from a friendly quarter, for the man, when he saw they did not stop, leaped over the wall and disappeared among the high corn. Here was a second addition of Scylla and Charybdis. Being entirely unarmed his instant decision was to risk Scylla, but he called it *brig*. As the boats were headed for the opposite point, he called out—"Now comes the tug, boys! lay to and pull." Billy said, "they were all rowing as hard as mortal man could now, but then they pulled harder yet."

The family at my grandfather's were early awakened that morning by the booming of cannon, being from the first guard ship at Throgs Neck. They suspected its cause as the whale boats were expected that morning. The household were speedily dressed and all rushed to the shore—white and black—headed by Jinny. They waited for some time. The firing had ceased. At length they descried the boats, skirting the shore and at the same time saw the guard brig get under way and come towards the eastern point of Whortleberry island—evidently to cut them off. All ran down to the rocky point of the cove. Behind this they were out of danger from the cannon shots and could see the boats plainly. They also saw the warning motion of the man from the corn field, and the squad of supposed tories of whose approach he was giving notice. When the boats struck out for the dash across the bay was a moment of deep excitement for the lookers on. Some sighed, others cried a little. Jinny alone prayed, its utterance was succinct and to the point—"Oh God, Bill is there—help em, help em." Ten pair of sturdy arms in each boat were strained to their utmost tension. At every stroke the white foam rolled from the bows of the fleeing boats. Should they not be disabled by one of the balls, a few minutes would insure safety. But the shots were becoming dangerously near. One had skipped on the crest of the waves, passing between the boats. Others fell short. The crowd on the point cheered, but it was tearfully done. "Oh here they are, close by," shouted Jinny, "pull! Bill, pull!" They seemed sure of escape. Suddenly the brig rounded to and sent a broadside. A slight roll at the moment sent the balls too high, another minute and all would be safe—in that minute the brig yawed and brought her starboard guns to bear and belched out a second broadside. The foremost boat was inside of the partly submerged rock forming the extreme point of the little harbor. The balls struck the rock and bounded high above the boats, scattered its stony fragments over the occupants. In a few seconds all were safe behind the high projecting bluff. No sooner did the keels grate upon the gravelly shore than the men dropped upon the thwarts utterly exhausted, and with regret be it stated, in accordance with the belief of the day, each took a

drink from a jug of rum under the delusive idea of deriving therefrom refreshment and strength. Uncle Billy stepped ashore, hatless and coatless, every stitch of his clothing wringing wet. He said it was caused by sweating. He would never admit that the dashing of the spray had anything to do with it. In recounting the adventure ever afterwards, this point he always insisted upon.

The younger people among the party on the shore, stepped on board, took the oars and rowed the boats and their resting crews to the mill and moored them safely. The family hurried to the house and soon prepared a plain substantial breakfast for the tired and hungry men. The meal was necessarily plain. Tea and sugar were unreachable luxuries. Of coffee a supply remained from old stores, maple molasses of home making, butter sometimes, but rarely—the product of a single cow, the others had been driven off, stolen by the cowboys, another predatory gang of the day. Indian bread, fried pork, potatoes and coffee made up the breakfast for the twenty guests that morning. Homely as was the repast it was heartily eaten. Then the men went to the barn for a long, sound sleep, to make up for the two wakeful nights. Captain Davis' wife and daughter were given beds in the house. It had been a period of excitement and anxiety, both for the actors and for those who looked on. One of the latter was my mother, then a girl, perhaps of 11 or 12, who often related the story of the chase and the escape of the boats, and the strong sympathy all felt in the hopeful behalf of boats and men. As everyone was too utterly fatigued to stand sentinel, Uncle Billy's two sons, young men, were made to stand guard, and the two sons of the family, 8 and 10 years old, were jokingly deputed to assist in the lookout. They proved the better guards. Entire quiet prevailed. The family were attending to the usual every-day routine, dinner was eaten, the sun was well down in the West, and the sleepers slept on. The two boys went across the mill-dam, to a new orchard to get some apples, and when on the way back saw men, carrying guns—they did not stop to see how many—skulking by the shore. They dropped the basket of apples and ran. The men, finding they had been seen, called to the boys to stop, but the boys only ran the faster, screaming, "refugees! refugees! cowboys! cowboys!" Jake, who was near the house, ran to the barn and aroused the whaleboatmen, who rushed out arms in hand, in time to see the men retreating over the causeway on the Salt meadows.

It was afterwards ascertained that these were the same fellows they had seen in the morning on the shore of Echo bay, and having been reinforced by others of the same sort, had followed on, hoping to surprise the party; rightly judging that they would be apt to sleep. Finding they were discovered, and the chance for a surprise gone, they prudently retired, followed by a few harmless shots from the awakened whaleboatmen. The probabilities are that, but for the discovery by the boys, their intentions could have been carried out, or partially so. This was not a party of refugees, but simply a few Tories, who were bold in the confidence inspired by the near presence of the well-equipped British army.

After the war many of these same fellows, in the course of years, blossomed into noisy patriots, some of them going to different parts of the country and claiming that they "had fit in the war," and perhaps they had, but on which side? When a boy, I remember several who adhered to the King; some having served in the English army. Many

were sour and sullen, others frank and outspoken, and satisfied with the result.

It somewhat taxed the resources of the household to furnish a hearty supper for their twenty guests, but it was done, and then towards midnight they departed, with many thanks and promises of ample reward for the hospitality at some future period. The smiling bride-elect, was loaded with good wishes, and went away blushing and happy.

My grandfather was of the strictest stripe of Friends and would have no part nor lot in wars or fightings. But though conscientiously devoted to peace, it was well understood that his unspoken sympathies were with the Whigs or Continentals Many of the crew of the two boats that had just left had been previously employed by him and felt kindly disposed; Cap^{n} Pete was warmly so. The little harbor was a haven of refuge, and if pressed closely, their boats could be lifted over the dam and rowed up the creek a mile further back in the country where pursuit would be unsafe. This, too, was a convenient place where they could be unseen, on the watch to spring out and seize becalmed sloops, taking supplies to New York.

This friendliness, and the fact that raids starting from the cove were of not unfrequent occurrence, created consequent suspicion and dislike among the refugees and cowboys. From the latter numerous annoyances were experienced, in the way of petty robberies—cows were taken till but a single one was left, pigs and poultry fared as badly, corn cribs were depleted; all was done openly. Two broken-winded horses were not deemed worth enough to take, and they were suffered to remain. Threats were made that "if the *blanked* whaleboatmen were permitted to hang around there, it would be the worse for them all."

Some months after the events that have been told, another visitation was made by our whaleboats. They were in high glee, from having captured a sloop in the darkness, almost under the guns of the guard ship. The vessel was bound for New York loaded with hay, piled high on deck. The wind was light, and the boats with oars muffled had quietly pulled up on each side and were on board before the crew of three men knew of their presence. A calf and a few sheep were penned up on deck, and some small supplies for Fly market. It was the bleating of the animals that betrayed the vessel in the pitchy darkness. While in possession of the sloop the watchman on the guard ship was plainly heard to call out his monotonously periodical cry of "All's well." The calf and the sheep were tied fore and hind feet together and hoisted into the whaleboats, with all the movable truck that could be found. The light wind enabled them to sail the sloop to a little distance from the brig, which could be plainly seen by the light on board. Cap^{n} Pete's knowledge of the tides was accurate. When at the point that he thought the current would sweep her down upon the brig, the sails were quietly lowered, the crew placed in their own yawl without oars, in tow of one of the boats, and the little vessel set on fire in the cabin from which the light could not be seen at once, giving them time to row out of sight before the hay would catch. Just as they turned the west point of Whortleberry island the blaze began to spread. Landing, the men crawled up among the bushes to watch events. The burning hay stack was drifting in the right direction, when the alarm was sounded by beating to quarters. Boats were speedily manned and rowed to the sloop, and by vigorous pulling they managed to tow her

so far to one side that the blazing cargo swept past harmlessly. The fire brightened the Sound, and but for being hidden by the island, the boats could have been seen. Holding the captured boat in line between them, they rowed to the mouth of New Rochelle creek, and here giving the oars to their three prisoners, cast them adrift in their own boat. As events proved this was not good generalship. The yawl instead of being headed for Long Island was rowed up the creek to the landing place, where the skipper had some tory acquaintances who were soon made acquainted with what had happened.

Towards Pelham a band of refugees had been gathered for some days, bound on an incursion towards the American lines, when they should find themselves strong enough. Their leader was Fade Merritt—whether that meant Ferdinand or Frederick, I never knew. He was a gentleman well known in the neighborhood; a royalist from the start, and grown embittered as the contest progressed. His left hand had been taken off at the wrist, but it was little hindrance to his active and determined spirit. The bridle-rein thrown over the arm, he controlled his horse by some adroit movement of the stump. He could rest his gun on the crippled member and shoot with accuracy. As soon as he was told what news the prisoners had brought, he at once rightly suspected that "Pete Davis and his gang had made harbor at that *blanked* Quaker rendezvous."

The boats, after casting off the yawl, were rowed in the darkness along nearly the same track followed when they were so hotly pursued, a few months previously; but the stroke was moderate and easy. The calf complained loudly, for the lack of its accustomed nourishment, before the little bay was reached, soon after daybreak. They landed on a small island, where their live stock was put on shore and untied. Their plan was to remain quietly till night. So going to the house, they asked for the making of coffee for breakfast. They had plenty of eatables with them, taken from the prize sloop before burning. After the meal they moored the boats by the dam, and left them in charge of Uncle Billy and his boy Jess; and the men, as before, betook themselves to their former quarters in the barn. Towards the middle of the afternoon some of the sleepers at the barn had aroused and were yawningly examining their guns. Suddenly, Jess rushed into the kitchen, pantingly exclaiming, "Oh! Miss Nanny, the refugees are coming!" and then he dashed off to the barn, to warn the sleepers of the danger. Nanny looked out and perceived the dam covered with men. They had caught Uncle Billy and captured the boats. Jess had been quick enough to escape and give the alarm. The awakened men came running from the barn. Matters looked serious. The boats were in possession of the enemy, with their contents, including their valuable supply of ammunition. A bold push, or a quick retreat, must be at once decided upon. In the latter case, boats and contents would be abandoned and lost. Behind currant bushes, lining the picket garden fence, they fired a few shots; then dodging along, under cover of the stone fence, till they placed the mill in range, thereby sheltering themselves completely, they rushed on, kicking up the dust on the dry road, so that their numbers could not be seen by the others. The sudden and bold attack had the effect of magnifying their strength to the other party, some of whom were already in the boats, overhauling their contents, having left their arms on the dam. They were startled by the onset; and springing on shore, ran to the

other end of the dam, beyond which the main body were stationed, and leaving their arms behind. The moment was instantly taken advantage of. Some of the whale-boatmen jumped into the boats and shoved them under the flood-gate bridge; others ran in the mill. When Merritt saw his men retreating he rode forward, and with fierce profanity, dismounted and rallied them, and shouted to all to follow him. In the meantime the party in the boats, now with an ample supply of ammunition and securely intrenched by the mill-dam, had lifted a plank from the flood-gates, thereby completely commanding the approach with guns leveled through the narrow aperture—themselves well protected. When men are awaiting the opening of a fight, that may carry with it the lives of many engaged in the contest, there comes a feeling of doubt and dread, engendering desire for the turning aside of the strife before the death struggle shall begin. It may have been something of this feeling, or it may have arisen from the caution of a prudent commander, knowing that he was doubly outnumbered, that induced the whaleboat captain to call out, before Merritt and his followers had fairly set feet on the dam:

"Fade Merritt, stop right where you are, or I will save you from the hangman!" Ominous words, as will be seen.

"I won't stop at your bidding, Pete Davis, you *blanked* robbing rebel. Come on men."

"Then you will stop for my gun, you *blanked* tory, another step will be your last."

Billy's description of the parley, in after years, was dramatic, and in the strong points he was frequently helped out by Jess, who with part of the men were watching from the mill windows, guns in hand ready to take part in the fray. The testimony of father and son was alike confirmatory as to the amount of profanity that passed. Billy sententiously saying he hardly knew whether fighting or swearing was the worse, but he thought they liked swearing the best.

Some are possessed, like Luddie Headrig in Old Mortality, of the courage which arises from insensibility to danger. Others have a more sensible courage, which prevents the rushing on palpable destruction. Merritt, however bad he may have been, was not suspected of lacking in bravery. But here was the shooting end of a rifle pointed out between the planks, that his sure eye saw covered him beyond escape, and at the other end of which was a man, whose aim he knew was not apt to go amiss, flanked by a dozen more shooting ends of other guns, not one of the aimers of which could be seen. Valor was tempered with discretion, and he halted, but did not retreat, and called out, "Come on, you sneaking thieves, from where you are hiding." To this Cap" Pete replied, "Fade, you infernal cut-throat, it is my duty to save you from the gallows by shooting you now, but for your wife's sake, I'll spare you this time." The two men were brothers-in-law—had married sisters.

The wordy controversy still continued with bandied expletives, till at length Davis called out. "Fade if you don't right-about-face and go off, my gun will go off." This saying was treasured up by Billy as a very smart one, and he was ever fond of quoting it. Merritt finding the position of his antagonists impregnable, after some further threats and grumbling, backed off his men, and was about unhitching his horse, when Davis shouted, "Let that horse alone, you stole him somewhere."

"Let *blank* alone, you blackguard," was Merritt's reply, as he sprung into the saddle and dashed off on a canter to follow his men, who were

passing over a muddy causeway on the salt meadow. In his haste he attempted to cut across the corner of the marsh, the horse was mired and could not recover his feet, throwing his rider over his head, who was up instantly and tried to extricate the horse, but the poor animal, after a few ineffectual struggles, gave up and ceased all efforts to release himself. Merritt was therefore obliged to leave him and follow his men on foot. When he was fairly out of sight the whaleboatmen with much exertion got the horse on his feet, and a sorry sight he was, daubed with creek mud from nose to tail.

It should have been mentioned, that when the refugees had surprised Billy and Jess, who had been left in charge of the boats, they both attempted to escape, but Billy, being older, was not quite quick enough. A blow from the stock of a clubbed musket, that might have proved fatal to a Caucasian skull, knocked him backwards into the boat, and in ruffianly wantonness, while down he was kicked and stamped on. The assailants held no love for the old man, for they had seen him at the escape from the brig, pulling at an oar in one of the boats, and they regarded him as an aider and abettor of their antagonists. He ever held an exasperating recollection of this treatment, when relating it to us more than 30 years afterwards.

When the refugees were gone, preparation was speedily made by the crews of boats to get away to Connecticut as soon as it should be dark enough to be hidden from the guard ship. The captured horse was turned into the pasture and left. The family were alone and unprotected. Grandfather and his elder son were away attending a quarterly meeting of the Friends at Purchase, twelve miles distant. The family then at home consisted of a daughter of about thirteen, two younger brothers and a grandmother.* Their mother had been dead several years. The grandmother was old and feeble. The female head of the household was the only daughter, mature for her age, on whose shoulders the mother's death had early thrown its cares. Her active temperament and firm character had developed ability to assume the duties of the position thus prematurely thrust upon her. With an education commenced in the city, and continued after the retirement to the country at the opening of hostilities—mainly under her father's guidance, aided by a moderate library (regarded then as a copious one) coupled with an insatiable desire to read and master all books that came under her hand, she had formed clear and decided opinions, with the added conversational capacity of maintaining them. Her character and attainments and the intelligent fulfillment of the needful cares of the family practically installed her as the acknowledged mistress of the house. Her training had been at the feet of the strictest Gamaliels of her sect. "Resist the evil," "Trust in the Lord," "Not one sparrow is forgotten before God." These were among the maxims of the faith inherited and lived in, and adhered to through a long and useful life, prolonged years beyond four score. But when the whaleboats had

* Anne Mott was born 31st July, 1768, and was, therefore, eight years old at the declaration of American Independence in July, 1776, and when the British Cabinet, in the spring of 1782, ordered discontinuance of hostilities she was in her fourteenth year. The events here narrated could not have taken place later than 1781, when she was thirteen years old. Her elder brother Richard would then be past fourteen, Robert ten and Samuel seven.

rowed away, why did she feel anxious and uneasy? Was she losing trust? Did she crave the protection of these men and their weapons of warfare? Had her reliance on the arm that is never shortened failed her? She took herself severely to task for her anxiety and doubt, but the anxiety and doubt would not be quieted. She could not but apprehend the probable return of the dreaded refugees when they found all danger of resistance gone. The next morning, after a restless night, brought no rest, for waking or sleeping the fear was unceasingly on her mind, and she arose unrefreshed and care-worn. Her fears were well grounded.

Having received information by scouts or spies that the coast was clear, Merritt and his party, though less numerous than before, appeared the next day. They were in a state of high exasperation. The object was two-fold, revenge and plunder. Revenge on the defenceless household for harboring (as they charged) their old enemies. Their approach was unheralded and the dam was crossed, and the mill surrounded before Jess, who was within, engaged at grinding corn, was aware of their presence. He was a prisoner at once, and was shut up in the flour-cooler. Merritt looked about the mill, and seeing but a few empty barrels and a small lot of grain, questioned Jess as to what had become of a lot of coffee which at one time had been stored there. Jess said it had been taken away a long time before, in wagons. "Where was it taken?" He did not know, only the teamsters said they were going to White Plains for the Continental army. Was it paid for and who had the money? Of this Jess knew nothing, and all questioning elicited nothing. Angry and baffled, Merritt at length thundered out: "You are lying, you black scoundrel! but we'll squeeze the truth or your life out of you." Jess was dragged out of the cooler, his dusky face half whitened by flour, the rope was adjusted with a slipping-noose about his neck, and the other end thrown over a beam; a slight pull tightened the noose to choking, then slackened and the question was repeated. He did not know, then another pull was made, jerking him clear from the floor. After a few seconds' suspension, when the rope was again slackened, he dropped fainting and insensible, the blood gushing from his mouth. Nothing more could be drawn from him, for he knew nothing more. Further questioning, when he was able to speak, brought out that his master was away, he did not know when likely to return; the folks at home were the old grandmother, Miss Nanny and the two little boys. Did not Miss Nanny know? He could not tell, but if anybody did maybe she did. Satisfied that no further information could be had from him, the rope was taken off, and with a few reminding kicks he was released. The first use made of his liberty was to run to the barn and tell his father of his experience, and that Merritt and his fellows were all at the mill, determined to find out about the coffee. This was the first knowledge Billy had of their presence. When Jess told his father that they were coming to the house to take Nanny to the mill to make her tell what she knew, and maybe hang her, too, Billy waited to hear no more. He was at the house as quick as legs could carry him. Three men had been sent to the house to bring Nanny to the mill. One of them was Chris Derrick, a German redemptioner living near, and who knew the family.

These redemptioners were foreigners who had been brought from Europe, passage free, and on arrival were sold for the price of their

transportation, to labor for an agreed length of time to pay the debt—a condition of temporary slavery, of which the stigma remained even after their alloted time had been worked out. The colored population, slave and free, held these "*white niggers*," or "*'demptioners*," in supreme contempt. Billy and Chris were consequently not on over friendly terms, and the former said if he had been there no "infernal 'demptioner should have toted Miss Nanny from the house." His absence was perhaps fortunate, for had he been present a collision between the two would have taken place, and as the whole party were exasperated against Billy, his life might have been taken.

Nanny's pale face met Merritt's emissaries at the door, and she was gruffly told she must go with them to the mill. Knowing that they had the power to carry her if she refused, she stepped to the door of the room to speak to her grandmother, to say where she was going. The movement was supposed by the party as perhaps an intention to escape, and one of them seized her roughly by the shoulder.

Whence came the instantaneous revolution? The change from the feeling of shrinking terror, to the stimulus of confidence and courage? The timid girl was, at the touch of the burly ruffian, transformed from a condition of terror, to one of entire fearlessness. She turned upon him saying, "take thy hand off." The man was cowed and shrank back. To the end of a useful life, prolonged several years beyond the allotted four-score, she ever held to the truth of the inherited faith in which she was educated, that through inspiration, direction is received from the Almighty as well in these later days as in those of the prophets and the Apostles. In the belief that a sustaining hand was near to support and direct her, she suffered herself to be quietly escorted to the mill. She was taken to the upper story. On the stairs she saw stains of blood, the results of poor Jess' maltreatment, as she afterwards learned, but did not then know. The sight was not re-assuring. Here Merritt and most of the party were awaiting her. From a beam overhead was suspended a rope, having a noose at the dangling end. Under this she was led. Trustful and fearless she looked around, and with unquailing eyes, met the looks of the hardened crowd standing about her. A few were known to her.

Their leader began quietly, almost gently, saying that she need not be frightened, for if she would tell them all she knew concerning the coffee that had lain in the mill no harm would come to her. With a steady look she replied. "I am not frightened, the coffee was taken by the Continental commissary." Then ensued a colloquy essentially like this, his question being, "How much was it sold for, and where is the money?"

"I don't know."

"Did you not hear your father speak about it?"

"I heard of its removal but not about the money."

"Come girl, you must know, and can tell something of what became of this money."

"I do not know, and cannot tell."

Up to this time his voice had retained an ordinary conversational tone, and his manner rather courteous. He now spoke sharply, telling her that they would no longer be trifled with. Money, he claimed was surely received for the coffee—and she must know something about it, and she *must tell;* spoken with emphasis. Her answer was clear and

steady as before, that she did not know and consequently could not tell. He then thundered out—"Now, girl, we'll find a way to get the truth out of you." Unmoved by his threatening manner she rejoined. "I have already told the truth—more can not be got from me." "We'll see what that rope will do," he said, and directed one of the men to put it around her neck. One stepped forward and raised the noose to place it over her head. She turned aside and looking the fellow squarely in the face, said, "Thee must not touch me"—and he did not, but stood irresolutely, holding the rope in his raised hand. The leader then threateningly spoke. "We will get the truth out of you this time, and that *blanked* quickly too, or we will stretch your neck." With a smile she replied, "As I can not tell while living, I surely can not after being hung." At this a momentary silence followed, while she calmly looked into the faces about her. Then turning to Merritt she added firmly, "Thee knows that I have spoken truly, and that I know nothing about any money," and then pausing a few moments she said, "and I now tell thee further, that if I did know, I would not tell." Meaning looks passed between some of the party. For a short time an unaccountable quiet prevailed. Then a whispered consultation was held around their leader. Her every faculty was on the keen alert. Not a movement or a word escaped eye or ear. By an intuitive grasp she comprehended all that was going on around her. "She can't be frightened;" "Its of no use;" "We can't find out anything from her;" "We must search the house;" "We may pick up something there besides money." Were scraps of whisperings that reached her ear from all sides. At length Merritt told one of the men to conduct her back to the house. Here the gang speedily followed. Their first search was for provisions. All eatables were soon disposed of. The old fashioned brick oven was emptied of a fresh baking, and the loaves that were not eaten, were taken away when they left. The ransacking of the house followed, but no money being found, the disappointment increased the exasperation. Closet doors were broken by blows from gunstocks. Bureaus pried open by the very few bayonets among the party—*bagnets* they were called. Beds and pillows were pierced by these bayonet thrusts to ascertain if money was hidden within. It was a scene of wanton destructiveness. The cellar was examined for signs of recent digging, where treasure might have been buried, but none was found, nor the slightest trace. Nanny at length sought out Merritt and remonstrated against the doings of his men. He was angry and excited, said the family were served rightly for keeping a nest of theiving whaleboatmen and skinners. She told him that it was as much out of their power to keep the other side away, as it was to prevent him and his men from being there, *for both were unwelcome*. He was enraged at having been driven off the day before by the whaleboatmen, and vexed at the unsuccess in finding money. He told her he was sure the household were on friendly terms with the other side, for old Banjo went out in the boat with them, and the nigger ought to be killed if they could find him. She heard threats against Billy while at the mill, and had warned him to hide in the hay-mow till the refugees should go. While expostulating with Merritt she saw one of the men come out from the pantry with a new cheese under his arm. This was a recent gift to her grandmother. With the continued absence of fear that had sustained her throughout, she confronted him, and without hesitation took hold of

the cheese, saying, "Thee shall not take this, it is for grandmother and I won't let it go." With a half surprised, half amused look, he permitted her to take it from him. Merritt being moved to laughter at the performance.

Vexed and angry at getting no money, the raiders gathered all the valuables that could be carried away, loading them in the cart belonging to the place, to which was harnessed the horse that Merritt had been obliged to abandon the day before. Some of the furniture could not have been wanted at all, but as they came for plunder, they seemed determined to carry off all they could stow in the vehicle. When this was filled with all that could be piled upon it, poor Jess, escorted by the whole party, was forced to drive the load, one of them facetiously remarking "that he might drag the cart back."

When about starting Merritt left a message for her father with Nanny, that this was what they got for harboring rebels and robbers. Her unshaken courage instigated quick retort: "Thee is a prudent man; thee knows my father is a Friend and does not believe it right to fight, yet thee takes the opportunity of his absence to do what has been done, when only women and children are at home." He made a threatening rejoinder, that the next time he caught Pete Davis and his gang hanging about there he would horse-whip the whole family and burn the mill.

When all had gone, the house was found stripped of many articles not only of comfort but of necessity. Hardly a change of clothing was remaining. Everything eatable was taken; the only meat, being part of a barrel of pork, went in the load, and a sack of flour. The frugal supper that night was roasted potatoes. The next day, when the tide was down, Billy and the boys dug some clams, and with them and some corn meal, ground at the mill, they began to fare comparatively sumptously. Fish were close at hand, and to be had for the catching. Peaches, too, were ripening, and they were added luxuries to their table. Poor Jess came home the next day on foot, tired and hungry. The cart had been driven to several houses at a distance, some of them homes of men of the party and others of their friends, and the contents distributed. This proved an unfortunate thing for the receivers.

Two days afterwards, when grandfather returned and saw what had been done, he rode over to the headquarters of the British army, near Westchester, taking Jess with him. An interview was obtained with Sir Guy Carleton, the general in command, and the matter laid before him. The general was indignant, especially as the freebooters had assumed to be friends of the crown. He spoke to an aid, to order out a few dragoons to assist in reclaiming the stolen property. Grandfather begged that no soldiers be sent. The general smiled and said, "So you do not want help from the arm of flesh?" He replied that his objection was not so much against the "arm of flesh" as against the "arms of iron;" but if Sir Guy would furnish him with a letter, ordering restitution, that would be enough. This was given. Sir Guy was pleasant, almost cordial, and insisted on his staying to dinner. At the table something was said by which it appeared that he had just returned from Dutchess County, and consequently had gone through the lines of Washington's troops. This was followed by some question, bearing on the condition of the Continentals. He replied that he had been permitted to pass, when some of the Friends in his company were not allowed to go, and that Washington had been kindly obliging. Then he

added: "Sir Guy, thy treatment has been even more so, and thou mayst rest assured that nothing which I have seen in this camp will ever be spoken of outside of it." The officers smiled, and the general laughingly said, "You would make a diplomatist." But no further questions were asked.

Guided by Jess to the different houses where the goods had been taken, most of them were recovered, as was the cart, and that, reloaded, made its welcome appearance at home in due time. Few articles of the restored plunder were more acceptably welcomed than the linen and woolen sheets and clothing, all of their own raising and spinning, according to custom of the time.

From thence onward no more trouble was experienced from either refugees or cowboys. The whaleboatmen however were, as before, occasional visitors, but never molesting them, which was more than could be said by the residents of Long Island, where people lived in constant fear of their lawless incursions. Many stories lingered through that and succeeding generations, that I heard related by those who were then residents there, and actors therein. Some amusing, others sad, sometimes tragic. They must be passed over.

The prompt action by Sir Guy Carleton, may have discouraged the refugees from further attempts on the family. Another cause was doubtless not without wholesome influence in that direction. The dwelling and farm had the Sound on the southeast, and the little bay and creek on the west. It was a favorable point for observing what movement might be attempted by the British with the fleet. The location was therefore selected as the most advanced post of the Continentals, held during the day by a small squad of cavalry, who always fell back to the main body at night. Except by the narrow mill-dam, which could be partially defended, the bay and creek afforded security against attacks from the direction of the English Camp, but it became a *cul-de-sac* if taken in the rear from the north. One morning, before the sun had risen, some twenty light horse, composing the outpost, were on their way to the station of daily lookout, when they perceived through the slight fog across the fields, a strong body of dragoons on a cross-road, coming towards the turnpike. At first the new comers were supposed to be from the right wing of the American lines, but a second look at the superior equipments and soldierly appearance, bespoke them enemies. An instant right-about was ordered. The English were well-mounted—many of them jumped their horses over the fences to cross the fields to head off the fugitives. These came close upon their rear. The better mounting of the pursuers enabled them to overtake and make prisoners of the hindmost riders of the worn-out steeds. The pursuit continued along the turnpike through Mamaroneck, but here turning to the north, about half of the company escaped. For some days no attempt was made to resume the position. Then for a time a stronger force was sent, and not being molested, the lookout was maintained as before, reduced to ten men. They were at length to experience the truth of the then unuttered apothegm, "*Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.*" It was on a pleasant day in September, part were on the daily lookout on the Sound, at the point, one was standing sentinel at the dam, four others not on duty, had brought in a corn basket of peaches from the orchard, and were in the kitchen enjoying the lucious fruit. After satisfying their appetites, three

of them turned to helping Aunt Jinny and Nanny, who were busily peeling and quartering peaches for drying. The fourth one continued eating. His companions chaffed him for being so hungry, and pointed to the pyramid of pits in front of him. He laughingly responded, that a soldier should always make the most of every opportunity to lay in a lasting stock of provisions, especially when so good as peaches, for it was uncertain how long, if ever, it might be before he would have a chance to fill up again. Readers of Scott may recollect that he puts similar language in the mouth of Major Dalgetty. A shout of alarm was heard from the sentinel at the dam, who dashed over the fence into the high-grown corn, and pointing northwards as he ran. The men in the house sprung for their horses, but were met at the corner of the house by a body of cavalry and made prisoners. The five men at the point, leaving their horses leaped down the bluff, and made flight on foot along the shore. They were soon intercepted and required to surrender, which they were forced to do, as there was no escape except in the Sound. One fellow was desperate enough to take the risk, rushing into the water, followed by some pistol shots of harmless aim. He struck right out from the shore, and as he widened the space between himself and the dragoons, the danger was thus lessened. After swimming far enough to be at a safe distance he stopped and rested while floating. His danger now was lest they should find a boat and row out for him. At no great distance Uncle Billy was anchored in a canoe, over one of the reefs where the fishing was good. The shouts and the pistols drew his attention. He recognized the red coats and watched the fleeing swimmer. A few of the dragoons rode to the shore opposite Billy's anchorage and ordered him ashore. His head was bent over the side of the canoe, bent on his line. The call was repeated—again still louder, but no responding movement from the old man. He would say when recounting the story, "if I live as old as Molthusalum, I never expect to be so deaf as I was that time." The swimmer kept widening the distance between himself and his enemies, who finding Billy unable to hear, and the man out of reach, rode off with the other prisoners. Billy then weighed his anchor and paddled to the poor fugitive, who was so tired, that it was with great difficulty he was hauled over the stern of the tottlish craft. The others were made prisoners, and this one's horse was taken, so he had to foot his way back to camp with the bad news of the capture of the party.

The refugee leader, Merritt, continued his freebooting, partisan sort of warfare, but did not trouble grandfather's household again. But they heard of his doings about the neighborhood, carried on with increased recklessness, sometimes raiding into Connecticut. On one of these incursions a store was robbed of all the goods that could be removed, and in order to force the owner to confess that he had money, and to deliver it, the store-keeper was tied down on his counter and terribly horsewhipped, with circumstances of great indignity. Many weeks elapsed before the poor man was able to go out. During the time of convalescence he thought over schemes of revenge. His property was gone and his business ruined. He joined the whaleboatmen and became a leader among them. Word was received one day that the refugees, under Merritt, were in the edge of Connecticut. The horsewhipped man (his name is forgotten) waylaid them, with a party of his friends, at Greenwich. Merritt became separated from the main body of his fol-

lowers, having halted with a few of them at a tavern, to quench his dissipated thirst. Here he was captured before he could remount his horse. A relative who witnessed the affair, and from whom the statement was received, then resided in the village. Hearing the commotion, in the early morning, he hurried out, and amid a cluster of men he saw the handsome form of Merritt, over whose neck a rope was fastened, and in a few minutes his dead body was swinging from the limb of a tree.

Thus the family of JAMES MOTT lived through the Revolutionary war without serious disaster, cultivated the farm, operated the mill, and diligently attended all the religious meetings to which they belonged. James Mott's half brother, John Alsop, lived near him at Mamaroneck until about 1783, when he removed to Hudson, he being one of the original proprietors of that city. The mother of James Mott and of John Alsop, Sarah (Pearsall-Mott) Alsop, after she was a second time left a widow, spent some time with her son, James Mott, and with John Alsop, and died at John Alsop's house in Hudson in 9th month, 1800.

When peace was finally concluded in 1783, Anne Mott was fifteen years old. She had matured very young, and was a woman at twelve. Half a century later she sometimes told with a little laughter of riding, when she was hardly thirteen years old, one day with her father on horseback, as was then the usual method of travelling, when they met, at a brook where they stopped to water their horses, a somewhat distant neighbor who knew her father but did not recognize her, and they afterwards learned that he reported that James Mott was going to marry again, for he had met him riding with the young woman!

Her father had finally taken her from school when she was twelve years old and put her in charge of the house, her grandmother, Ann (Carpenter) Underhill, now a widow, being always an inmate with her. They had much company in the house and always visited much, and she usually went on horseback with her father. She thus rode once to Yearly Meeting at Philadelphia. She sometimes told of having gone to the Winter Quarterly Meeting in New York with her father, when the weather suddenly became very cold, the thermometer falling to zero, and their friends urged them to remain until the weather moderated. But they preferred to go home regardless of the cold. She wore on such occasions a broad-brimmed beaver hat with a very low crown, the broad brim tied down under the chin. Over her dress, in riding, she always wore a long skirt pinned in place, and under her outside wrap was pinned to her dress, her fine white apron, neatly folded, which she put on as soon as she took off the long skirt. For women were not fully dressed in those days, without a handsome, fine, white linen apron. On this occasion of returning on horse back from New York with the thermometer at zero, she said they suffered no discomfort. She put her pacer occasionally to his speed, and the rapid trot soon warmed her, and they made but one stop—at Westchester—to warm their hands.

CHAPTER III.

MARRIAGE AND SETTLEMENT IN THE MILL HOUSE AT COWBAY.

1785—1803.

Among the younger guests at the house of James Mott in Mamaroneck, about the time of the close of the Revolutionary war, one of the most frequent, and one of the most welcome, was the young Adam Mott, of Hempstead, James Mott's second cousin. Sixty years later Anne Mott told her granddaughter that the young Adam waited until she was fifteen years old before he made to her his proposal of marriage. When the question came before her father, his answer was that she was yet too young; they should wait at least till she was seventeen. Adam made reply that he had waited a long time already. But meantime she continued to occupy her place at the head of her father's house, and as one of the most charming maidens of Purchase Quarterly Meeting.

But her own marriage was soon after arranged. No record or tradition of its attendant festivities has reached me, but its accomplishment is recorded in the Purchase Monthly meeting records under date,—

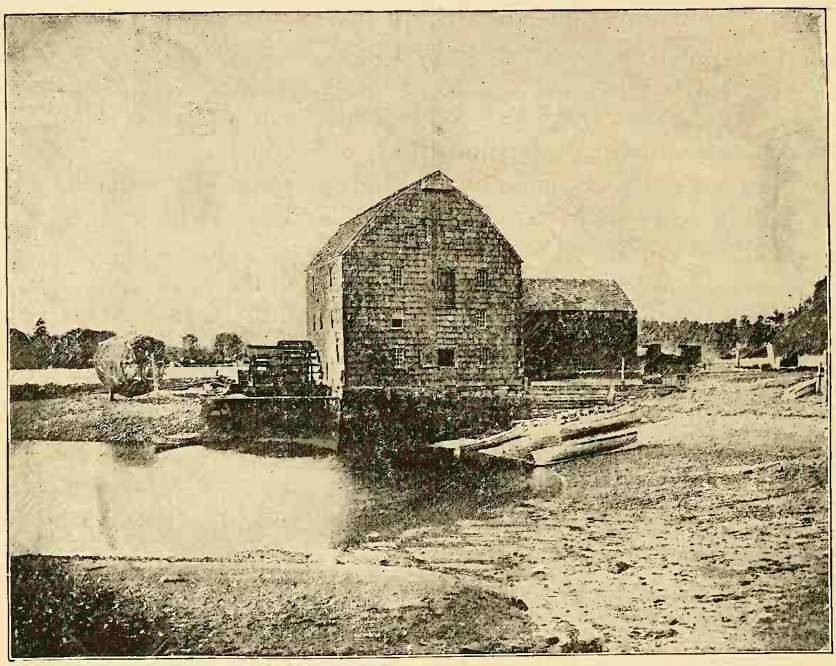
" 19th of 5th mo., 1785.

"At Mamaroneck meeting house, ADAM MOTT, of Cowneck, township of North Hempstead, L. I., son of ADAM,—to ANNE MOTT, of Mamaroneck, daughter of JAMES."

ADAM MOTT[4] was then in his twenty-third year, and his bride wanted nearly three months of being seventeen. Bridal tours were not then common among Friends, and the young husband brought his bride to his father's house. The elder ADAM[3] had himself, a few months before this, as above mentioned, on the 5th of 1st mo., 1785, brought home his second wife, and the step-mother, therefore, now ruled in the old homestead. Uncle Stephen Mott (the elder ADAM'S brother) and Aunt Amy and their family were the nearest neighbors. Their house was a quarter of a mile from the old homestead, and Stephen's farm was his share of the five or six hundred acres their father had divided between him and ADAM. In the town of North Hempstead were many Friends, and almost all Friends of note, as already stated, were also relatives of ADAM MOTT, and many of them near relatives.

But the " Cowneck meeting house," at what is now Manhasset, was five or six miles distant. The journey to meeting, and to the houses of

friends was often made on horseback. Anne Mott had been accustomed to horses from her early girlhood, and in her father's house, her horse was always exempted from rough work. And after she was married and taken to Cowneck, a Narraganset pacer came to her father-in-law's house for her use. It is a tradition that her father-in-law thought this a useless expense. There were always many horses on his farm, enough, he said, for all purposes. But one day he found it convenient to try his daughter-in-law's horse in his ride over his farm, and ever after, goes the tradition, he was unwilling to use any other.

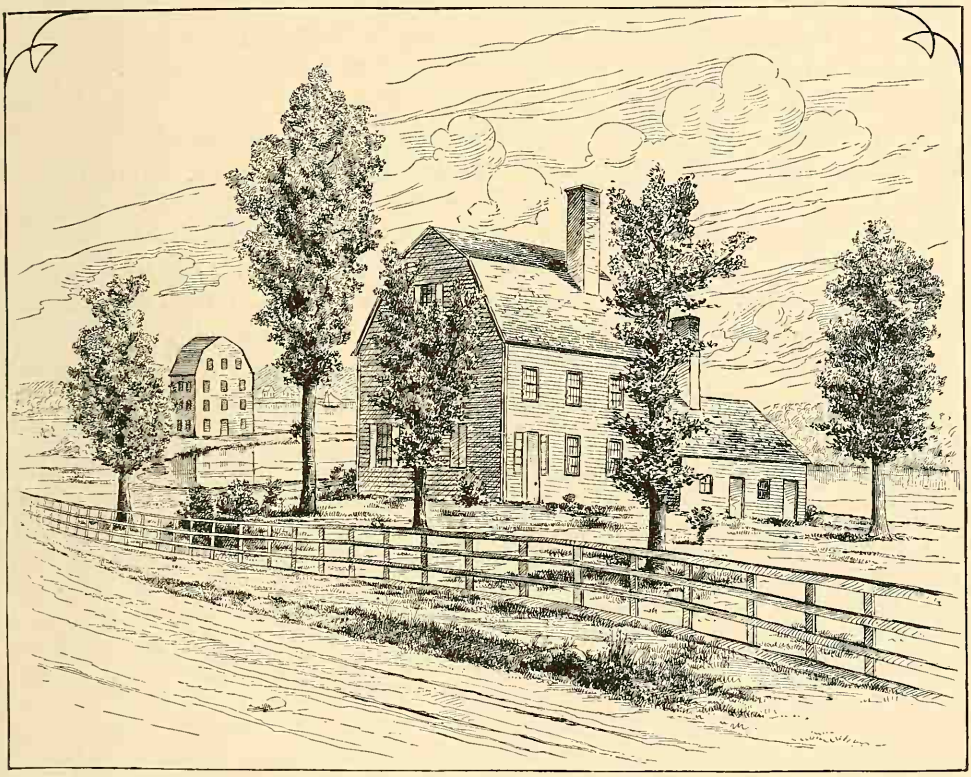


ADAM MOTT'S MILL AT COWBAY, 1789—1803.
From Photograph by Bashford Dean, 1883.

The situation of the young wife in the house of her husband's step-mother could not be independent, and a letter written many years later to one of her own daughters, who was living for a time in a rich father-in-law's house, recalls the griefs of these days, as seen through the consolation of later years—"though your situation,"—she writes to her daughter in 1815—"is not as you could wish, how many would view it as an enviable one * * Yet do not think I am insensible. Memory traces a similar allotment which was ours in days past and gone, nor have many pleasant scenes washed away the bitterness which still mingles with the recollection of what I then endured. But amidst all, the disposition to remember my blessings would frequently prevail. * *

And I now look back, and am ready to conclude I was learning a lesson for the regulation of my life, to be content with little, for a little of our own, then comprised all that we wished."

The young couple remained in the old homestead for several years. Here was born, on the 14th of 4th month, 1786, their first born, a daughter, to whom they gave the name of her mother's mother, Mary. She died when nearly six years old, on the 16th of 2d mo., 1792. And here was born to them on the 20th of 6th mo., 1788, their eldest son, to whom they gave the name of his mother's father, and called him James. The young father desired that the name Adam, so long hereditary in the family, should not be continued in his children.



THE MILL HOUSE AT COWBAY.
Residence of Adam Mott, 1790 to 1803, From Sketch made 1880.

The younger ADAM[4], while still giving his care to his father's farm, was seeking at the same time, to build up a business for himself, and operated a tide mill which he had hired at Cowbay, on the west side of the Neck, about two miles from the old homestead. Finding this enterprise successful he built, with his father's aid, a new dam and mill on another bay in the same neighborhood, and attached to it a farm of sixty acres, with comfortable farm buildings. The elder ADAM[3] who had been in failing health for some time, died in the 18th of 12th mo., 1790. The

old homestead was left to the youngest son, Samuel, then in his eighteenth year, and his brother ADAM[4] moved with his little family into his own house adjacent to the mill. The crane was hanged in the new house and the young wife was now mistress at her own fireside. In this house were born four of her children. Sarah, named after ADAM'S[4] mother, born 4th month 6th, 1791; Mary Underhill, named after her mother's mother, b. on the 28th of 2d mo., 1793; Abigail, b. 6th of 8th mo., 1795, and Thomas Underhill, b. 19th of 2d mo., 1798. And here also the infant Thomas died, about three and a half years old, on the 1st of 7th mo., 1801. Meanwhile the farm and the mill prospered under diligent hands. The mill was chiefly employed in merchant work, buying wheat largely and sending the flour to New York for sale. It was said that one year the mill made a profit of half a dollar on every bushel of wheat it manufactured. Robert Mott, Anne's younger brother, was the New York agent of the mill, as he was also of his father's mill, at Mamaroneck. The young ADAM[4] was becoming rich.

The cares and the successes of business brought no neglect of their social or religious life. During all these years frequent intercourse was kept up with Anne's father's house, at Mamaroneck, both by visits and by letter. Her father, a man now for many years, as above related, in easy circumstances, and of much culture as well as of a most devout and benevolent life, was a frequent letter writer, and exacted letters from his daughter and also from Adam. As indication of the high and religious character of this intercourse some extracts from these letters are here given.

In 1790, JAMES MOTT accompanied Hugh Judge, an esteemed minister of those days, on a religious visit to the Eastern States. At this date James Mott was in his forty-eighth year. He writes:

"NEWPORT, 16th of 6th mo., 1790.

"Dearly Beloved ANNE—We have been on this Island since yesterday week. The yearly meeting ended yesterday. * * Hugh Judge goes over to Narraganset, to take the meetings there, and so on to Greenwich, Providence, Smithfield, and the meetings thereaway, * * then to Nantucket, so that we shall probably be here for four or five weeks, which will afford opportunity for thee to write to me, which I hope thou wilt not omit. * * I have often, since I left home, remembered my beloved children with endeared nearness, and thee, at seasons, in a peculiar manner, with fervent wishes that thy steppings along may be with care and watchfulness, attending carefully and devoutly to the pointings of the Divine finger, tho' ever so contrary to natural inclination. * * That there may be a cheerful surrender of the whole heart and every faculty of the mind, now in the bloom of youth and flower of thy day. * * I don't wish this for thee only, but for dear Adam also; but I did find my mind turned more particularly towards thee, and I wish I had words to express or convey to thy understanding the desire I often feel for thy careful walking and steady perseverance in thy appointed duty and station. I must now conclude, being near time for us

to be moving towards meeting, which is this day at Conanicut. My love to your father, and accept a large share to yourselves, from your affectionate father, James Mott. My dear companion desires his dear love to you."

Another letter to "Anne Mott, Cowneck," is dated:

"NEWPORT, 26th of 7th mo., 1790.

"Dear Child—Thine of 4th inst. came acceptably to hand, and wish I had more time to answer it; being now almost meeting time, but may just say that I wish thee may endeavor to search for the cause why thou art so beset to know the way to walk in, and whether it does not arise from a want of proper attention to the little discoveries of duty, or in other words, to a faithful coming up to the discovery of little things. * * Take care my dear thou don't fall short of attending to what thou sees to do. I believe it will tend to greater weakness to conclude that because what appears to be thy duty is nothing more than from observation, or reading the experience of others that have been led in the same way, that therefore thou dare not, to use thy own expression, undertake to correct some things in thyself, lest thou do what thou art not bid, or afraid of doing something that will be in thy own will. I do most sincerely wish thou may be guarded in this spot, believing it a dangerous one. What matters by what means Providence permits thy judgment to be convinced, or thy duty pointed out, so that it is but convinced and thy duty shown thee. Don't my dear wait for or expect any great or clear illuminations respecting many little matters. Whatever we are convinced it is wrong for us to continue in, we must come out of, or it will remain a let or hinderance to us, and be as the little foxes that hurt the tender vine. * * Must now break off to go to meeting. After meeting we purpose to go on toward Providence to be at Mo. Meeting there to-morrow, and so take several Mo. Meetings that follow each other day after day. * * We have been very diligent in traveling and attending meetings, since the Yearly Meeting; have been at about as many as there have been days. Divers of them in places where no meetings are held. * * One of them in a Baptist Meeting House, in which the Priest insisted on our going in the pulpit, in which he accompanied us. He sat on one side of my companion and I on the other, and at the close of the testimony expressed his satisfaction in as full terms as could well be made. Don't think we shall be out of the reach of letters under five or six weeks; therefore hope thee or Adam will not fail writing, indeed both of you, for I get very few letters. My love to your father and mother, Uncle Stephen and family, and dear children accept a large share from your loving and affectionate father, James Mott."

He wrote in a similar tone under date "Nine Partners," 16 of 8th mo., 1792," when there with a committee on a religious visit. In 1793 James Mott accompanied Elias Hicks on a religious visit to the New England Yearly Meeting, and wrote to Adam and Anne Mott under date,—

"NANTUCKET, 3d of 7th Mo., 1793.

"Dear Children—Although we have been on the Island several days. I did not know but I should have to leave without finding time to write

to you. * * I wrote you from Newport, and you, and Richard and Abby from Bedford. * * We have taken all the meetings between Newport and Bedford. Our horses are to be sent to Woodshole, from which we expect to take the meetings on our way to Boston, and the prospect hath not yet opened with much clearness for going much, if any, further east than Lynn or Salem. * * Elias has had some very close, trying services on this Island (as well as in some other places), but having cleared himself, says he now feels easy and clear of the place, and willing to leave it, which has been the case wherever we have yet been, which is a great satisfaction to himself and no small one to me, and there is great instruction in it, not only to observe the peace and satisfaction of mind that flows from a consciousness of having faithfully done what was required, but a getting along with clearness from place to place and one service to another. Oh, the advantage that results in doing our allotted part of the great family concerns with faithfulness, cheerfulness and in proper season. The desire that I witness that this may be your experience is beyond what my tongue or pen can describe. Elias having several times called on me to retire to bed, must quit, and am your loving father, James Mott."

ADAM and ANNE MOTT stood high among Friends, and were active in all the interests of the Society. ADAM MOTT[4] was Clerk of Westbury Monthly Meeting, at least as early as 1795, and his wife was Clerk of the Women Meeting soon after, at least as early as 1799.

MARRIAGE OF SAMUEL MOTT AND ELIZABETH BARNARD.

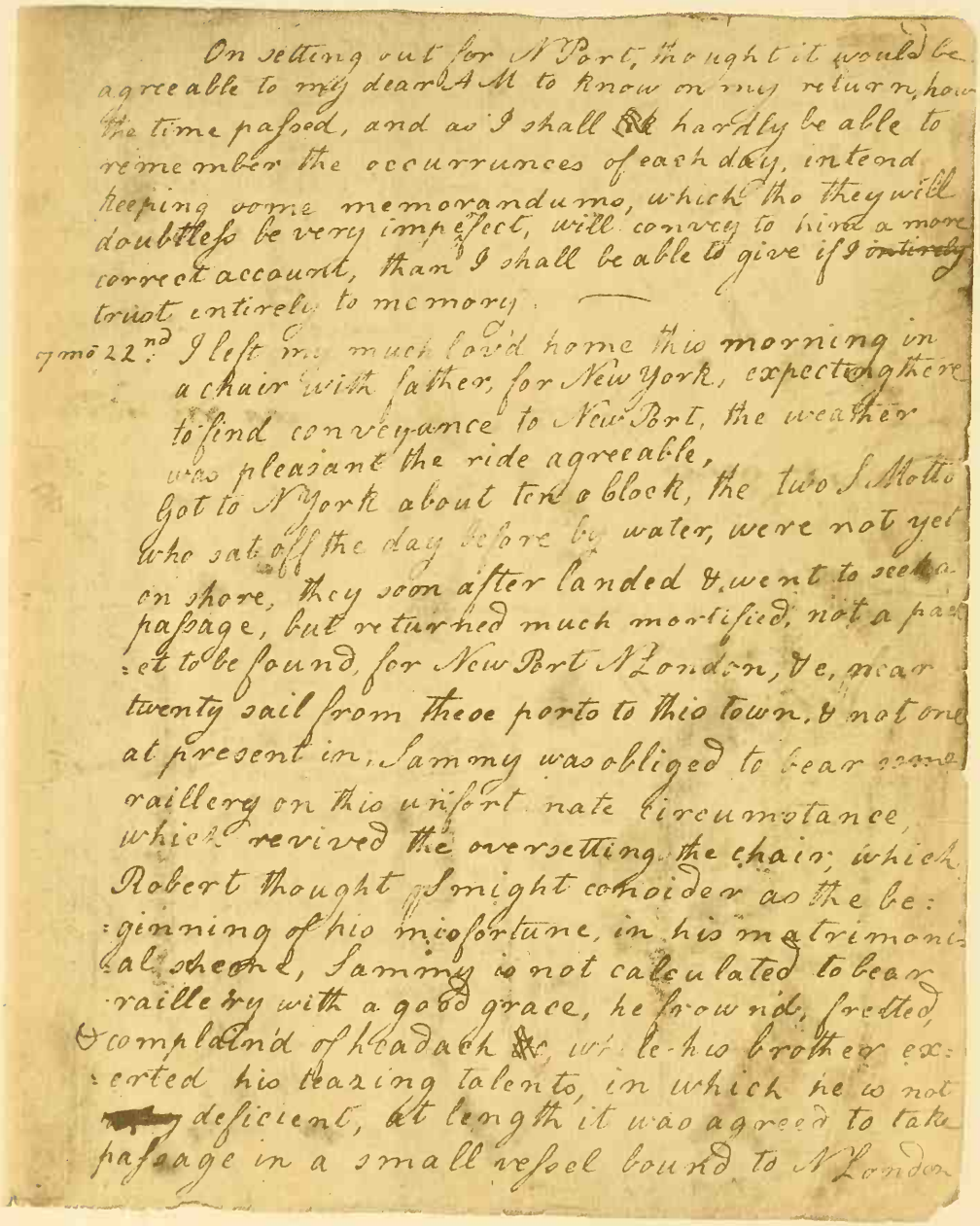
In 1794 Anne's youngest brother Samuel, was married at Newport, R. I., to Elizabeth Barnard, daughter of Mathew and Avis (Slocum)* Barnard, and Anne with her father and her brother Robert accompanied him to the wedding. She kept a rough journal of the trip for the benefit of her husband, which is still extant as originally written in her own hand. It is interesting, as showing the methods of travel then in use, and her views of what she saw, and is here transcribed. She appears to have gone over to her father's house in Mamaroneck, and commenced the journey from there with him. She was then 26 years old, and left at home three children, Mary, the youngest, being about seventeen months old.

* Avis Slocum, daughter of John and Martha Slocum and younger sister of Mary Slocum, who married Capt. Elihu Smith, of New Bedford, (father-in-law of Richard Mott, of Toledo.) Avis Slocum married first Sylvanus Folger, by whom she had one son, Sylvanus, b. 1778, d. 1792. She married second Mathew Barnard, whose daughter Elizabeth, by a previous wife, it was, who married Samuel Mott, in 1794, and hence she was only a step-daughter of Aunt Avis, but the relationship always seemed so intimate that it was usually forgotten that she was not of the Slocum blood. After the death of Mathew Barnard, Avis married John Alsop, half brother of James Mott, so that she has always been "Aunt Avis," to all the descendants of Anne Mott.

THE FIRST PAGE OF ANNE MOTT'S JOURNAL

Going from New York to Newport, R. I. 7th month 1794

To be present at the Marriage of her Brother Samuel to Elizabeth Barnard.



On setting out for N Port, thought it would be agreeable to my dear M to know on my return, how the time passed, and as I shall hardly be able to remember the occurrences of each day, intend keeping some memorandums, which tho they will doubtless be very imperfect, will convey to him a more correct account, than I shall be able to give if I entirely trust entirely to memory.

7mo 22d. I left my much loved home this morning in a chair with father, for New York, expecting there to find conveyance to New Port, the weather was pleasant the ride agreeable,
got to N York about ten o'clock, the two J Motts who sat off the day before by water, were not yet on shore, they soon after landed & went to seek a passage, but returned much mortified, not a pas: et to be found, for New Port N London, &c, near twenty sail from these ports to this town, & not one at present in, Sammy was obliged to bear some raillery on this unfort nate circumstance, which revived the oversetting the chair; which Robert thought I might consider as the be: ginning of his misfortune, in his matrimoni: al scheme, Sammy is not calculated to bear raillery with a good grace, he frowned, fretted & complained of headach &c, while his brother ex: erted his teazing talents, in which he is not deficient, at length it was agreed to take passage in a small vessel bound to N London

Fac-Simile, reduced from Six to Five inches.

to sail to-morrow at twelve. Drank tea in the afternoon with Aunt H. Hawxhurst, and in the evening went to Aunt P. Priors to see my poor little cousins, Nancy and Betsey Underhill. These children of my dear Uncle A. Underhill were always very near to me, and increasingly so now, that I see them deprived in so short a time of both their excellent parents.

23d. Lodged last night at bachelors hall, as Robert calls it. They have got their house cleverly furnished, and while they maintain their present regularity of conduct, it will do very well. I am much pleased with Robert's companion, Joseph Byrnes. There is a softness and mildness in his manners that is very engaging. Came on board at the time. There is not much pleasure in prospect in this sail. The cabin small. Accommodations indifferent. Several men passengers and no woman but myself. We have some books; with these and my own reflections, the time will be at least supportable.

24th. Have been employed since in the vessel in reading the second volume of Moore's journey in France in 1792. It contains many interesting accounts, but none more so to me than the trial and execution of the unfortunate Louis, whose mildness and benevolence, with me, outbalanced the errors he was guilty of, when I believe he was mostly misled by others. Unhappy man! What superior woe was thine! Hurled from a state of the highest earthly splendor, to the lowest depths of human misery, imprisoned, degraded, and wantonly insulted; and added to these, the almost insupportable anxiety thou must have felt for the fate of a beloved wife, children and sister! Oft has the tear of pity been shed to his memory and to that of all his suffering family, by an inhabitant of America's happy land, who, a stranger to the cruel necessity of politics, feels with full force every tender tie, and mourns with sympathizing sorrow the devastations made by the dreadful tyrant, War.

Five in the afternoon. The passage has been so far pleasant, and we are now in sight of our port, with a fair wind. * * The differences of character of our fellow passengers, gives rise to some diverting occurrences. One of them, a Hollander, who has resided some years in this country, I have conceived a favorable opinion of, from the respectful kindness he shows the company and his manner of treating his servant. We were on board some time before we could discern whether he was the parent or the master. Another of them, a young fellow from Vermont, has a native genius for drollery, which is very diverting. * *

25th. Arrived at N. London about 8 o'clock last evening. Went to Pooles, an excellent tavern. Had some difficulty in getting lodging, as they were very full of company, but at length we were well accommodated. What I have observed at this place convinces me of the truth of a remark I have often heard of the good manners of the Connecticut people. There was a number of well dressed men here all the evening and morning, and their conversation evinced that they were persons of good sense and well-informed, and their manners were polite. N. London appears to be a flourishing little place. The buildings are pretty good, but very irregularly built.

Newport, 26th. Had a very disagreeable passage from N. London

(which we left about 9 in the morning) to this place. The vessel small, a dull sailer, and the wind light, and added to these a number of noisy passengers on board. Did not reach Newport until near midnight. Went immediately on shore, and tried to get admittance at a tavern, but could not, went to another, but met with the same account as at the other, that they had not a single spare bed. We were under the necessity of staying in the street or of waking our cousin Howlands. The last was chosen. They received us with kindness and insisted on its being our home while in Newport, which invitation I gladly accept.

Have not yet seen Sammy's Eliza. Sally Howland went this morning to inform her of our arrival. She said on her return that Eliza turned pale when she delivered her message. I pity her. The first interview will doubtless be distressing. Aunt Carpenter spent the afternoon with us.

28th. I have been so much engaged these two days past, as not to write one word in my journal, and have now taken up my pen to pay off what I am in arrears. At six, seventh day afternoon, Sammy came with his Eliza and her mother. On being introduced she bade me welcome to Newport in a graceful manner. She is not handsome, but her countenance is pleasing and her manners agreeable.* She does not seem to be of a very lively, sprightly disposition, but rather of a reserved, sedate turn, yet her dress is gay. But it appears to me to proceed rather from a desire of being like the rest of her acquaintances than from a real fondness for dress. Her mother is one of the most agreeable women I ever saw. They appear to live in entire friendship with each other. They gave us an invitation to dine with them on First day, which we readily accepted, and were pleased with our entertainment. After meeting in the afternoon, Sammy and Eliza accompanied us to John Earl's, where we drank tea, then stopped a few minutes at Robert Lawton's and back to our lodging.

Second day, in the morning went to Avis Barnard's and then to Aunt Carpenter's, where we spent the rest of the day, only calling a little while on our return at Friend Slocum's, and viewing their garden which is very pleasant.

29th. Went this morning to view the cotton manufactory, and the carding machine. The spinning machine is so contrived that one person spins three threads at a time. The weavers work very fast with a spring shuttle. From there went to the duck manufactory. This is a beautiful sight, twenty-four young women, all of them neat, some of them pretty, spinning with such cheerfulness as to me evidenced their happness, in a large airy room, from every side of which there is the most delightful prospect. * * They spin with both hands, very dexterously. They were respectful to us and kind to each other.

These manufactories are yet in their infancy, and it is not probable from the present appearance of this town, that they will arrive at any great degree of perfection very shortly. There appears to be but little business carried on here, though it is thought it is increasing. The situation of this place is very pleasant, and the climate agreeable. These advantages, joined to the engaging manners of the inhabitants, render it

* Uncle Richard Mott, of Toledo, who knew her twenty years and more after this date, said she was a handsome dark eyed woman.

a place of great resort for those from the Southern States, whose circumstances enable them to leave their sultry air during the Summer months for a cooler situation. The air is so tempered here with the sea breezes, as seldom to be very uncomfortably hot for many hours at once.

After our walk returned to our lodgings, and rested awhile, then went to the Mo. Meeting. It is not so large as I expected. Sammy and Eliza this day had their answer.* They behaved very prettily. They seem to be very fond of galleries here, there being three very long ones in this meeting house, and they have been mostly filled since we have been here; although their meeting is but small. It would appear singular with us to see the galleries filled as they are in this place, by a parcel of gay young fellows, without a single mark of Quakerism about them, except here and there by way of contrast, a plain friend or two. Another circumstance that is unusual in our Meeting Houses is the benches for men and women facing each other. This has been distressing to me, as I could not raise my eyes without meeting those of the men. After meeting went to Friend Slocum's and dined. They are a most engaging family.

30th. This day have made two very agreeable visits. One in the morning to E. Cornel's to see our valued friend, Elizabeth Mott, and in the afternoon to Thomas Robinson's where we found the amiable Molly Morton who had kindly called to see me soon after our arrival.

1st of 8th Mo. Yesterday was so busy a day (it being the wedding), that I had no time to write till evening, when I was too much fatigued,—so postponed it. Shall now endeavor to make up deficiencies. On going down stairs yesterday morning heard the welcome news of Robert Mott being in town, and soon after this beloved brother of mine came in. My joy at seeing him suffered some abatement on finding he brought no account from those dearest to me—for indeed the time seems long since I have heard anything from my loved friends at home. After breakfast cousin Polly Howland, father, and myself went with Robert to Avis Barnard's to introduce him to Eliza. From there went to meeting. I had the pleasure of sitting in the gallery also this day, as did A. B., and Betsey Slocum—the latter sitting next to the bride. Robert sat next to Sammy. Father next to him. They both spoke exceedingly well, and behaved with much composure. The meeting was pretty large —many very gay people—and all was conducted very quietly. At dinner—which was a very good one—there were about forty persons. The

*For the information of a generation unfamiliar with the forms of "Passing Meeting" of a hundred years ago, the following extracts are quoted from the Book of Discipline of the Yearly Meeting of Friends as revised and adopted 6th Mo., 1810:

"Proposals of marriage are to be presented in writing to the preparative meeting of which the woman is a member, signed by the parties. * * * Said written proposal is to be forwarded by the preparative meeting to the monthly meeting, where the couple intending marriage shall not be required to attend personally to make their proposals. If no reasons appear to prevent it, their intentions should be minuted, and inquiry made concerning consent of parents and guardians. * * * Two Friends are to be appointed to inquire into the man's clearness for proceeding in marriage; and a similar care should be taken by the woman's meeting concerning the woman. If she be a widow, having children, two or more men Friends should also be appointed, to see that their rights are legally secured. * * * At the second monthly meeting they are to appear personally, both in the man's and woman's meeting, and the man on their behalf, is to request the answer of the meeting to their proposal of marriage; and should the committee report that there appears to be no obstruction to their proceeding, the meeting is to leave them at liberty to accomplish their marriage, according to the order of our society, but it is not to be done on the day of the monthly meeting, nor on the first day of the week."

afternoon passed very pleasantly, the company (a large proportion of which was young people), were agreeable, cheerful and did not, I believe, in any instance, transgress the bounds of moderation.

This morning I passed at A. Barnard's; found but little company there. Dined at the widow Carpenter's. She is a valuable woman, and has two clever daughters, which are her whole family. She has a brick house, and tells me there are but two or three more in the town. The houses are mostly wood, and many of them very poor. They have each a garden, generally well stocked with vegetables for use, but I have not seen many flower gardens.

In the afternoon rode about five miles out of town with A. B, and returned just at evening. The weather was pleasant, the country beautiful, * * and with such charming company as A. B., the ride could not fail of being agreeable.

2d. We proposed setting off this morning for Bedford, but the weather proved so warm, and my beloved home so powerfully attracted me that we once concluded to give over intended visit there, and return directly home, but on reconsidering the matter felt such a desire to see our beloved friends in that place, that it seemed as if I could not return home with any degree of satisfaction, and not make them a visit. On proposing it to father he readily agreed to go, and hired a horse and chaise for the purpose, but as it was very warm thought it best not to leave town till evening, and employed the morning in making some short but agreeable visits. Went to Philip Robinson's to dinner accompanied by A. B., R. M., S. M. and E. M. We were kindly entertained by Philip and his agreeable wife. Set out about five in the afternoon for Portsmouth. The weather was now grown cooler, and we had a pleasant ride to our cousin Jacob Mott's, which we reached just at dark and met with a welcome reception. It is a sweet place, neatness adorns every part of the house and its amiable inhabitants.

3d. Left our kind friend J. M.'s this morning at six for Bedford, and rode to Howland's Ferry, five miles. Were obliged to wait a little as the boat was on the other side. It is proposed to build a bridge, at this place, which it is thought will be of great advantage to Newport. From this Ferry to Bedford is eighteen miles of as bad road as ever I went over in a carriage. It may be guessed at by the time it took us to ride it. We left the Ferry a little after eight, and although we were pretty diligent, did not reach Bedford until half past one. We were affectionately welcomed by Charity Rotch and her worthy mother, Mary Rodman. Meeting father was affecting to the latter as it revived the loss of her excellent daughter, S. Rodman, between whom and father there subsisted an entire friendship. Their afternoon meeting begins at three, —thus we had but little time to rest. We went to meeting (notwithstanding that I was considerably fatigued with riding), and saw after meeting Cornelius Wing. He seemed much pleased to see me, as I also was on seeing him. He came with his wife to T. Rotch's and spent an hour with us. Sally Hammond, a sister of Avis Barnard, also called on us as soon as she heard of our being there. T. Rotch is not at home, being gone to accompany Joshua Evans on a religious visit within the compass of this Yearly Meeting. His brother, W. Rotch, came in soon after we got here,—went with us to meeting, and returned and spent the rest of the day with us. This meeting passed in an agreeable, and I hope, instructive manner, in hearing read the little journal kept by

dear Sally Rodman when she accompanied her Sister Fisher to Philadelphia. It evinces the improvement this beloved young woman made of the talents committed to her—such sweetness, such innocency, joined with such real and unaffected piety, and as much filial tenderness is breathed through every part, as must I think make lasting impressions on those that are favored with a perusal of it. That it may be indelibly impressed upon my heart, and excite to a greater earnestness in endeavoring to copy her bright example is the ardent wish that at present clothes my mind.

4th. Passed the fore part of this day at our lodgings very pleasantly, in the sweet instructive converse of our friends, M. R., and C. R. The widow Rodman, and her daughter Molly accompanied us to W. Rotch's to dinner. His name is too well known to receive any addition from my poor praise, although his kindness and attention will be often gratefully remembered by me. Eliza Rotch is a lovely, amiable woman and has five sweet children. With what tender sensations did I embrace the little innocents, as it forcibly revived the dear remembrance of those I have left at home, who with my beloved A. M.,* are oft the loved companions of my mind, and force the rising sigh in the midst of a cheerful circle.

In the afternoon Charity Rotch and her sister Molly went with me to drink tea with Sally Hammond. She is a sweet, pretty woman, and has a charming baby, which again excited in my heart maternal tenderness. Her husband is an agreeable man, although he is of a profession that does not prepossess in his favor, being a lawyer.

5th. This morning was, I hope, profitably spent in the perusal of Hannah Fisher's account of the illness and death of her beloved sister * * Went to dinner at Thomas Hazard's again, accompanied by M. Rodman and her daughter Molly. We met with a kind reception from another amiable branch of this extraordinary family. They have several pretty children, who seem to inherit the excellent qualities possessed by their beloved relatives in more advanced life. In the afternoon A. Hazard. her sister and myself went to see a considerable collection of natural curiosities belonging to W. and T. Rotch. * * * From thence to the spermaceti works, which to me were more pleasing than the other, because of its utility. * * * * * After tea father, C. Rotch and myself took a walk to C. Wing's, whom we found, with his wife, expecting us. After passing an agreeable half-hour, we returned to T. Hazard's, calling a few minutes on the way at James Davis.' As we expect to leave this place early to-morrow morning, were under the necessity of taking leave of some of our friends this evening, which I cannot do without regret. The kindness I have experienced from them, joined to the amiableness of their manners, and the strong attachment I felt for their loved and lamented S. Rodman, has exceedingly endeared them to me. * * *

This town appears to me very different from Newport. It is small but thriving, * * * Charity Rotch has been my companion each night since I have been here, and as we are both pretty communicative, have not found much time to sleep. This evening, as we expect to rise early in the morning, concluded to retire early, but on going to

* Anne Mott always spoke of her husband as "Adam Mott," and even when speaking to her children, or her nearest relatives, thus gave him his full name, or, as in this journal, gave his initials, A. M.

our room Charity found some letters from her father, from which she read so many excellent paragraphs as kept us up till after twelve o'clock. * * * *

6th. This morning, after taking an affectionate leave of my much loved friends, the widow Rodman and her daughter Molly, left Bedford. Father set off before us on horseback in order to attend the select quarterly meeting at Portsmouth, which begins this day at eleven. Tommy Hazard rode in the chaise with me, and William Rotch and Charity, in their chaise accompanied us, expecting to meet Joshua Jones and Thomas Rotch at Portsmouth. Tommy Hazard is a sensible, agreeable man, and the ride would have been pleasant, notwithstanding the rough roads, had it not been for being detained by W. Rotch's chaise breaking down twice. William and Tommy set about mending it very cheerfully, and in about an hour fitted it so as to proceed. We had not rode far after crossing Howland's ferry before we saw T. Rotch coming to meet his beloved Charity. * * * On arriving at J. Mott's met with an unaffected welcome from every one of this kind family, and found many friends there, who, though mostly strangers, treated me with affectionate kindness. My reception in every part of this country where I have yet been, has indeed been very flattering, and though I am sensible that I owe a part of the attention shown me here to their esteem for father, yet the greater part arises from the kind disposition of the inhabitants, who possess, generally speaking, the greatest share of pleasant affability of any people I have ever been acquainted with. * * *

7th. This day is the quarterly meeting, which was large. Our friend, J. Evans, appeared in testimony in the meeting for worship, and after the meetings were separated, came into the women's part, and was led to open the great deviations, manifest in our Society here as well as in other places, from plainness, particularly in the furniture of their houses, —feeling, he said, necessitated to mention some particulars—large looking-glasses, plate, china, and such wooden furniture as requires rubbing; yet did not wish such things should be destroyed, but used freely in the families which had them, and not handed down to posterity to increase their burdens, as he was fully persuaded that the next generation would have to tread the path of self denial we had departed from. * * *

8th. This morning my beloved friend, C. Rotch, took leave of us to return home, not without some regret, as she expressed, on leaving the Island while we are here, and although our acquaintance has been short, I believe we mutually feel a friendship which time nor distance will not efface. In the afternoon J. Evans, and his amiable companion, T. Rotch, with some other friends, went to a little island called Prudence, about three miles distant, on which there is a few families of Friends settled, to have a meeting, and we taking leave of our kind relatives, set off for Newport, taking our friend James Mitchell in the way, where we passed a few hours very agreeably. Got to cousin Howland's about sunset, and had, I believe, a sincere welcome, and had the satisfaction of finding a letter from my dear A. M., waiting for me, informing me of his and the children's continued health. This account was very agreeable, as it was the first I had received since I had left home. I also received an acceptable letter from B. P., of Salem. The receipt of these letters, and the company of my Newport friends, dissipated the gloom that I felt cover my mind since parting with my dear C. Rotch.

After drinking tea went immediately to Avis Barnard's and was received by her, my brother and sister with the greatest, and I flatter my-

self, sincerest marks of affection. * * * Betsey Slocum* came in soon after I got there. She is a most interesting girl,—her person is lovely, and her manners so engaging that it is next to impossible not to love her. I promise myself much satisfaction in her company as she intends accompanying Eliza home in a few weeks.

Have heard this evening that a packet expects to sail to-morrow morning for New York, and although it would have been agreeable to have spent a day or two longer at Newport, feel not willing to let the opportunity of returning pass without embracing it, as there will not probably be another in some time, yet am willing to indulge a hope that she will not sail quite so soon as is proposed as there are many friends in this town I much wish to pass a little more time with, or at least to bid affectionate farewell—particularly Aunt Carpenter's, Friend Slocum's and T. Robinson's families. Another reason for wishing a little longer stay, is expecting to see J. Evans and T. Rotch, whom we did not take leave of. * * *

9th. Was waked this morning at six by father informing that the packet would sail in three-quarters of an hour. Immediately rose, and sent word of going to A. Barnard, who came directly down with Sammy and Eliza, and soon after B. Slocum came in. After breakfast, bidding Cousin M. Howland farewell (from whom with her husband we have received the kindest attention), went down to the wharf accompanied by the before mentioned, and cousin T. Howland, who has exerted himself on every occasion to render our stay agreeable. They came on board the vessel, and after seeing us agreeably settled, left us with regret which we could not also help feeling. * * * The wind being fresh and fair we had run a considerable distance and entertained the hope of dining at home to-morrow; but suddenly our hopes were blasted. About four in the afternoon there was an appearance of a squall, on which our captain thought it prudent to settle all sail, which was immediately done and we lay awaiting its approach. It did not, however, prove so violent as was expected, but the wind coming ahead, and it raining fast, induced our captain to put back fifteen miles to Fisher's Island; that being the nighest harbor. This measure was not very agreeable, but as it appeared to be dictated by prudence shall endeavor to be satisfied with it. The accommodation on board this vessel are good, and the passengers, among whom there is no woman but myself, are respectful.

10th. This morning on getting up found the vessel under sail, and the wind more favorable than last evening, so my prospects again brighten up.

MARRIAGE OF ROBERT MOTT AND LYDIA P. STANSBURY.

When Anne Mott and her father, as above related, went to Newport to be present at the marriage of her youngest brother Samuel, "in the good order observed among Friends," her second brother Robert, to the anxiety of his father, was making love to a charming young lady in the fashionable world. Samuel was not yet quite 21 years old. Robert was 23, Miss Lydia Philadelphia Stansbury had reached her eighteenth birthday the preceding February. Not only was her family "fashion-

* Sister of Mary Slocum, who afterward married Capt. Elihu Smith, of New Bedford, and became the mother of Elizabeth M. Smith, who in 1828 married Richard Mott, Jr.

able,"—her father was a soldier; an officer in the British army, and a resolute Tory in the Revolutionary war. He was paymaster in the British army in Philadelphia, and when the city was taken by the Americans in 1778, he was allowed twenty-four hours in which to leave the city. He took refuge in Morristown, N. J. Lydia then three years old—always remembered her terror when the soldiers searched the house for him after his flight, thrusting bayonets into beds to discover whether he was hid there.

The Stansburys were a family of education, force, and high character. But Lydia's father, Joseph, had his peculiarities. One of his daughters he named Mary Americana, another Matilda Britannica. He had three sons, Samuel, Arthur and Abraham,—all men of mark. Col. Stansbury, U. S. Engineers, who made noted surveys in the Rocky Mountains in 1846–8, was a grandson. Mrs. Kirkland, the authoress, was a granddaughter. Arthur, the son, was long connected with the *National Intelligencer*, a Washington newspaper of high rank in its day. Another son was a Presbyterian minister in Albany.

Robert Mott was of a most devout spirit, and was always on the most intimate and affectionate terms with his father. He desired "to be founded on a sure foundation" he wrote to his father four years before this, when but nineteen. "It must be with me," he added, "a resignation of my whole heart, if I would wish to obtain peace of mind." And his father answered from Nantucket, where he was with Elias Hicks on a religious visit, 8th mo. 31st, 1790. * * *

"An unreserved obedience to the discoveries of truth in the secret of thy mind,—this, dear Robert, is the foundation thou must build on, if ever thou build aright. * * * Therefore, dear child, let thy obedience keep pace with knowledge, in one thing as well as another. Yes in everything. I feel that for thee, while I am writing, that is beyond my expression, but must conclude. * * * My endeared love is to thee and to thy brothers and sister, from thy affectionate father, James Mott."

Thus they had written in 1790. And now in 1794 Robert wanted to marry this young lady of fashion. Of course it would forfeit his place "in Meeting—" a humiliation to Robert as well as to his father. And Robert desired to furnish the house to which he was to bring his bride, somewhat in the manner in which the Stansburys lived. Lydia was accustomed to a piano. Friends never had pianos, and counted music with rioting. His father's opposition made Robert very unhappy. If his father "turned his back on him," he said, "it would be more than he could support." His father could not speak unkindly to him, and perhaps his expostulation were therefore only the more difficult to resist. He wrote to Robert in New York as follows:

"MAMARONECK, 26th of 4th mo., 1795.

"Dear Robert:

"I received thine by Samuel, and find by it, contrary to my wishes, that some of the articles of furniture I objected to are procured. I also

note thy reasons therefore, and wish they had been better founded than on the customs of the place, Lydia's education, and thy not knowing I had any material objection to them. With respect to the first—custom—it will never paliate wrong things, whether in this, that, or the other place, or having this, that, or the other person's conduct for its support, however pious or religious they may be. * *

"May I just say to thy second reason, viz: Lydia's education—I am willing to make every allowance for education and other circumstances, and will therefore put her education in one scale, and her disposition of condescension,* and thy education and influence with her in the other, and see whether the balance will not be against thee, whether this reason of thine has any weight. I believe thou wilt say it has not, or I have been wrongly informed of her disposition.

"As to thy not knowing I had any material objection to the use of those things. I could wish they had been omitted on better grounds than my disapprobation. I thought thou had known my sentiments on this subject, at least so far that I believe custom has led mankind into error in many things that are now in use, and not used because they are most useful, but because they please and gratify a vain mind in ourselves and others, a mind that is not governed by the simplicity of the gospel, and therefore needs subjecting instead of gratifying. * *

"Then follow no custom, sanctioned by any authority that does not produce peace of mind; this dear child is my view, in my communication of this kind to thee. * * But my view in taking up the pen at this time, was something more than I have yet expressed, and that is to request that if thou art fully determined to leave the Society in thy marriage, which thou knows how painful it is to me, and the reason why it is so, yet, as I said, if thou art determined, let it be accomplished in a way as little objectionable as may be, and with as little parade, avoiding all those customs thou knows I have an objection to, lest thou add afflictions to the trials of

thy affectionate father, James Mott."

No word of unkindness towards Lydia, nor even of objection to her, personally, anywhere appears. They were married in July, 1795, and she won the heart of the father as she had of the son. The father took her in his arms and kissed her, and called her daughter,—and his own daughter was not dearer to him for the rest of his life. A few days after the marriage, (7th mo. 26th, 1795) writing to Robert in urgent solicitations to "an unreserved obedience to the secret yet clear intimations of duty"—he adds—

—"When I have at times looked towards thee, and thy and my beloved Lydia, and a secret hope has led to contemplate the mutual joy, comfort and satisfaction that not only you would witness and enjoy in each other, but that I should partake with you, in your full surrender and dedication to the best of Masters, how it hath ravished my soul. Oh, may you my dear children improve every opportunity to make yourselves happy, and me joyous. And bear in mind that the Great Master has said, 'he that will be my desciple must first deny himself, and take up his daily cross and follow me.' These

* It is evident that James Mott uses the word condescension here in the sense of amiable concession or compliance.

are the terms—the only terms; don't, dear children, stumble at them, but embrace them now in the flower and bloom of life, that his peace which so much surpasses all the pleasures, delights and enjoyments this fleeting world can afford may be yours. The more unreserved the dedication the easier will the way be made to you. That your experience may prove it so to you, is more than can be expressed the wish of your loving father, James Mott."

Soon after her marriage Lydia sat one morning at her piano when her father-in-law entered the room. In gentlest tones he said, "My dear daughter, dost thou find pleasure in such things?" And she began to understand his feeling against music. This, she afterwards said, was the first of many such talks. She sympathized in her father-in-law's deep religious feeling, and soon began to accept his views. Her fashionable dress and manners were toned down into Quakerism, and it was not long before adopting its "plainness of speech, behavior and apparel," she was knocking at the door to be admitted into the Society. She afterward became an accepted minister in the Society of Friends. And Robert, who had been disowned for marrying her, followed her back into the Meeting—and his father was made happy in their manner of life.

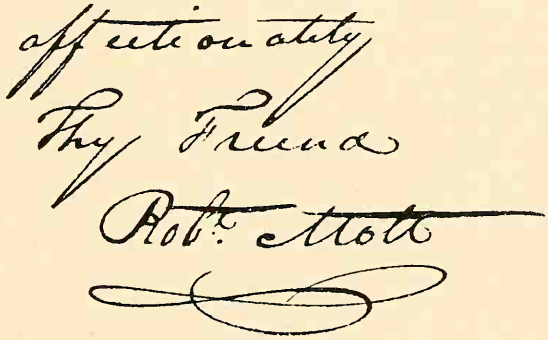
To all the decendents of Adam and Anne Mott, she has been "Aunt Lydia" since the summer of 1795, and this present writer, who knew her in the later years of her life, is happy now in this spring time of 1888, to record, that his memory of her unites the gracious kindliness of an affectionate aunt, with the grace and dignity of a well-bred lady and the simple garb of a ministering Friend. And the great-grand-nieces of Uncle Robert Mott when now, or in the future they debate with themselves, unembarrassed by a father's scruples, questions of frieze and dado on their decorated walls, and square or grand pianos in their parlors, and compare Wilton carpets and Persian rugs for their floors, may recall, possibly with profit, the tribulations through which, in the spring of 1795 the modest house in New York was made ready for the coming of Aunt Lydia in her bridal bloom. And some of her father-in-law's descendants will, I think, have inherited enough of his spirit to feel that the self-denial and simplicity which he sought, have a dignity outranking any decorations.

One little incident showing something of the spirit of Robert Mott's house, in New York, may be here related. One evening walking home he saw a drunken Irishman lying in the street, and as most of us do, "he went by on the other side." But after passing, the feeling became strong in him that this, too, was a fellow creature who only needed help and counsel, the more because he was drunk, and turning back he roused the man, took him to his own house—the house recently decorated for Aunt Lydia's first coming—and cared for him that night, and in the morning gave him kind words and set him at work. It is believed that

he worked on the dam for the new mill at Premium Point. He was reformed. He found other work and prospered. A few years later he returned to Uncle Robert Mott, and asked his acceptance of a gold watch. It was the best watch he could buy, and bore this inscription engraved on its square edge, "*A tribute of gratitude from Thomas Donavan to Robert Mott.*" The watch is now (1888) in the possession of Robert Mott's grand niece, Cannie Mott of Toledo, and is an excellent time-keeper. It is a heavy gold repeater, but the story to which it bears witness is better than fine gold.

Robert Mott was a man of cultivated tastes. A water color drawing of Premium Mill and its vicinity made by him about this time is the basis of the picture shown in these pages. Uncle Robert's drawing is now before me. It shows a red roof on the white mill and the east wing of the mill is red. But his father's house in the distance is white, as is also the side of the mill house toward the water.

Robert Mott's name first appears in the New York directory of 1795, as flour merchant, 452 Pearl street. No separate residence is given. In the directory of 1796, he is still flour merchant at the same place, and his name also appears in the list of firemen. In 1797 and 1798 he is flour merchant at 461 Pearl street, and his name does not appear in the list of firemen. In 1799 he is flour inspector at 32 William street, and in 1800 flour inspector at 53 Cliff street.



CHAPTER IV.

AT PREMIUM POINT.—1803–1811.

While business prospered in the mill at Cowbay, it was no less prosperous in the mill at Mamaroneck. The wars growing out of the French Revolution and the accession of Buonaparte to power, greatly disturbed the commerce of Europe, but America, being neutral, its commerce was free and very prosperous. But after Napoleon became Emperor in 1804 the struggle begun to involve American shipping—on charges of violation of neutrality, and disregarding blockades which often existed only on paper.

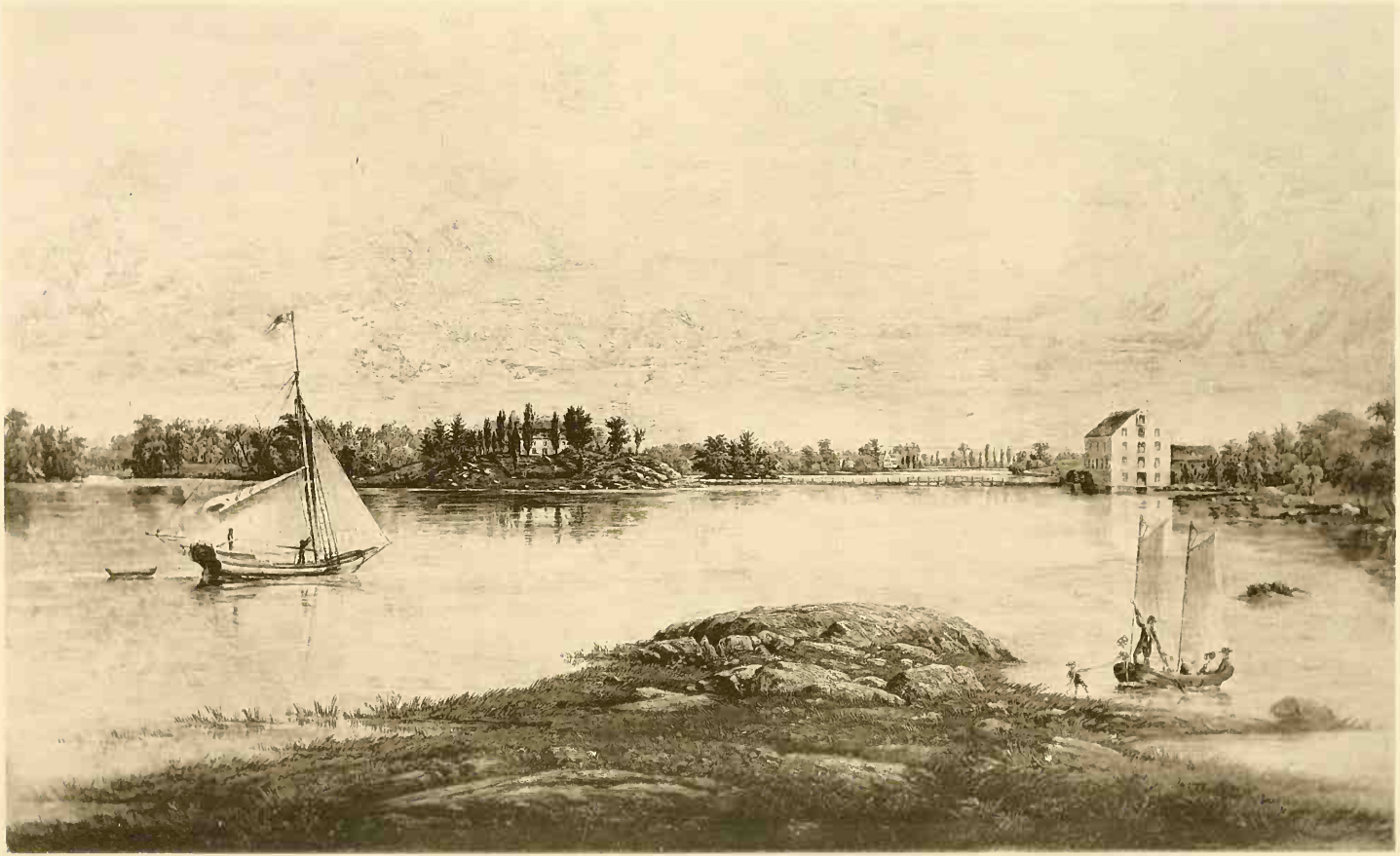
Towards the end of the century James Mott's sons were managing the mill. Before 1800 they had determined to build a new mill. It was placed about half a mile lower down, near the mouth of the bay whose tide provided the water power, giving much larger storage of water. The new mill was made large, with ten runs of stones, which were afterwards increased to twelve. Every known improvement was introduced, and it was named the Premium Mill, and the place has ever since been known as Premium Point.

After the new mill was in successful operation, the sons of James Mott invited their brother-in-law Adam, to dispose of his business and property at Cow Bay, and come and take a share with them in the new mill at Premium Point. The question was a serious one. A letter from Anne Mott to her husband about this time, gives interesting glimpses of their lives. He was absent accompanying her brother Richard, then an accepted minister, on a religious visit to the north, and she addresses him at Nine Partners:

ANNE MOTT TO ADAM MOTT.

"COWNECK, 21 of 11th Mo., 1800.

"* * * Indeed, my love, highly as I prize thy company, I desire thee not to leave thy dear companion, nor yet by thy anxiety to get home, improperly to hasten him, but when his mind is fully relieved, and you can journey southward with the sweet reflection accompanying each mind that you have done the portion of labor at present assigned, how gladly wilt thou be received! * * Yet is it not, my dear, a favor that demands our grateful acknowledgment, when opportunity is thus put in our hands, to make some small oblation by a self-denial of this sort, for returns for the abundant favors that have been showered down upon us. Abundant, indeed, have they been!" The letter then expresses "solicitude" over the spiritual dullness "of our poor meeting"—(at Cowneck) and questioning "what is the cause that death and dullness so much abound in this once favored spot,"—goes on—"and often when reflecting on these things has a care been felt that the dark" (spiritual) "pros-



THE MILL SLOOP.

THE MILL HOUSE,
RESIDENCE OF A. MOTT-1806-11.

IN THE DISTANCE,
RESIDENCE OF JAMES MOTT.

THE MILL.
ADAM MOTT AND FAMILY IN BOAT.

PREMIUM MILL AND VICINITY,
FROM THE ISLAND.

pect here might not have an undue influence in our minds in leaving our present home, yet must add, I feel much easier than I once thought I should in turning our faces another way. * * * I do not know but things go on pretty well at the mill, &c., one load of wheat has been taken out, and one or part of one, about 7 h[d] bushels, now lies at the mill to be unloaded in the morning." The letter refers to the local school about which cousin Mary Titus is quoted elsewhere, and says: "Aunt Amey * * * thinks we ought to have kept James and Sarah at home in order to enlarge the school, as it would be very inconvenient to Daniel if it should fail. * * * Please remember me kindly to my beloved brother and accept for thyself a Benjamin's portion from thy affectionate Anne Mott."

But two years later the removal was finally determined on and the records of Westbury monthly meeting showing how the matter there also came into discussion, are of interest.

The minutes of the women's meeting, in the hand-writing of Anne Mott, who was the clerk, relate under date of

"16th of 2d mo., 1803.—Our men Friends informs us that Adam Mott and Wife have a prospect of moving with their family within the compas of Purchase Monthly Meeting."

A committee was appointed, who reported, as recorded in the the same hand-writing under date of

"16th of 3d mo.—On a visit to Adam Mott and Wife on their prospect of removing * * way did not appear quite clear, yet they thought it best the Friends should be left at liberty."

And looking at the change, in the light of subsequent events the reluctance of the committee to assent to it does not seem to have been entirely without reason. Financial disaster, and many years of anxiety, might probably have been spared had they remained at Cowbay. Yet moral and religious interests were doubtless served by the change. At any rate, on the 18th of 5th mo., 1803, the certificate of removal was approved, and Adam Mott[4] settled with his family on a farm of fifty acres which he purchased adjoining that of his father-in-law on the north in the southern bounds of what is now called Larchmont. Adam Mott also had an interest in the mill.

All the deeds of the Premium Mill property and James Mott's residence, as well as those of the farm that Adam Mott purchased in 1803, describe the land as partly in Mamaroneck and partly in New Rochelle, and this recalls the controversy in which one of James Mott's ancestors was involved, a hundred years before his time, in the original establishment of the line which now makes the boundary between the two towns at this point.

JOHN RICHBELL AND HIS LAND.

John Richbell, the grandfather of James Mott's grandfather, Richbell Mott, was the first purchaser from the Indians, of the land now known as Mamaroneck, including the point where James Mott's house and the Premium Mill were placed in the following century. John Richbell's

grant from the Indians is dated 23d Sept., 1661. But as jurisdiction over the territory was claimed by the Dutch government of New Amsterdam, John Richbell on the 24th of Dec., 1661, asked the Dutch government for letters patent for his tract promising to respect the Dutch sovereignty. After investigation, the grant was made by Governor Stuyvesant and Council under date of 6th of May, 1662. After the English occupation of the Colony took place in 1664, Richbell applied for an English confirmation of his patent, and it was granted by Governor Lovelace on the 16th of Oct., 1668. John Richbell being an ancestor of all the descendants of Adam and of Anne Mott, they may be interested to know that he remained in possession of this property, making his residence near what is now the Village of Mamaroneck for more than twenty years, until his death on the 26th of July, 1684. And his remains still rest in the land he owned, with other members of the family and their friends, in the burial plot he set aside on a little knoll, "near the Salt Meadow," between the Harbor, and what is now De Lancey Avenue.

From its conformation along the shore John Richbell had described his territory as "Three Necks of Land;" the East Neck, now De Lancey's Neck, the Middle Neck, including what is now Larchmont, and the West Neck. And the tract is described as running north, northwest twenty miles into the woods. The East Neck was the jointure of the widow, our several times great-grandmother Ann Richbell, and here she continued to reside until her death in 1700. Her mother Margaret Parsons was already buried in the family plot. Ann Richbell's daughter Elizabeth was the second wife of the first Adam Mott of Hempstead, and the mother of our ancestors, "the younger son Adam," and his brother Richbell Mott, great-grandfather of Anne Mott whom his grandmother Ann Richbell made one of her executors. But having no sons Ann Richbell finally determined to convert her land into money, and in 1697 after having made it her home for thirty-five years, deeded the chief part of it to Caleb Heathcote, and it was incorporated into Heathcote's MANOR OF SCARSDALE, as granted by Governor Nanfan on the 21st of March, 1701. A mortgage from Heathcote for £600 of the proceeds of the sale is mentioned in "Madame Richbell's will," and all her property is divided among her three daughters and their children. And it may interest some of his descendants to know that the will provides that the portion of her grandson Adam Mott shall be the last paid, because he needs it the least.

As early as 20th Dec., 1670, John and Ann Richbell conveyed a small piece of land in Mamaroneck to "our son-in-law James Mott, and our dear daughter Mary his wife." If this James Mott, was, as seems probable, and as Bolton asserts, the second son of Adam Mott, of Hempstead, who was baptized James on the 5th of Oct., 1647, he would now have been in his twentieth year. He was long one of the most

prominent men in Mamaroneck. Anne, the third daughter of John and Ann Richbell, married John Emerson, of Talbot Co., Maryland, to whom his mother-in-law conveyed a small piece of land in Mamaroneck, as a gift on the 30th of Sept., 1686, and Emerson in 1690 conveyed the same land to Captain James Mott. On the 8th of August, 1684, soon after her husbands death Ann Richbell conveyed to James and Mary Mott, about thirty acres of land on the west side of Mamaroneck harbor, on which this James Mott made his home. This included the family burial plot, where Mary Mott and her father John Richbell were buried, and probably, also her mother and her husband. This land of Capt. James Mott is now occupied by the Rushmore Hotel.

But the boundary dispute above referred to related to the west limits of the Richbell estate, where the Indian deed described it as "bounded with Mr. Pell's purchase." Seven years before John Richbell came to Mamaroneck, another Englishman, Thomas Pell, came from Connecticut, and under the authority of Hartford,—ignoring the earlier claims of New Amsterdam, bought from the Indians in 1654 the lands now constituting the towns of Pelham and of New Rochelle. Pell's Indian deed described the land along the Sound as bounded on the east by "Stony brook." Governor Nichol's confirmation of the grant, 6th of Oct., 1666, made the east bounds "Cedar tree brook or Gravelly brook." But soon after Richbell's coming the question was raised, which was the dividing brook. The whole country was still inhabited by the Indians, and almost covered with forests, and there were no trustworthy maps. Pell claimed to the stream falling into the head of the bay, which long afterwards became Premium Mill Pond. Richbell claimed "Stony brook" was the stream, a mile more to the west, and below what is now Premium Point. After a hot contest extending over a dozen years, and appeals to the Governor, and to the courts the dispute was finally compromised in 1677, a hundred years before James Mott's purchase, by dividing the land in controversy between the two claimants, on the oblique line which has since become the boundary between the towns of Mamaroneck and New Rochelle.

Thomas Pell seems to have been a man of aggressive temper. He had persistently ignored the legitimate Dutch Sovereignty over the territory he occupied, and resisted all interference from New Amsterdam. After the English occupation in 1664 he sought to use the English influence to his advantage, and while he was contesting Richbell's boundary on one side he was grasping for other land on the Westchester side, claiming that it was conveyed to him by his Indian deed of 1654. He attempted to seize Cornell's Neck, a tract of about fifteen hundred acres lying along the sound west of Throgg's Neck, which the Dutch Governor Kieft had granted on the 26th of July, 1646, to Thomas Cornell, the founder of the Cornell family in America. Thomas Cornell came to New Amsterdam in 1642, with John Throckmorton and others, but after

remaining in the Dutch Colony for several years, he had returned to Rhode Island, where he died about 1655, and his "Neck" had descended to his eldest daughter Sarah, whose second husband, Charles Bridges, an Englishman, was long identified with the Dutch, who translated his name to Carel ver Brugge, and they successfully defended her inheritance in the Courts in 1665. Sarah Cornell, soon after her father's first coming to New Amsterdam, had there first married on the 1st of Sept., 1643, Thomas Willett, of Bristol, by whom she had two sons, William, baptized in New Amsterdam on the 6th of July, 1644, and Thomas, baptized 26th of November, 1645, who was afterwards Col. Thomas Willett, of Flushing, one of the most prominent men of the Colony. William Willett inherited Cornell's Neck from his mother, Sarah Cornell; the English Governor confirming his title, and the property remained in her family for more than a century. This family of Willett have a special interest for this present writer; their mother being his several times great aunt; a sister of his grandfather's great-grandfather, John Cornwell, of Cowneck. And it happened a little singularly that a hundred years after the mother of the Willetts had thus defended her inheritance in Cornell's Neck, so that it was often called Willett's Neck. A descendant of the Willett family "Gilbert Willett Esqr., of Mamaroneck," had become the owner of the tract of land in Mamaroneck and New Rochelle, which included the land, and and the bay and the stream which afterwards made the mill property and the farm of James Mott, with "the old red mill" that he operated before the building of Premium Mill, and the house where he dwelt, and also the farm where Adam Mott subsequently settled. But Gilbert Willett became financially embarrassed, and the whole property "together with all the houses, mills, barns, orchards, gardens," &c., were sold by the sheriff in August, 1768, under a judgment for £2,400, to "Joseph W. Dwight, of New York, Mariner.*" Less than a year later, on the 6th of June, 1769, Joseph Dwight sold the same premises to our great-grand-uncle, "Samuel Underhill, of Mamaroneck, farmer," for £1,500.

Samuel Underhill had then recently come to Mamaroneck from Oyster Bay; where, a few years earlier, in 1765 his younger sister Mary Underhill had married James Mott, and thus it naturally came about that in 1776, James Mott bought of his brother-in-law, Samuel Underhill, the mill property which he afterwards occupied for more than forty years. The deed is dated 31st of 7th mo., 1776, about four weeks after the signing of the declaration of American Independence, but was

* And it happened that the sheriff, whose duty it became to sell out the right of "Gilbert Willetts Esq., of Mamaroneck," in the property which subsequently became the farm of James Mott, and the Premium Mill property was Gilbert Willett's cousin. Isaac Willett, the last owner of Cornell's Neck in direct inheritance from his grandfather's grandfather, Thomas Cornell.

not acknowledged until nearly a dozen years later on the 22d of May, 1787, and was never recorded. But it is in my possession, now lying on the table before me. The farm and residence of James Mott, with what was afterwards Premium Point with the mill pond and the brook, and the bay from the post road to the sound, comprising about 35 acres, are described as in Mamaroneck, and the remaining 35 acres lie adjoining on the west in the town of New Rochelle. This made the whole property purchased by James Mott about seventy acres.

Samuel Underhill still retained of the Gilbert Willett property about fifty acres of good farm land, lying east of the farm sold to James Mott, and extending to the post road, and through this fifty acres a road was granted by the deed, from the post road to the house and mill property of James Mott, and by this road it is still reached, although another road has been also made over the later mill dam. And the deed reserves the salt marsh as common to the two properties, an undivided half to each, with right of access to cut grass there.

This fifty acres of pleasant farm land lying between James Mott's house and the Boston post road, James Mott bought of his brother-in-law about ten years later, on the 20th of 9th month, 1786, for £550—making about $27.50 per acre for good farming land in Mamaroneck, eligibly situated between the post road and the sound. And nearly a dozen years after this, on the 20th of 11th month, 1797, James Mott conveyed the same farm to his eldest son Richard, for £600, which in the New York currency, of eight shillings to a dollar, makes $1,500. Richard built upon the property and improved it, and four years later, on the 17th of Sept., 1801, sold it to his brother Robert for $6,000. All of these deeds add to the fifty acres of farming land, the undivided half interest in the 19 acres of marsh on the adjoining property. And when Adam Mott had been persuaded by his brothers-in-law to remove to Mamaroneck; it was this farm that Robert Mott and Lydia his wife conveyed to him on the 2d of April, 1803, for the $6,000 which he had paid for it two years earlier. And here Adam Mott and Anne Mott settled among her relatives, in the summer of 1803, hoping to enjoy in ease and devout well-doing the fruits of their prosperous diligence.

It will be of interest here to note that James Mott held the Premium Mill property in his own name, until after his son-in-law Adam had removed to Mamaroneck. "The old red mill"—which at the time of his first purchase in 1776, stood but a few rods from the house—had now given place to the Premium Mill half a mile down the bay, and the mill property, as distinguished from James Mott's residence and farm, consisted of about five acres of land on the point in Mamaroneck, on which the mill stood, and about four and a half acres in New Rochelle, at the west end of the new mill dam, where the Miller's house and the cooper's shop stood.

This mill property of nearly ten acres, seems to have been valued at thirty thousand dollars, which it will be remembered signified more money in the beginning of the century than it does now, near its close. On the 28th of 4th Month, 1804, James Mott conveyed one undivided half of this mill property—five acres in Mamaroneck and about four and a half acres in New Rochelle—to his son Robert, then living in New York, and the agent of the mill there, and on the same day by a similar deed, conveyed the other undivided half to his son Samuel, who was managing the mill and still living in his father's house. And a few months later, on the 20th of 12th Month. 1804, Samuel conveyed one-half of his interest, or an undivided fourth part of the mill property to his brother-in-law, Adam Mott, for $7,500.

But Robert Mott lived less than a year after he became half owner of the mill, and a few weeks after his death, his executors, on the 1st of 5th Month, 1805, conveyed one-half of his interest to his brother Samuel for $7,500, and a little later, on the 9th of 12th Month, 1805, they conveyed an undivided eighth to Robert's elder brother Richard for $3,750.

Although Adam Mott had a fourth interest in the mill, he gave most of his time to the farm on which he had settled, and enjoyed the leisure which his diligence and prosperity had earned. The adjacent residence of James Mott gave the neighborhood social and religious importance. Samuel had always lived with his father, and brought his bride there, when in 1794, as above related, he married Elizabeth Barnard, in Newport, and here his children were born and brought up.

Adam Mott[4] and Anne Mott had each a younger brother Samuel Mott, and to all of their children and to their children's children each has always been "Uncle Sammy." Anne Mott's brother, of Premium Point, had sandy complexion and red hair, and was distinguished as "Red Sammy." Adam Mott's brother Samuel had dark hair and dark eyes and he was distinguished as "Black Sammy." He had inherited the old Mott homestead at Cowneck, and lived and died there. He was a man of much dignity and character, and always a prominent member of the Society of Friends, and in much later times was Clerk of the Hicksite Yearly Meeting of New York.

Anne Mott's elder brother Richard, lived in the neighborhood, on a farm in Mamaroneck, to which he gave the name of "Hickory Grove." He had married Abigal Field, daughter of Uriah and Mary Field, Friends of much prominence at Purchase, and had become an esteemed minister in the Society of Friends. He somewhat resembled his father in personal appearance, and was like his father, tall, handsome, and of much dignity and grace of manner, and a graceful and easy preacher. He early relinquished his interest in the mill, and some years later built a small cotton mill on the water power he made on his place at Hickory Grove, where he spun spool cotton for many years.

Robert Mott, the second son of James Mott, lived in New York, where, as already related, he was the agent of the mill, and carried on a large business with John L. Bowne, under the name of Mott and Bowne. They had been very prosperous, and exported flour largely, especially to France. There, on some pretext, a large quantity of their flour was at one time seized by the government, and Mott and Brown failed for a large amount. They never recovered anything from France, but Robert Mott subsequently recovered himself, and at his death he left over twenty thousand dollars—a large sum for those days. The business was carried on after his death by his former partner, John L. Bowne.

Uncle Robert Mott died in 1805 of consumption. He had been prostrated by hemorrhage from the lungs at Troy in 1804, and a message to his Uncle John and Aunt Avis Alsop, at Athens, had brought them to his bedside, when they cared for him, and on his improvement they had taken him to his own home. A little later he writes to them as follows:

NEW YORK, 9th Mo. 22d, 1804.

Dear Uncle and Aunt:

Had I no other stimulus at present to address you a few lines, than GRATITUDE, that would prevent silence, which I hope may not be the case. When I retrospect my situation at Troy, and reflect upon your kindness in visiting and in nursing me, and Aunt Avis leaving her family and children to come with me and care for me until she saw me placed in the arms of my dear wife and friends, my heart is softened, and I feel language inadequate to convey my feelings. * * * I am now compelled to mourn my situation and lost time, and consider that I have spent more than thirty years in vanity, or at least without improving the moments as they passed. * * * Thus unprepared, and ready to apply to others for oil, am I warned with a notice similar to that given by the clock before it strikes that the hour is nearly run, and prepared or not I must go. Awful indeed has appeared the prospect in some of my retired moments since confined, of a separation of soul and body, and of the soul being irrevocably destined to a place of never ending being, there to enjoy the fruition of what is here permitted a foretaste of—either in joy or pain. I have felt and daily feel strong solicitude for myself and mankind at large, that we might be permitted to have the mists from before our eyes scattered, that so we might see our true interests in time to put up our cries to Him who is merciful and long suffering. * * * Why am I giving vent to my feeling in this strain to you? My heart is full; I cannot help it. For although I have for many months believed it right for me to anoint myself, and not appear before men to fast—yet my garments have been sack-cloth, and ashes have covered my head, my path has been in the wilderness, where hardly a green leaf could be plucked, and neither dew or rain was felt to moisten even the surface. If I am utterly cast off and slain it shall be at the feet of Him who is just.

As to my health,—my strength increases, my appetite is good,—and have had no return of bleeding; yet my cough is very severe. * * * I see very little cause to be elated. * * *

My love to all, R. Mott.

Robert Mott died just six months after the date of this letter, on the 21st of 3d Mo., 1805.

In accordance with his constant endeavor to promote education JAMES MOTT established a little school at Premium Point for the instruction of his grandchildren, and a few of the children of neighboring Friends, and it is an interesting illustration of his constant striving for the best, that he sought his teachers among college bred men, especially graduates of Yale. His extant correspondence of 1805–6 shows that Thomas Darling, Thomas Ruggles and Elihu Spencer,* all from Yale, were successively tutors in the Premium Point school, and all giving satisfaction. He continued a correspondence with Darling and Ruggles, discussing questions of religion and morality, for some time after they left the school.

A letter from Anne Mott to her husband will here be of interest. He was absent with Hannah Fields and her companion on a religious visit to the South, and the letter is addressed to "Joseph Tatnall, Brandywine, State of Delaware." It is dated:

"MAMARONECK, 2d of 5th mo., 1805.

"My beloved A. Mott's precious favor of the 26th came to hand last evening * * I cannot but look forward to the time proposed for thy return with delightful expectation. But while I write I feel a caution lest I should depend too much upon it, perhaps the more from having seen in dear Lydia's experience this day, the uncertainty of all human calculation. She went with us this morning to the Purchase, and after mg. stopt at Wm. Field's. The recollection of her parting with Robert at that house when he set out for his Northern journey—"from which he hoped to return with improved health and spirits"—and the whole train of trying events which have since taken place, greatly affected her. Thou well knows the loss of my brother has not been a small thing to *me*, but when she "desired that I might never taste the bitterness she then did" and I drew the comparison betwixt *thee* and a *brother*, my sorrows for him seemed without any weight.

"But whither has my pen wandered? I meant only to tell thee that I shall joyfully receive thee when thou and those beloved sisters thou accompanys can journey homeward with the consciousness of having performed the present portion of allotted labor * * but often have I ardently craved that thou might, according as ability is received, be an Aaron or a Hur to bear up their hands in battle. * * I do not write these things because I conclude that my attainments are equal to thine, but because they have unexpectedly come before me, for truly never was I more sensible "that in me dwelleth no good thing." * * But I

* A son of this Elihu Spencer, and bearing the same name, but a graduate of the Wesleyan University of Middletown, Conn., was a law student in Rochester about 1840 in the office of Judge Samuel L. Selden, and became one of the most intimate friends of this present writer, and when I brought him to my father's house the similarity of name attracted my mother's notice, and she soon identified him as the son of the young tutor she had known in her grandfather's house. This Elihu Spencer subsequently returned to Middletown, where a few years later he was the Democratic candidate for Lieut. Governor of Connecticut, but was not elected, and, I believe, soon after died.

will not pain the partner of my life with a repetition of my unworthyness, yet it will perhaps relieve thee from the *fear* of my being a preacher, which thou mayest be ready to fear, from what our dear Hannah Field dropped when here. But highly as I esteem her gift I could not then suppose that her remarks had any other foundation than her affectionate partiality for me. Why! I am destitute of every qualification for it; yet am sometimes ready to say, if it might be a means of enabling me to love Him that I desire to love above all, let me be a servant unto servants.

Martha Routh, and her maiden companion, and *J. Murray and wife were at meeting yesterday with us. * * After the shutters were closed dear little Patience ventured to pour out her petitions in a concise and expressive manner. M. Routh remarked to me that it carried its evidence with it, and that she should rejoice if young preachers were all so careful to be concise in this awful engagement. * *

R. Mott had the chief part in the public service this day. * * Richard was eminently favored to preach the gospel with power and demonstrative clearness, and thou knows, where this is most the case, there is less redundancy and less poetry. * * Aunt Anne Willis closed the mg. in solemn supplication. She and Tommy are on their way to Nine Partners. Father has gone with them and R. Mott expects to set out to-morrow.

Tell H. Field I dined with her Wm. and a tribe of *Motts* with me, yesterday and to-day. Mary Bowne better than when I wrote. Mary Titus's father has another ill turn. Uncle J. Parsons was taken last seventh day with dizziness. * * Uncle and Aunt Underhill were sent for in the morning. * * Have filled my paper so full can hardly insert all the love thy friends have expressed for thee. †E. Mitchells, Hannah G. Field, ‡R. Titus and Anna Underhill—the latter to E. and H. also. The little girls say: "Send a great deal of love to Father, and tell him we will try to be good girls." James would say the same if he was here. Little Richard grows more engaging every day. Remember me tenderly to thy dear companions. * * thy Anne Mott.

"Sarah has not begun to spin yet, but intends it this week," wrote Anne Mott to her daughters Mary and Abby at school at Nine Partners, on the 28th of 12th mo., 1806. Sarah had returned from school and was then in her 16th year.§ Mary was nearly 14 and Abby a little past 11. "Sarah is very careful to water Abby's gilliflower," their mother adds, "perhaps it will bloom when its dear owner comes home next summer."

"Thine as a cordial came this morning safe to hand," wrote ADAM MOTT to his wife from Philadelphia under date, "4th mo. 29th, 1807." He had accompanied some Friends on a religious visit to Philadelphia yearly meeting and to the neighborhood. "E. and H. opened a

*John and Hannah Murray of New York.
†Elizabeth, wife of Henry Mitchell of Flushing.
‡Rebecca Titus of Purchase.
§ It may be interesting to note that the flax which his daughter spun was raised by Adam Mott on his own farm. The fabrics woven from the flax thus spun are still among the treasures of his great-grandchildren. It may be added that the ripened flax seed was then regularly sent to Ireland for the following year's planting, for the Irish flax was pulled before the seed had ripened.

prospect of visiting the families in Frankford particular meeting," he adds, and later they visited the alms-house. "I am ready at times," he adds, "to adopt the language. O, my poverty, my poverty, my leanness my leanness! but the encouraging language is, none so poor as the Lord's servants, tho' I do not rank myself among them, for I am very unprofitable." He speaks of the good behavior of the men who were operating the mill in his absence, and says of them: "I believe it was and is right for me to be here, they will in endeavoring to do the best they can, reap part of the reward, for remember, they that staid by the stuff received part of the spoil. I wish to be affectionately remembered to them."

About this time ADAM MOTT felt himself compelled to leave his pleasant farm and to remove his family to the mill house and take personal charge of the mill. Business had been going from bad to worse. The wars between Napoleon and England had blockaded all the ports of Europe in 1806, and in 1807 the American Congress put an embargo on all ports of this United States, so that all foreign commerce was dead and merchant mills were great losers.

But the children were kept at school at Nine Partners, and in 1807 James, the oldest, then 19 years old, was employed there as a teacher. And financial troubles at home did not abate interest or labor in the affairs of Friends.

Anne Mott was a member of the committee to look after an Indian settlement under the care of the New York Yearly Meeting, and a letter to her husband while visiting the Indians with this committee will be interesting here. It is dated,

BROTHERTOWN, 22d of 10th Month, 1807.

Immediately after closing a letter to my beloved A. Mott, we left Hudson and baiting at Kinderhook, got to the ferry at Albany about two o'clock, and finding a number of wagons and a drove of sixty mules waiting to cross the river, concluded it would save time to get dinner at the inn, it being kept by Connecticut people, who waited on us with apparent satisfaction. The landlord told us there was a tavern five miles beyond Albany, which was the only one between there and Duanesburgh suitable for us to put up at. But we thought to stop so early that evening would prevent our reaching the meeting at Duanesburgh next day, and riding pretty late put up at a Dutch tavern. The fare was indifferent, and the lodging still worse, there being eight beds in the room, which had probably served for those not remarkable for cleanliness to sleep in—one of which our men occupied, and Esther and myself another and not even the sign of a curtain about them. We remonstrated with our landlord without effect, for I believe he thought we were foolishly nice, so taking a blanket we contrived to make a screen which prevented our lodging being entirely exposed. But the awkwardness of our situation, joined to the unpleasantness of the room, &c., pretty much deprived me of sleep. In the morning, rather rested than refreshed, we got in our wagon early and reached Isaac Gage's about nine, where we met a welcome reception, got a comfortable breakfast, and went with them to

meeting. * * * We dined very pleasantly in a small log house the *home* of Isaac Carpenter (brother to Abraham), and then rode to S. Parkinson's where we got a room to ourselves, an excellent supper and clean beds. In the morning pursued our road to Cherry Valley, fourteen miles. * * The country is new and the soil poor * * but on leaving this village and turning into the Bridgewater road the land was good and well cultivated. * * * the houses and countenances of the inhabitants bespoke a degree of domestic enjoyment that was cordial to my feelings, and at Otsego, where we stopped to feed our horses, several intelligent women who seemed pleased with giving us information of their first settling, particularly attracted our attention. From the last place we rode through the storm to Dr. Hatche's, Richfield, found good accommodations. * * * In the morning * * * passing through the pleasant settlements of Paris and Clinton we arrived here just at evening on second day. Were gladly received by J. Dean's wife and son. Several of the natives called to see us yesterday morning. One of the name of Eunice Johnson (lately married), hearing the name of Mott, came with an expectation of seeing sister Lydia, and was not a little disappointed in not finding her. * * * They seemed to be sensible and industrious. Another of them, Thomas Dick, also dined with us. His countenance brought to mind a remark of S. Grubbs, in her travels through Germany—"that the people looked as likely to do them good, as to receive good from them." He sat down with us and the conversation was turned from temporal to serious subjects, when he said considerable on the certainty of divine influence on the mind, and the necessity of being attentive * * * without letting an idea of our own unsuitableness disqualify us for the service clearly called for at our hands. His remarks were very instructive to me, as doubts respecting my being *now from home* have been very much the companions of my mind. E. made some suitable additions to his *sermon*, and seeming disposed to see them together, a meeting is appointed at three o'clock this afternoon in the school house. * * *

We propose setting out early in the morning for Stockbridge, and the day after for Oneida, and are in hopes to be ready to leave that place on second day for De Ruyter. * * * My affectionate regards to Sister Lydia, to R. and A.,* S. and E.,† S. Titus and Mary, with every individual of our own family. * * * To Margaret and Sarah,‡ say I often think of them, and hope they will be good girls, and to our Abby that her mother often mentally views her, caring for her little brother and cousin § with maternal affection. * * * Thy tenderly attached Anne Mott.

In the autumn of 1808, Anne Mott was one of a large committee of Friends making an extended religious visit as far north as Vermont and northern New York, stopping at many places. One of her letters to her husband while on this journey is here quoted:

ANNE MOTT TO ADAM MOTT.

JAMES ALLEN'S, GREENFIELD, 11th of 9th Mo., (1808).

My Dearest Friend,—From Fort Ann I wrote thee a hasty line. * * * These Post Offices on the cross roads, which go but once a

* The writer's brother Richard and his wife Abby.
† Her brother Samuel and wife Elizabeth.
‡ Two colored girls employed in the house.
§ Probably Jeanette B. Mott, daughter of Robert and Lydia P. Mott.

week are but little to be depended on. And now my dear, I think it is time thou should be informed of our movements since I closed my last *journalizing* letter from Monckton. The morning after mo. mg. there, Gideon and Stephen Grillett left us for Montpelier. Elias with us women rode to the ferry in the wagon. Had a fine passage across the lake, and then mounted horses which the kindness of our friends had provided—ours being left at Ferrisburgh to recruit. Joseph Rogers (son of Stephen), kindly accompanied us, and a son of Stephen Kees, with another friend from Peru, having come to Moncton for the same purpose we were waited on very attentively. Esther and I concluded our dear girls would smile to see their mother bouncing along over the rough roads, with pillows sewed on their saddles. I believe the men were all diverted to see our awkwardness on first setting out. Esther was seated on a pacer, and the wind filling her cloak she made quite a laughable figure. A little while enabled me not to discredit my former horsemanship, and we all thought it was easier than riding in a wagon would have been. * * *

Seventh day we returned to Ferrisburgh to Joseph Rogers'. He is a sensible and agreeable man. The mg. at that place was pretty large, and the people I suppose disappointed, as the "Great Hick's" did not open his mouth amongst them—but Esther and Stephen told them many good things. A mg. being appointed in the afternoon at Vergennes, we went to the Court House, and found a large collection. Here Elias rode a high horse, being led to open the doctrine of inspiration, and immediate revelation, with uncommon strength and clearness of reasoning,—that I was ready to say the understandings of the people must now be convinced. But with many of them there was too great a want of attention. Esther added a pertinent and solemn address to the young people.

From Vergennes to Granville is fifty-five miles, which we rode on second day,—sat with them in their mg. which was small and poor enough. By industrious travelling that evening and next morning we got to Queensburg. Here Stephen ministered, but it was hard work. We hastened away in order to reach Saratoga, and to accomplish it had to ride until 9 o'clock. We have sometimes said that if our husbands knew how often we are out on strange roads until near bed time, they would be anxious about us. But I am in hopes we are at last done riding nights, as the mgs. now laid out are much nearer together than some we have attended. At Saratoga our E. Hicks was very large and convincing, accompanied with great sweetness. Galloway is a pretty large mo. mg., and may be considered one of the outposts. There are six P. mgs., and two more under the care of a committee, one of them almost a hundred miles off, so that attending to the concerns of society, and caring for their poor (of which they have a large number), requires no small portion of devotedness and industry, and the country being new and some of it not very fertile, I was ready to think there was more need to help them, than to desire they should assist in paying boarding school debts. But their quota is so small (only seven dollars out of five hundred), and they seemed so disposed to unite with the conclusions of the Y. Mg., that several expressed great cheerfulness in doing their part. * * *

On getting to Saratoga a number of friends from White Creek, and other places where we had been, met us, and it seemed almost like

getting home, to see them. George Bowne and wife were of the number. * * *

At Ballston we met Wm. Field, he having heard of our being in the neighborhood, left E. Walker and R. Titus at Galloway and came to see us. William had not had any intelligence of his beloved Hannah since they left Purchase. * * *

Troy, 17th. The above thou wilt find is a desultory scrawl, written at different times and left to be finished here. And now I wish thee to judge whether it was not a feast to get here after mg. at Newtown and having had a little struggle with Elias to do it, as he, Gideon, and Esther thought best to stay there, but my will is not yet *annihilated*, and S. Grillet and C. Burd also urged by the sweet hope of letters from home joining us, we set out and got here a little in the evening, where a precious packet indeed awaited me. * * * Thy Anne Mott.

While Anne Mott was writing the foregoing letter to her husband from the North he was writing her from their home at the Mill house. The letter is addressed "Care of Daniel Merritt, Troy."—17 cts. postage paid, and is here quoted in part.

LETTER OF ADAM MOTT TO ANNE MOTT.

"NEW ROCHELLE, 9 mo., 7th, 1808.

"My Dearest Love—

"Have just returned from M' mg. with Sarah and Abigail. Mary staid to keep house. A. Bradbury and cousin Betsey told us what they intended to do." (They were about to marry.) "Robert Underhill was at meeting, gave us some good counsel. * * May we, my precious love, be wisely and prudently directed in all our movements, although there may be at times much in the cross to our natural inclinations, yet he who is able to make hard things easy will, altho' he may see meet to try us in the winter season, yet as there is abiding in him we may hope to rejoice—lo, the winter is past—the rain is over and gone—the flowers appear on the earth and the time of the singing of the birds is come. * * I have this day received a letter from our Virginia cousins Asa and Ann* giving an account of their being in usual health, and in answer to mine, Cousin Ann says a good husband is a very good thing—at least such a one as she has,—well worth coming to Virginia for * * she says Cousin Anna expects to return after Baltimore yearly meeting, but they have not found her an Asa yet—possibly at the yearly meeting she may find one that in her view may be another Asa Moore or perhaps exceed him * * Cousin Amy Hubbs and Sarah Underhill are with us, came up yesterday. Father has got home and Lydia in N. Y. House stands unoccuppied. What she intends doing I know not, but I think most likely if Sammy moves to N. Y. she will be housekeeper for Father. Be that as it may she was up at mo. mg. and appeared on the bended knee in our behalf. Richard, I believe has given up Canada—perhaps will join your band. * * I received thy very acceptable intelligence dated Manchester, 8 mo., 24th. Ah, how very acceptable is a line from thee, my dear, when it conveys agreeable intelligence of thy health gaining, notwithstanding long meetings and hard ridings. Our dear girls continue I believe to do the best they can; they are precious children. * * I think it most likely I shall write thee to meet thee at Hudson. Don't

*Asa Moore of Virginia who had married Ann Underhill.

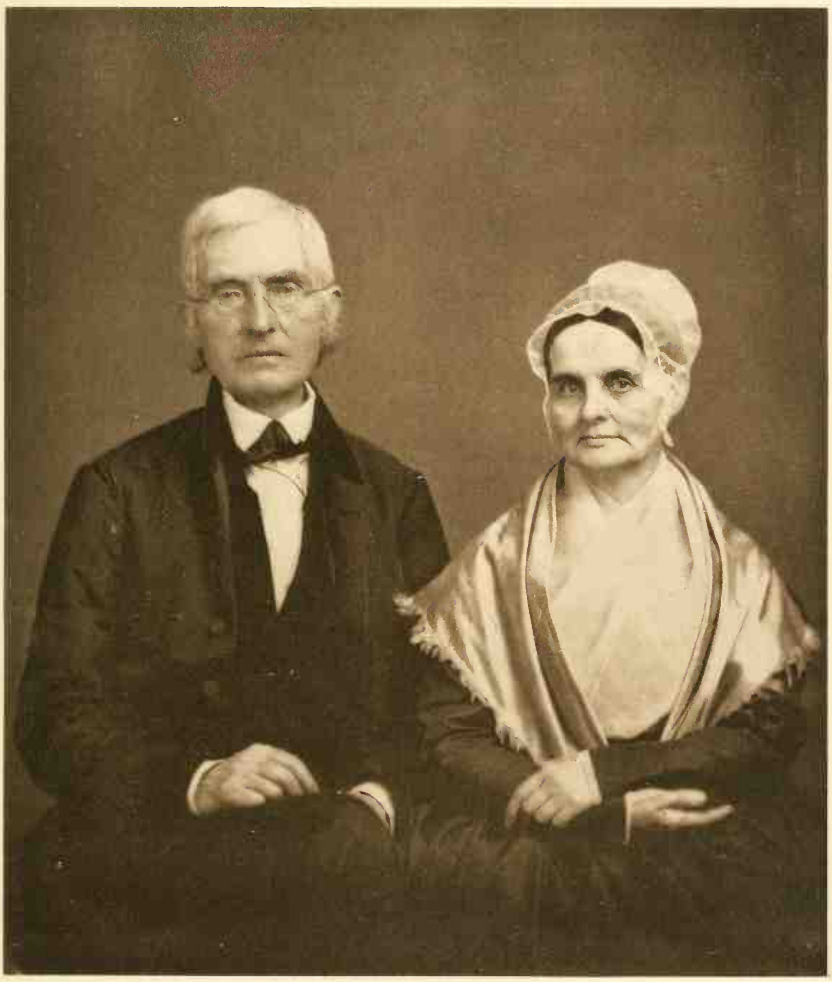
fail writing me as may be for I can pay postage yet, and should have written thee much oftener if I had known where to direct. * * I am now going to carry this to the postoffice and to call to see some of our sick neighbors. * * Cousin Amy and Sarah Underhill desire their remembrance, in which thy dear daughters join, and accept an unreserved portion from thy affectionate husband Adam Mott.

"I feel excused in going to carry a letter to forward to thee, and to see those who are afflicted, if it is first day."

As supposed in the above letter Samuel Mott removed to New York, and JAMES MOTT'S favorite daughter-in-law Lydia P. Mott, widow of his son Robert, became her father-in-law's housekeeper. A school soon was fitted up in the double pitched roof of the house, and here she opened a school for her own children, and the other grandchildren of James Mott, and of some of the neighbors. Ann Shipley was also a teacher here. Adam Mott's daughters Sarah and Mary were pupils or assistants in this school, and when, a year or two later this school was discontinued Adam Mott fitted up a school room in his own house—the Mill House,—and added an outside door for the children, and here Sarah conducted a similar school. It was here that Adam Mott's son Richard first began going to school at the age of about five years. This school also was discontinued in 1810.

MARRIAGE OF JAMES MOTT.

When the youngest son, Richard, in 1809, was beginning studies at his sister's school in the mill house at Premium Point, James, the eldest son, had finished his education at Nine Partners Boarding School, and had been employed there for nearly two years as a teacher. He had entered the school in 1797, when he was nine years old, after having been for some time in the local school at Cowbay. His sister Sarah, and subsequently Mary and Abby had been in the school at Nine Partners with him, and in 1806, Lucretia Coffin came there as a pupil, soon after she had passed her thirteenth birthday. She had previously been at school first in Nantucket and then in Boston. She was the daughter of Captain Thomas Coffin and Anna Folger his wife, both of the best Quaker stock of Nantucket, where Lucretia was born on the 3d of 1st mo., 1793. Thomas Coffin was a prosperous sea captain, and since 1779, when he was 23 years old, had been part owner as well as captain of the ship which he sailed in the China Trade. But in 1803 Capt. Coffin gave up the sea and in 1804 established himself in business in Boston, and in 1809 removed to Philadelphia, where he conducted a branch of a great business of Thomas and George Odiorne of Boston in making cut nails, then a new invention and very profitable. Captain Coffin took twenty thousand dollars of his own money to Philadelphia, a large sum for those days. But business afterward turned against him and he died poor six years later—1815.



James Mott Lucretia C. Mott

Autograph of L. C. Mott, from letter of 1815.

PORTRAITS FROM DAGUERREOTYPE TAKEN IN 1842.

But at Nine Partners in 1806, Lucretia Coffin soon became intimate with James Mott's sisters, especially Sarah, and later with James himself. She visited with Sarah at her home in Mamaroneck and before she left school in 1809 the intimacy with James had ripened into an engagement of marriage.

His grandfather thus writes to James' mother:

"BOARDING SCHOOL, 7th mo. 4th, 1807.

" * * As to Anne's query respecting James usefulness here, may reply, he answers an excellent purpose. B. Clark and he have about forty boys of the foremost class in their room. * * * Benjamin was remarking last evening that he does not want to be better suited with his help. * * I shall therefore consider him a teacher instead of an assistant, and make him the compensation that is right."

And a few weeks later he writes again—

"8th mo., 20th—1807.

" * * Altho' James is not improving in his learning much more than what he gains by instructing the boys in the different branches, * * I trust he is otherwise improving in care and attention with respect to order and regularity, and keeping things in order about the house, a little more as some Mott's like to have them, and more than this, he is very steady and guarded in his conduct, which I believe does not altogether proceed from his natural turn to do so."

After a temporary absence from ill health James was again employed at the school near the end of the year, and his own letter to his parents shows his feeling under school responsibilities. He writes—

"N. P. B. S., 12th mo., 11th—1807.

" * * You may reasonably expect it was a trial to me to part with grandfather so soon after my return, especially as the school was in an unsettled situation. * * The morning after grandfather left, I entered the school as an assistant to Hugh. As the arrangement of the school was somewhat different from what it was when I left, I did not wish to take charge of it until it was divided, which we did second day morning following, Hugh taking sixteen of the most backward scholars, leaving me twenty-three that were further advanced. Then I took charge, and, (if I may be allowed the expression) immediately felt myself loaded as it were, with heavy shackles, grievous to be borne. So much beyond my ability did I concieve the task to be, that I said within myself, I have a burden put upon me far greater than I can bear or perform, and who who shall support me under it or deliver me from it? But presently these expressions were brought very forcibly to my mind, 'Trust in the Lord, and he will help thee.' Surely said I, that is all I can ask or wish for." * * He says that Elias Hicks and his wife were there as he was writing and adds, "Lucretia Coffin says she is very lonely since Sarah is gone, for there is nobody in the school that fills her place with her."

Lucretia Coffin also became a teacher at Nine Partners in the latter part of her stay there, and returned to her father's house in 1809, after he had removed to Philadelphia. The following spring James Mott also went to Philadelphia, staying at Thomas Coffin's house, then taking a clerkship in his business. He wrote to his parents at Mamaroneck under date,—

"PHILA., 5th mo., 22d, 1810.

"* * I am still with T. Coffin's family, and yesterday made an entrance into his store, and a very awkward one, too, for his business is so different from what I have been accustomed to, and I am almost entire stranger in the place. * * Please direct your letters to 48 Dock street, that is the situation of the store."

After six months experience in the store Thomas Coffin offered James Mott a partnership in the business. "A very noble offer," James wrote to his parents, giving him one-third of the net profits. James wrote that the cut nail business was at least one hundred thousand dollars a year, on which the commission of the house would be $2,500, and his third $833, to which the other commissions of the house on consignments from other parties add as much more, making $1,666, and in addition their own business would bring them at least $1,500 profit of which his one-third would make his yearly aggregate over $2,000, but if it should be only $1,500 he would be satisfied.

Although these pleasant anticipations were not all realized, it was yet in their cheerful light that preparations were made for the marriage. James and Lucretia were both living in her father's house. They "passed meeting" on "fourth day the 20th of 2d mo., 1811," and were married in Pine street meeting house, Phila., on the 10th of 4th month following. A delegation from Mamaroneck was present at the modest festivities. And the young people continued to make their home with Thomas Coffin.

So admirable a record of the lives of James and Lucretia Mott has been written by their granddaughter Anna Davis Hallowell, and is now in print, that it is not thought necessary to repeat it or to abridge it in this volume.

This marriage took place a few days before the removal of Adam Mott and his family to Nine Partners.

A record of all of the children and grandchildren of James and Lucretia Mott will appear in its place in this volume among the descendants of Adam and Anne Mott.

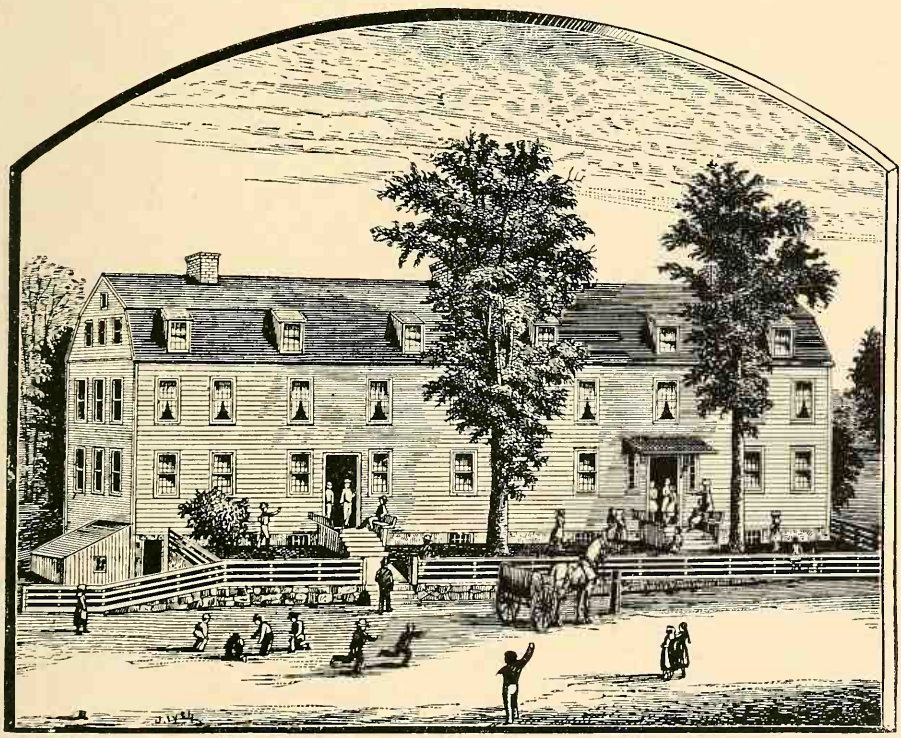
CHAPTER V.

AT NINE PARTNERS.

1811—1814.

All of Adam Mott's children were educated at Friends Boarding School at Nine Partners, the marriages of all but Richard were more or less intimately connected with the school, and all but Richard also served there as teachers.

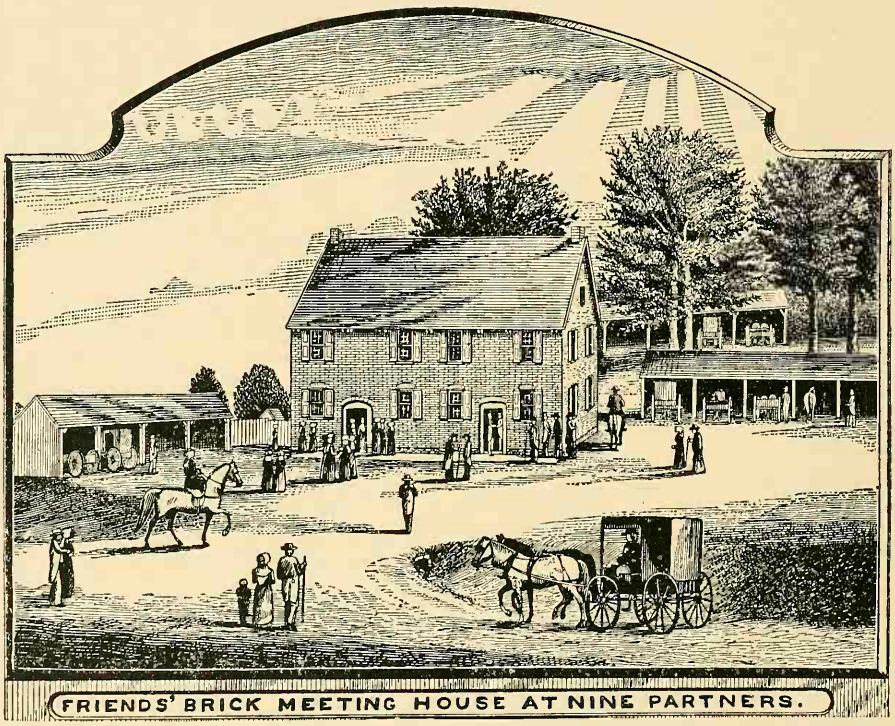
The school had been founded by New York Yearly Meeting of Friends about 1796, and the elder James Mott had been, from before its foundation, one of its most zealous supporters, and was always on the committee, having it in charge.



NINE PARTNERS BOARDING SCHOOL.
(From a Sketch by Alex. H. Coffin, 1820.)

The school was situated about fifteen miles east or north-east of Poughkeepsie, on a farm of a hundred acres, and had an endowment of ten thousand dollars. The frame building, ninety feet long, had two front doors and two broad halls, one for the boys and one for the girls,

with a parlor between, which was common ground where brothers and sisters could meet. And in meeting his own sisters the boy sometimes met another boy's sister. But there was no co-education in the classes, and the play grounds were separate, and only relatives were allowed to speak over the fence under certain restrictions. The girls had a play house on their grounds, where they once gave a tea party to the boys and Lucretia (Coffin) Mott, nearly three quarters of a century after its occurrence told with smiles of her services as one of the fair and youthful hostesses. They made their own biscuit and cake.



FRIENDS' BRICK MEETING HOUSE AT NINE PARTNERS.

One or two of the elder James Mott's letters may show something of the intimacy of his connection with the school. He writes to his daughter at Cowneck:

"NINE PARTNERS, 20th of 4th Mo., 1797.

"Dear ADAM and ANNE—I rec^{d} a few lines yesterday from ADAM by Samuel Wood, and though I was pleased to hear from you and that you were well, I was not less disappointed in not seeing James. * * I sometimes wish to get in a situation that disappointment will not affect me so much as they do, but I find it not easy to attain. I wish to see him here for several reasons, first I conclude he is not now at school and consequently not gaining, but losing what he has got, and next I see so many lads here making such great improvement in learning, and it is taught with so much more propriety than in any school I have been acquainted with, and above all such frequent opportunities are taken to

instil in their tender minds, humanity, virtue, and the love of each other * * that it is a rare thing to hear anything like jarring among them, though now eighty in members. * * The rod, nor any corporal punishment has not yet been inflicted, nor I hope never will be. * * I am more and more confirmed in the rectitude of this institution, and the prospect of usefulness arising from it, if it meets with no discouragement. But I may acknowledge that I think it requires great exertions under its present infant, embarrassed and unproved situation. My courage respecting it sometimes almost begins to flag * * and yet its foundation is too good I believe to be shaken so as to fall. I do not see much prospect of getting home till Yearly Meeting, if you intend to send James I think the sooner the better. * *

Your father, affectionately, JAMES MOTT.

"Let me hear from you by first opportunity, tho' I have not lost all hope of seeing ANNE here agreeably to her intention."

For many years from this date JAMES MOTT spent much time every year at Nine Partners School—sparing no effort to promote its interests and making it a success. He usually did this work without complaint, but that it cost him much sacrifice and self-denial will be easily believed. The following letter gives some intimation of it:

"BOARDING SCHOOL, of 9th mo., 1806.

"Dear children. I last evening received Sammy's by Isaac Thorne, with a small bundle for Avis,* which is the first information from home since I left it. * * I have written to ADAM and to Richard but no answer from either. * * Jennet† walks considerably lame, otherwise I think nearly as well as when we left Mamaroneck, is very lively, and a good appetite, and is now playing in the room where I am writing very pleasantly. * * I know not what to say about Barnard's‡ coming. * * The children, particularly the boys never had a better chance for literary improvement here than now, Jacob Willets is competent for reading grammar and arithmetic, and H. Dean for writing, and it is a great advantage, each attending to his own branch only.

With respect to my continuance here, I can say but little about it at present. I greatly, and I think increasingly, desire to see this tottering, and by some despised, institution established on permanent ground, and in order to accomplish it I am willing to lend my feeble aid, tho' at the expense of what may be deemed the pleasant things of life. Who that is acquainted with my situation and circumstances in life—an agreeable home, amidst my much loved children, unincumbered with business, at leisure to go and to come as best suits—but will conclude that it is no small sacrifice to leave all these comforts to take such a charge and submit to such confinement. I have indeed marveled at times that it was made so easy to me * * The youth of our day are very near to my best feelings. Many of them it is to be feared are sorrowfully neglected at home with respect to the right cultivation of their minds, as it relates to either their civil or religious usefulness, * * and although I am very sensible that many children derive more benefit from a pious, guarded

* Daughter of his son Samuel. She afterward married James Everingham.

† Invalid daughter of his son Robert.

‡ Eldest son of his son Samuel. He died 11 years later at the age of 22.

education under the immediate inspection of tender and religious parents than they will be likely to obtain from such a school as this, yet I trust it will not be deemed an uncharitable sentiment that a large portion of the youth of our yearly meetings are not favored with parents thus qualified or thus disposed, and would therefore be better off here than at home. * * I more and more see the necessity of religious teachers as well as superintendents. * * I hope the Friends appointed to procure teachers will spare no pains in pursuit of such. Richard is one of the number. Jacob Willets is still desirous of leaving the school, but hope he will not go and leave us destitute. In near love to selves and children, ADAM and ANNE and theirs, Richard and Abby and theirs, I am affectionately, &c., JAMES MOTT."

"How often have I wished that you were so situated as to come and join in doing and caring for the children sent here," wrote JAMES MOTT from the Boarding School at Nine Partners to Adam and Anne Mott on the 20th of 8th mo., 1807. But at that time Adam was struggling to retrieve their failing fortunes at the Premium Mill, and apparently could then less than ever be spared, and finding no one else to help him at the school, their father concludes: "The children here, and the farm, and family concerns, must be attended to by somebody, and that somebody it seems must be Lydia, and your affectionate father JAMES MOTT."

And thus James Mott continued his self-sacrificing care, with occasional respite when he could find competent hands to take charge in his place. But as time passed and business grew worse instead of better at the Mill, his desire to bring Adam and Anne in charge of the school revived. In 1807 he had written that there were 94 or 95 pupils. And there is a "very great change; from having thirteen Motts, none is left but poor little Arthur and Alfred, and solitary me." He could not obtain satisfactory teachers to take charge of the establishment. "B. Clark* wishes to be released" he writes, and another time, "Nothing would induce me to remain long here, but to lend my feeble aid to the improvement of the children. * * Elias thinks Hallet Jones can be had to come in and stay this winter." And a little later, "We are quite disappointed at Cousin Anna's failure to come to our aid." And thus in almost every letter he shows his anxiety for the school. How Anne Mott looked at the question is shown in her letter to her son James, dated—

"NEW ROCHELLE, 8th of 5th mo., 1811.

"* * * We have been so unsettled about our situation, whether to remain another year in this sweet quiet spot, or engage in all the care and noise of Nine Partners, I have not felt as if I would write until a decision was come to. And now, after weighing every circumstance as carefully as we could and putting the advice of some of our friends in one scale and some in the other, it is pretty much fixed that we resign our charge here to S. W. and take Friend Downing's (at Nine Partners) in its stead, to go directly after yearly mg. Mary as a teacher, Abby

* Afterward a Quaker lawyer in New York of considerable prominence.

and Richard as scholars, * * Sarah will probably spend the summer in New York and join us in the fall. The prospect is far from being one of the pleasurable kind, and I have many doubts as to our being able to fill the place with any tolerable degree of propriety. Of my own domestic management I have never had a very high opinion, and to succeed P. Downing, and of course place my inferiority in a striking point of view, is rather mortifying. But we will try, and at the year's end, shall not find it as hard to get away from the school, as some others have done."

And the result was at the beginning of sixth month, 1811, Adam and Anne Mott left Premium Point and removed to Nine Partners and took charge of the school. The school prospered and more pupils continued to come till the number reached about two hundred, of whom a little more than half were boys. "It is a great satisfaction to observe by your letters that you are contented with your situation," wrote James Mott, Jnr., to his parents from Philadelphia, 1st of 10th mo., 1811. And he goes on—

"I hope Mary will take courage and persuade herself that qualifications and abilities are not wanting to fill her place with propriety. I can sympathize with her, having tasted of the same cup, mixed with ingredients more bitter than she ever saw or can have an idea of. How wouldst thou feel if, after the fatigues and trials of the day, thou wast to repair to the sitting room in hopes of having them alleviated, thou wast met with a frown, and more added to them? This has frequently been my case, so much so that I have turned away, feeling almost ready to sink, and under such impressions retired to bed with a gloomy prospect before me, and but little hope of relief, from whom of all others, I should have found it. Thou canst, after discharging the duties of the day, enjoy the company of thy friends."

Evidently Mary found her labors in the school arduous and fatiguing, but she persevered, and remained in the school during her parents' stay. Sarah the eldest daughter, was teaching in a school at Bloomingdale, then a small hamlet between Manhattanville and New York, conducted by Susannah Marriott and Ann Shipley, esteemed friends of New York, when her parents went to Nine Partners, for it had not been supposed that her services would be needed there. But as the school filled up and the need of more teachers became urgent, Sarah obtained a release from her engagement with Susannah Marriott, and she also joined her parents and remained at Nine Partners during their stay. And a little later the youngest daughter Abigail was also employed as assistant teacher.

The care of the farm, of the family, and of the growing school imposed anxious labors upon Adam and Anne Mott. "Mother does too much work" wrote James Mott, Jr., from Phila. on the 15th of 2d mo., 1812. She had then been hardly nine months in the school and was then recovering from a serious but brief illness. She inherited her father's self-sacrificing spirit and would leave nothing undone that she thought ought to be done.

Gould Brown, whose name is still eminent as a grammarian, was a teacher at the school at this time, and he was one they would not willingly spare, but in October, 1813, his mother's dangerous illness called him to her bedside, and he did not reach her until after her death. He could not return to Nine Partners.

MARRYING AND ASKING IN MARRIAGE—MARRIAGE OF ABIGAIL.

The marriage of James, the eldest son, as related in a previous page, had been arranged at Nine Partners, and was already accomplished. And now came that of the youngest daughter, Abigail.

Lindley Murray Moore was already one of the teachers at Nine Partners when Adam and Anne Mott went there in 1811, and was esteemed one of the most competent teachers they ever had. He was then about twenty-three years old, having been born on the 31st of 5th mo., 1788, in the British Province of Nova Scotia. His father, Samuel Moore, a Friend, of English descent, was born in New Jersey, and lived there before the American Revolution; but, sympathizing with the British in the war, he found himself on the losing side when peace came, at its close, and became a "Refugee," losing all his property in that State. The British government, in accordance with its usual policy in such cases, indemnified its friends for their losses, and gave Samuel Moore, and such of his neighbors as were similarly situated, farms in Nova Scotia. Lindley Murray, afterwards celebrated as a grammarian, but then a wealthy merchant in New York, befriended Samuel Moore in the difficulties growing out of the war, and hence the name given to Samuel's son, who preserved it untarnished.

The only traditions that have reached me of the farm life in Nova Scotia are that it was a rugged one. In illustration, it was said to be the custom, when the women as well as the men worked in the summer hay fields, to take the children into the fields with them; and the baby was provided with a piece of pork, tied by a strong cord to its own foot, in order that if the child, when left alone should choke itself with the pork, its struggles would remove the difficulty.

Lindley Murray Moore had great vigor of mind. He returned to the United States, obtained a good education and devoted his life to teaching. He had been a diligent pupil at Mr. Clapp's "Sandwich Academy," on Cape Cod, a celebrated school in its day—where, in the early years of this century, the sons of prominent citizens of Boston were fitted for Harvard, as they were in later times at Phillips' Academy. He dated from his student life at Sandwich the short-sightedness for which he wore spectacles nearly all his life. Mr. Clapp was very strict in school discipline, only two reprimands preceded expulsion; and perhaps, as one of the results of his stay here, Lindley M. Moore always maintained very strict discipline in his own school. But he was never harsh.

Abigail Lydia Mott was about seventeen when she became engaged

to Lindley Murray Moore, while they were both at Nine Partners. But the boarding school did not pay its teachers wages to marry on, and he determined to establish a school of his own. The Monthly Meeting of Friends at Rahway, N. J., had a school house property, including a teacher's dwelling. This Lindley M. Moore rented, in 1812, and opened a school, which had to that extent the sanction of the meeting, but all the risks and profits of which belonged to the teacher who hired it. Lindley M. Moore was a diligent man, and he was ready to bring his wife there in the spring or summer of 1813. The bride's grandfather, James Mott, still retained his house at Premium Point, and there the wedding feast was held. They were married at Mamaroneck meeting house, on the 19th of 8th month, 1813. There is no tradition of any other bridal tour than the journey from Mamaroneck to Rahway; and here, in the frugal diligence to which they had both been bred, the young couple commenced the world together. And here was born, on the 15th of 7th month, 1814, their first-born son, to whom they gave the name of Edward Mott, and he has now, for many years, been eminent as a physician in Rochester, New York. And they remained here until the latter part of the year 1815, after Adam and Anne Mott had removed to New York, when Lindley went also to the city, to take charge of the Monthly Meeting School of Friends, in Pearl street, and Lindley and Abby made their home with her parents, in Lombardy street, where we shall meet them again.

But before Abigail's wedding, and probably before her engagement, her eldest sister, Sarah, had been asked in marriage, while she was teaching at Nine Partners. Silas Cornell had been a pupil there some years earlier, but had returned home before Adam Mott's coming. He continued his studies at home, and was a pupil in the New York Academy of Fine Arts in 1810, and had taught school in the vicinity of his father's house at Scarsdale. His father, Benjamin Cornell, of Scarsdale, lived on his ancestral acres, as they had come down to him from his grandfather, Richard Cornell,* who had settled there in 1727. This Richard Cornell, the ancestor of the numerous family of Cornells, of Scarsdale, born near Portsmouth, R. I., in 1670, was the son of John Cornwell—as he spelled his name—who, in 1676, had removed to Cowneck, on the invitation of Governor Andross, and had settled on land granted him by the Governor, near Sands Point, L. I., where some of his descendents are still living. John Cornwell was one of the younger

* This Richard Cornell, first of Cowneck and then of Scarsdale, was the grandfather of my grandfather; and the tall eight-day clock, which ticked in Richard's house, near two hundred years ago, I now, as I write, hear ticking through the open door in my dining-room, where it is running within a minute a month. Richard left it, by his will, to his youngest son Benjamin, my great-grandfather, who, in his turn left it, by his will, to his youngest son Benjamin, my grandfather; and he, a month before his death, in April, 1841, gave it to me, subject to my father's use of it during his life.

sons of Thomas Cornell, of Cornell's Neck—the founder of the Cornell family in America.

Richard Cornell and his descendants had been prominent among Friends for more than a hundred years. A meeting had been established, "to be held in Richard Cornell's house on Cowneck," in the early days of Quakerism, and the Westchester county records show that he was staunch to Quaker testimonies after his removal to Scarsdale, in 1727. His grandson, Benjamin, born in 1761, the youngest of ten children—a handsome man, of dignified presence and manners—held his head high among his neighbors. He built a new house, handsome and spacious for those days, and kept a handsome carriage, when handsome carriages were not common in Westchester county, and lived in as much dignity as was consistent with the dress and manners, and character of the staunchest Quakerism. The ancient, low-beamed house of his ancestors was still standing, some distance from the new house, when I first visited the old homestead, in 1827. The gray, moss-covered shingle roof sloped down low over the kitchen, and the old rose bushes, planted against the house, reached almost to the eaves. It was in this house that my father was born, on the 29th of 11th month, 1789.

James Mott, and Adam Mott and their families, had attended the same meeting with Benjamin Cornell and his family—the Mamaroneck meeting house being, in fact, just over the line in Scarsdale; and they not unfrequently served on the same committees in the Monthly and Quarterly Meetings, but there had been no special intimacy between the families. The proposal of marriage was, therefore, a surprise. It was made by letter, and he added that he would follow his letter in a few days to receive his answer in person. But the mails were slow, and the letter had not been received when he arrived. Sarah told with a little laughter, many years afterwards, how he was sitting, as a guest in the family that evening, when the letters were brought in. One was handed to her, addressed in an unknown hand. Looking at it questioningly she said, after a moment, "Who is this from?—I don't know the writing"—and then she opened it. But she said she finished reading it in another room.

In due time he received a favorable answer; but when the question came before his father he strenuously opposed the marriage, and there was consequently a long delay. But many letters passed between Scarsdale and the school, which were still preserved when I was a boy, and I think the earlier letters were dated in 1811. The marriage feast will be eaten when we come to the house in Lombardy street, in 1815.

Mary's engagement also occurred at Nine Partners. Among the pupils in the school, when Adam and Anne Mott took charge, was Robert Hicks. He was then in his nineteenth year, within a few days of Mary's age. He was the second son of Isaac Hicks, at that time a farmer of Westbury, and one of the wealthiest Friends of New York Yearly Meet-

ing, and formerly one of the most prosperous merchants and ship owners of New York City. But his wealth had not abated his fidelity to Quakerism, and a passage or two from his letters to his son Robert, while at school at Nine Partners, are interesting illustrations of the character of the family into which Mary was to marry.

ISAAC HICKS' LETTER TO HIS SON ROBERT.

"FLUSHING, 10th mo. 23, 1812.

"Dear Son:—We are now at this place, attending the Quarterly Meeting. * * Thy letter of 16th inst. was very acceptably received, and pleasing to perceive that thy health was good and thee well satisfied with thy situation in the school. * * Edmund Post, B. Hicks, Robert Willets and Samuel Mott, each are about sending a son to the school, and that pretty soon, and perhaps Robert Willets may carry them, by whom thee may drop us a line again. And indeed I wish thee to neglect no opportunity to send us a few lines; and if none offer as soon as once in two or three weeks, then send us by mail through the Poughkeepsie post office. And let me beg of thee to remember the advice thee has often had, to keep in the moderation in all things. Be patient, quiet, and in all things exhibit an example of humility and meekness. * * Thy mother, brother and grand-parents all wish to be kindly remembered to thee. Give my love to thy superiors in the house.

Thy affectionate parent, Isaac Hicks."

The letter is in a large, bold hand, filling two pages of large foolscap paper. He writes again:

"WESTBURY, 11th mo. 23, 1812.

"Dear Son:—I believe I have written two letters to thee since I received any from thee. This, however, don't deter me from embracing the present good opportunity to drop thee a few lines, to say we are all well. * * We feel thy absence very sensibly, and Mary,* in particular, very often desires me to go and fetch Robert home. We have got our hogs killed and one cow. The four old hogs weighed over 1,200 lbs. Have got home considerable winter wood. * * Stephen Titus expects to leave this for Nine Partners to-morrow, by whom this is to go; and by his return I hope thee will write us, and I want to know what studies thee pursues, how much time thee gets to study for thyself, what masters or assistants are in school, and how many scholars. * * Thy mother and family, and thy grandfather and mother, desire to be remembered to thee affectionately. I need not repeat my wishes that thee may keep in the moderation in all thy deportment, and so conduct thyself as to be a useful member in thy day and time, and a help to promote Peace and Righteousness in the Earth. Thy affectionate parents, for self and wife,

"I. Hicks."

There is no intimation in these letters of any marriage engagement with Mary U. Mott. Robert returned home the following year (1813), and the engagement was made before he left. But the marriage was delayed until after Adam and Anne Mott had returned to Premium Point. We will meet them there later.

* Robert's youngest sister.

A few extracts from contemporary letters will give further glimpses of the family life of 1813 and 1814. James Mott, Jr., writes to his parents, from Philadelphia, 11th mo. 7, 1813:

"Mother's very acceptable letter, of 31st ult., was received. * * What are the girls doing? Did they not care enough about us to have added a few lines? We should ever like to hear from M. how her R. is, and what he has to say for himself respecting his all important proposition, and when he intends visiting you. Do not forget L. and A., for I suppose we shall not hear from them but through you. Could I write a letter worth the postage I would put them to that expense. I am sorry to hear that you are so destitute for teachers. Hope, if G. B. does not return, you will be able to get some one to supply his place. I should have no objection to endeavor to do it for the winter, were the way clear, * * though L. tells me (and of which I am very sensible) that I am in no way qualified to enter as a teacher in that school." To which Lucretia adds: "I don't like to contradict people, but I believe I only went so far as to tell my J. M. that I feared he was not qualified to take Gould's place, judging from what I have heard of G.'s acquirements."

The younger James Mott writes again:

"PHILADELPHIA, 12th mo. 8, 1813.

"* * What accounts have you from Gould? I have heard his mother was interred the day he got home. * * Do you expect him to return this winter? * * I hope you will meet with your reward in continuing at the school this winter, notwithstanding the health of some of you may appear to suffer; but should not suppose you would be willing to remain another year. * * Flour has fallen in this city, within a few days, from $10 to $8, and is expected to be lower. Groceries are high and continue to advance—sugar, $26 to $28; molasses, $1.50; tea, $1.75; coffee, 33 cts.; pepper, 45 cts.; rice, $10; oil, $1.90 to $2; and everything else in proportion. A spirit of speculation prevails very generally, * * as regular business is suspended."

It will be noted that this letter is written during the war of 1812–14, when business was much embarrassed. James Mott, Sr., wrote:

"NEW YORK, 12th mo. 24, 1813.

Dear Children:—Barnard* arrived here this morning, by whom we learn that Anne has had another severe turn of typhus fever, but that she is on the recovery, which is a pleasing addition to the information. But I still think, as I did when with you, that it is time for her to be away from the charge that school brings upon her. Was it sledding I would take a turn up to the school for a few weeks, so as to be back for Meeting for Sufferings in 2d mo. The chaising is too bad, and on horseback would be too much for me this severe weather, (he was then in his 72d year), and by water is too doubtful about getting up, for Barnard says there is much ice in the river. * * I will now give you an extract from a letter from Lydia, dated the 17th inst.: 'Ah, my dear father, the solemn scene seems fast drawing to a close. My poor, dear Edward† perhaps will breathe no more when this reaches thee.' * *

* His grandson, son of Samuel Mott.

† Her eldest son, then seventeen years old.

Great stagnation in business has taken place in consequence of the embargo.* All kinds of our country provisions dull and on the fall. Sammy bought wheat at 14 shillings before the news of the embargo reached him—much of it at market, but no price at present. The custom house officers so strict that they don't allow boats to pass Coearler's Hook, not even if they are empty." * *

James Mott, Sr., writes again:

"NEW YORK, 1st mo. 5, 1814.

"Dear Children:—Yours, by I. Coles, I duly received and am rejoiced to read these expressions of ANNE: 'I gain daily, and my cough has very much left me.' For observing, when with you, that she coughed considerably, it struck me with some unpleasant apprehension, lest if additional occasions of increasing it should take place, it might prove of serious consequence; and though now subsided, I entreat that she may guard against future exposures, and unless a great change in her health, for the better takes place, the spring ought, in my view, to close your stay at the school. ADAM mentions a wish to return to the mill or of taking my place. I found that the best way in which I could manage that land, not only was attended with much difficulty, as I was circumstanced, but afforded me scanty means of support. Besides, things were getting so much out of repair, that on the whole I concluded it would be better to sell it, which I have done to Sammy, for a price the interest of which will be much more than I ever made of it. Perhaps you will think I have done wrong, but I have done for the best. Sammy is also about buying the Flandreau farm, which I conclude there is no doubt but he will get. He intends adding that part on the south side of the road to that of mine; and to stock all on the west side of the pond, including that he sold to Jas. Flandreau, with sheep; and bids me tell you that it shall be at your option whether to take it—that is the whole farm, including the Neck—on shares, or some other lay that may answer for both, or go to the mill. I hope—if it will answer you as well—it will be the first, as it will be a more natural home for me (while I remain above ground) than at the mill. * * I want very much to go to the school, but the weather is so severe and traveling so bad, and the cold affects me so much, that I feel afraid to venture except by sledding. * * The inhabitants of this city are much agitated—some pleased with the hope of peace, others alarmed at it, according to their different interests. The spirit of speculation has prevailed to wonderful extent, and these speculators, (which include a large portion of the mercantile part), who have bought large quantities of tea, coffee, sugar, cotton, and many other articles at high prices, now dread the consequence of the fall in value that peace, or any steps towards it, would occasion. Sugar, that ten days ago, would have sold for near forty dollars, may now be bought for about twenty. * * From what I learn it is all conjecture, for nothing has transpired, out of the Cabinet of State, what the dispatches by the British flagship contained. How I have been confirmed, since being in the city, that these tumults and confusions are not consistent with the Christian character or Quaker principles. * *

"I am, very affectionately, &c., JAMES MOTT."

* All American ports were then closed, an embargo having been ordered by Congress, on 17th December, 1813.

He wrote to ADAM and ANNE MOTT again, a few days later, dated:

"PURCHASE, 1st mo. 13, 1814.

"Dear Children;—I am now at Uriah Fields, who is much as he has been for some time. * * I wrote about a week ago by mail, telling you I had sold my possessions to Sammy, and that he was about making additions to it, and desired me to say to you that if you determined to leave the school, it should be at your option whether to go to Premium Point or to take the farm on shares. He meant to stock it with sheep." * * Here follows an extract from a letter he had recently received from Lydia P. Mott, giving the particulars of the death of her son Edward, early on New Year morning; and he adds: "I don't know whether you will find out what I have written, as it is done in great haste, being near meeting time, and company in the room talking and asking me questions. I am, affectionately, &c., James Mott."

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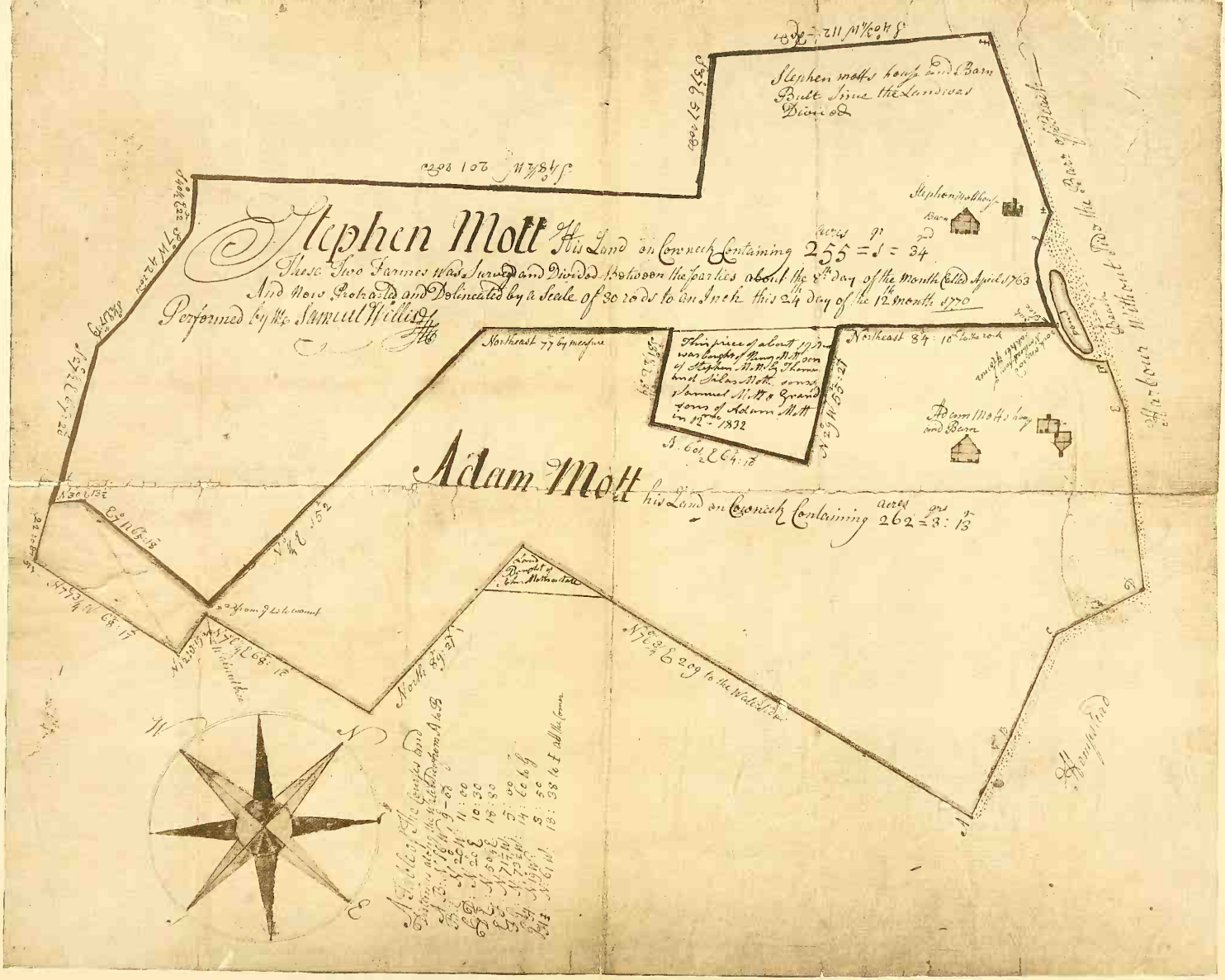


ARTOTYPE, E. BIENSTADT, N. Y.

FAC-SIMILE REDUCED FROM 30 RODS TO 47 RODS TO AN INCH.

He wrote to ADAM and ANNE MOTT again, a few days later, dated:

"PURCHASE, 1st mo. 13, 1814.

"Dear Children;—I am now at Uriah Fields, who is much as he has been for some time. * * I wrote about a week ago by mail, telling you I had sold my possessions to Sammy, and that he was about making additions to it, and desired me to say to you that if you determined to leave the school, it should be at your option whether to go to Premium Point or to take the farm on shares. He meant to stock it with sheep." * * Here follows an extract from a letter he had recently received from Lydia P. Mott, giving the particulars of the death of her son Edward, early on New Year morning; and he adds: "I don't know whether you will find out what I have written, as it is done in great haste, being near meeting time, and company in the room talking and asking me questions. I am, affectionately, &c., James Mott."

Whereas Adam Mott Jun.r Son of Adam Mott of Cowneck in the Township of North Hempstead in Queens County in the State of New York; and Anne Mott, Daughter of James Mott of Mamaroneck in Westchester County, and State aforesaid: having declared their intentions of Marriage with each other at two several Monthly Meetings of the People called Quakers Held at [illegible] and the Purchase, first having Consent of Parents and Relations concerned, and nothing appearing to Obstruct, were approved by said Meetings.

Now these are to certify all whom it may concern, that for the full accomplishment of their said intentions this nineteenth day of the fifth month one thousand seven hundred and eighty five, they the said Adam Mott and Anne Mott, appeared at a public Meeting of said People at Mamaroneck and the said Adam Mott, taking the said Anne Mott, by the hand, did in a Solemn manner openly declare that he took her to be his wife, promising by divine assistance to be unto her a true and loving Husband until death separate them, and the said Anne Mott did in like manner openly declare that she took the said Adam Mott to be her Husband, promising by divine assistance to be unto him a true and loving Wife until death separate them or words to that import. And Moreover they the said Adam Mott and Anne Mott, she according to the custom of Marriage Assuming the name of her Husband, as a further confirmation thereof have to these Presents set to their hands. And we whose names are here under written being present at the Solemnization of said Marriage and Subscription have set to our hands as witnesses thereof.

Adam Mott Jr.
Anne Mott

Mary Field
Mary Cornell
Jane Griffen
John Cornell
Martha Burling
John Ferris
Benjamin Burling
Robert Mott
Samuel Mott
Mary Burling
Samuel Burling
John Burling 3
Richard Willits Underhill
Jacob Wood

Adam Mott
James Mott
Richard Mott
Daniel Mott
Abigail Mott
Ann Underhill
Saml Underhill
Edward Burling
Benjn North
George Embree
Richard Burling
Stephen Cornell
Jonas Wood
Aaron Hunt
Rebekah Hunt

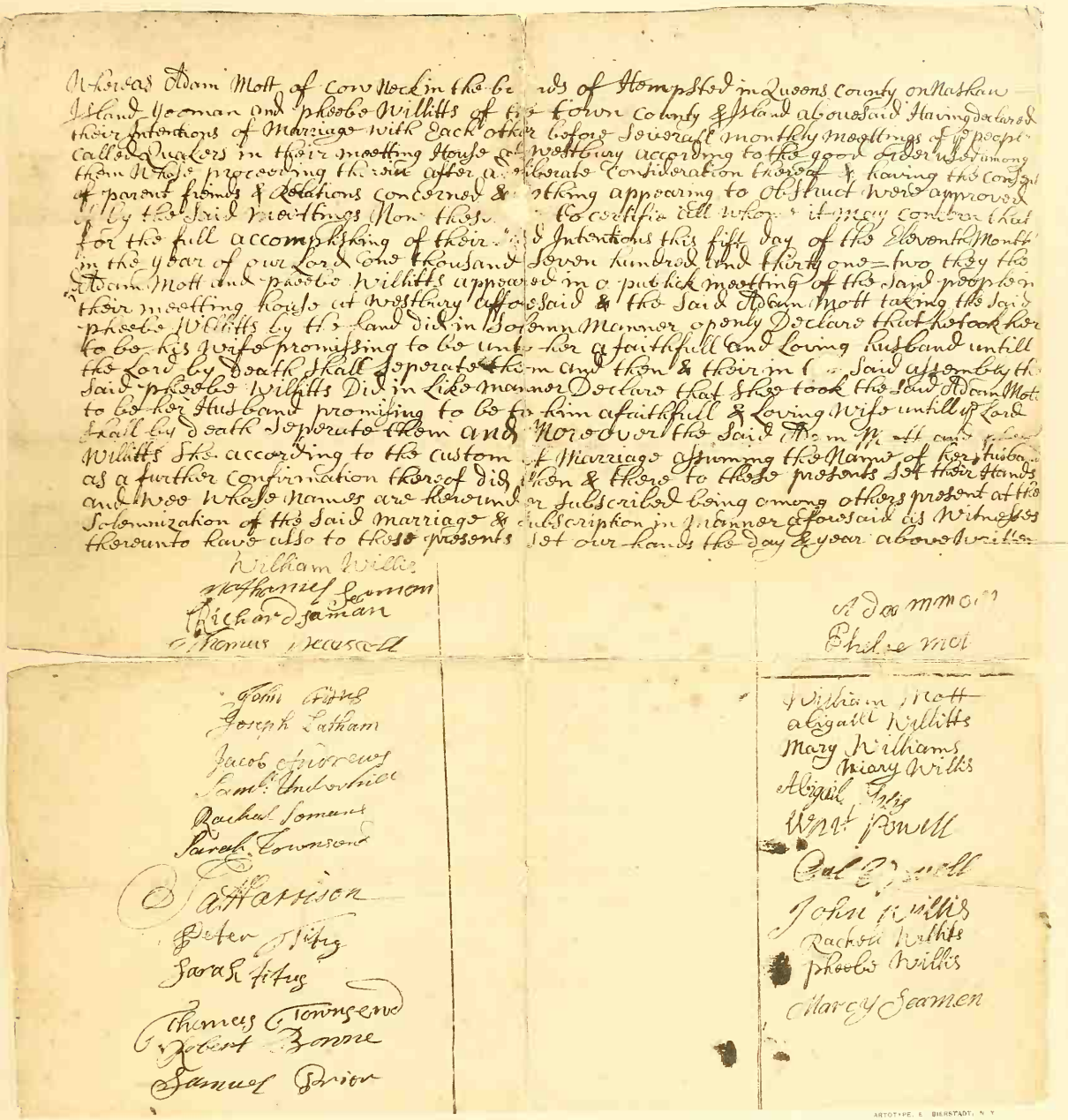
MARRIAGE CERTIFICATE OF ADAM AND ANNE MOTT,
1785.

He wrote to ADAM and ANNE MOTT again, a few days later, dated:

"PURCHASE, 1st mo. 13, 1814.

"Dear Children;—I am now at Uriah Fields, who is much as he has been for some time. * * I wrote about a week ago by mail, telling you I had sold my possessions to Sammy, and that he was about making additions to it, and desired me to say to you that if you determined to leave the school, it should be at your option whether to go to Premium Point or to take the farm on shares. He meant to stock it with sheep." * * Here follows an extract from a letter he had recently received from Lydia P. Mott, giving the particulars of the death of her son Edward, early on New Year morning; and he adds: "I don't know whether you will find out what I have written, as it is done in great haste, being near meeting time, and company in the room talking and asking me questions. I am, affectionately, &c., James Mott."

MARRIAGE CERTIFICATE OF ADAM MOTT, (THE YOUNGER SON ADAM) AND PHEBE WILLITTS, 11th mo. 5 1731.



Whereas Adam Mott of Cow Neck in the bo[illegible]ds of Hempsted in Queens County on Nashaw Island Yeoman and Phebe Willitts of the Town County & Island aboue said Having declared their Intentions of Marriage with Each other before Severall monthly meettings of ye people called Quakers in their meetting House at Westbury according to the good Order used among them Whose proceeding therein after a deliberate Consideration thereof & having the Consent of parent friends & Relations concerned & nothing appearing to Obstruct were approved by the said meettings Now these [illegible] to certifie all whom it may concern that for the full accomplishing of their [illegible]d Intentions this fift day of the Eleventh Month in the year of our Lord One thousand Seven hundred and thirty one = two they the Adam Mott and Phebe Willitts appeared in a publick meetting of the said people in their meetting house at Westbury aforesaid & the said Adam Mott taking the said Phebe Willitts by the hand did in Solemn Manner openly Declare that he took her to be his wife promissing to be unto her a faithfull and Loving husband untill the Lord by death shall seperate them and then & their in [illegible] said assembly the said Phebe Willitts Did in Like manner Declare that she took the said Adam Mott to be her Husband promising to be to him a faithfull & Loving wife untill ye Lord shall by death seperate them and Moreover the said Adam Mott and Phebe Willitts she according to the custom of Marriage assuming the Name of her husband as a further confirmation thereof did then & there to these presents set their Hands and Wee whose names are hereunder subscribed being among others present at the Solemnization of the said marriage & subscription in manner aforesaid as Witnesses thereunto have also to these presents set our hands the day & year above written

William Willis
Nathaniel Seaman
Richard Seaman
Thomas Deacsell

Adam Mott
Phebe Mott

John Ayres
Joseph Latham
Jacob Andrews
Saml. Underhill
Rachel Somans
Sarah Townsend
Tatt Harrison
Peter Titus
Sarah Titus
Thomas Townsend
Robert Bonne
Samuel Prior

William Mott
Abigail Willitts
Mary Williams
Mary Willis
Abigail Titus
Wm. Powell
Cal Powell
John Willis
Rachel Willits
Phebe Willis
Marcy Seamen

ARTOTYPE, E. BIERSTADT, N. Y.

REDUCED FROM 12 INCHES TO 7⅝ INCHES IN WIDTH.

Robert Hicks

FROM AN OIL PAINTING 1845.

with much love to all I remain
M. W. Hicks.

FROM A DAGUERREOTYPE TAKEN IN 1850.

CHAPTER VI.

RETURN TO PREMIUM POINT.

1814—1815.

In the winter of 1813–14 Adam and Anne Mott, as foreshadowed in the preceding letters, decided that they must leave the school at Nine Partners. Anne Mott's failure in health made it impossible for them to continue the burden of the school. They finally decided to accept "Sammy's option" and go to Premium Point, for a year, on trial; and about the beginning of fifth month, 1814, they moved into the old home of James Mott. The house was Anne's old home, and was always like a home to the whole family.

New interest was given to the return to Premium Point by the immediate preparation for Mary's wedding. The day had been fixed for the 19th of 5th mo. 1814. The circle of friends on both sides was large, the temper and the habits of the household were of the most hospitable, and the festivities of the occasion were only tempered by the simplicity and absence of ostentation of the strictest Quakerism. Robert's father and mother came the day before the wedding, and brought with them his father's brothers and sister. And Elias Hicks, the preacher, also came the preceding day and preached the sermon at the marriage, and remained two days after the wedding, as a guest in James Mott's house.

There is no tradition of any bridal tour. The young couple made their home with the bride's mother. The questions of Robert's business and home were still undecided. His father wanted him to settle on a farm, near his own residence at Westbury, which he proposed to give him. Robert wanted his father to set him up in business in New York. And meantime they remained at her mother's house in Mamaroneck; and here their eldest son was born, on the 3d of 3d month, 1815, and after his mother's grandfather they called him James Mott.

On Adam Mott's return to Premium Point, in 5th mo. 1814, he had been solicited to revive the school there. The room in the attic, formerly fitted up for the purpose, was again brought into use, and Sarah conducted the school for a few boarders and the children of the neighborhood. Adam Mott gave his time and care to the farm.

The following autumn James Mott, Sr., wrote to Adam and Anne Mott, from the residence of his daughter-in-law, Lydia P. Mott, as follows. She was then living at New Hartford, near Utica:

"NEW HARTFORD, 10th mo. 5, 1814.

"Dear Children:—* * You will observe, by the dating, I am still at Lydia's. Have been waiting, previous to going to De Ruyter, for Sammy's result, whether to accept the terms the factory company offers

to take Andrew upon." * * (This was a woolen factory at New Hartford, in which James Mott had an interest). "I have just received his letter, concluding to have me place him an apprentice to learn the various branches of carding, spinning, sorting wool, and so much of weaving and dressing cloth as to know how to do it, and when it is well done, so as to be able to superintend every branch in a woollen or cotton factory. He is to serve four years. The company boards him at Abraham Bradbury's—he to find his own clothes, and they allow him $40 the first year, with the additional sum of ten dollars each year, to provide the same. Andrew is the only apprentice they have taken, or intend to take, to instruct in the whole business. * * I find, by Sammy's letter, that our place is advertised for sale, and several applications to purchase; and he queries whether I would be willing to take a mortgage for part of the amount of what it sells for. I conclude somebody is disposed to give more than my mortgage; and, of course, the Motts will have to quit the neck they have so much valued. * * But if the places are both sold, what are your prospects? Have you any plans in view? Is it to increase your school, or is farming the object? Has Ohio any attraction, or does the compass point to the North or West? Farms plenty to be bought in this country, and they are rising in value fast. * * My prospect has been, since you left Nine Partners, that your home would be my home, the little time I should need one, and I have thought it would be matter of indifference, as respects myself, whether it was in Westchester, Dutchess or Oneida county, or still further West in the country, wherever way should open to your advantage. But Ohio seems rather to have too distant a sound.

"Samuel gives a melancholy account of failures in the city. * * Lydia requests it may be suggested to Samuel Titus, that as the Premium Mills are now pretty much all the security for the property Robert left, (except the farms she owns), and the possibility if not the probability, that before this cruel war is at an end, *that* may be destroyed, whether it would not be prudent, if no other way can be devised to change the security than by foreclosing the mortgage, the precariousness of it does not call for such a measure, and the money be laid out in land in this country. She says she will engage the land shall produce seven per cent. * * I have not been without some thought, if your future movement should be to this part of the country, whether I could not lay out some of my property in land here to more advantage than to place it at interest; but it will depend on what your result is. * * The man who lives on Lydia's farm intends writing to Elihu Smith, or his brother, to purchase and send him some of Richard Mott's early buck lambs. I wish Richard would pick out one for Job Webb, and send with them, and Lydia would be glad he would send her one. * * Should Richard be from home, I wish Adam to attend to it immediately, by picking and marking them, to be ready if Elihu Smith should get some, that they may come with them. * * I am, &c.,

"James Mott."

James Mott's mention, in the above letter, of the "cruel war," brings to mind that its date is near the close of the second year of the war of 1812–14, and that they were living amid its anxieties, and were witnesses of some of its scenes, on the waters of the Sound. Richard Mott, Jr., was then ten years old, and near three quarters of a century later he

wrote of some of the events he saw, and of some of the anxieties which he felt in those days of his boyhood. Who, he anxiously questioned, could now replace Washington and Hamilton, and the heroes of the Revolution?

"For a time," he writes, "these doubts caused much silent unhappiness, greatly aggravated when the news came of Hull's surrender at Detroit, that took the country by indignant surprise. This anxiety was somewhat worn off after the capture by the Constitution of the two frigates Guerriere and Java, and the Macedonian by the United States. But the next year doubts were renewed, when a British fleet, having chased the frigate United States and her prize, the Macedonian, into New London, left a strong force to blockade them and sent two frigates through the Sound, both anchoring in full sight of the family at Premium Point, and so spread as to command the navigation completely. No vessel could pass them; many were captured and burned. Uncle Billy shook his head doubtingly, saying, 'Them fellows ought to be druv off.' The sight was exasperating to the powerless residents of both shores. At length (it seemed a long time) it was reported that a fleet of gunboats was about coming from New York to drive the intruders off. Each boat (there were twenty-six of them) carried a single gun of longer range than the armaments of the frigates of that period. It was claimed that in light winds, or especially during a calm, these boats could put themselves in positions, out of the reach of the guns of the frigates, and sink or capture them. So when expectations had been highly raised, the fleet of gunboats, early one quiet morning, left their anchorage behind Sands Point, forming a formidable looking line, and, propelled by long sweeps, moved towards the nearest frigate, (I heard some one say her name was the Atlantic), anchored a few miles eastwardly. The show was exhilarating; each little schooner had all sail set, to make the most of the slight breeze. The fleet had not gone far when the wind began to blow enough to change the glassy surface of the water to the dark green caused by a freshening breeze. No movement was apparent with the ships. People began to collect on the shore to witness the expected engagement, wherein the gunboats were to make decisive work. Wonder was expressed as to what the frigates were likely to do. They were quiet at their anchors. Suddenly the lofty masts of the nearest ship, that towered black and bare above the horizon, were covered with canvas, set instantly, in that seemingly magic manner accomplished on well-disciplined men-of-war. In less than two minutes every sail was spread, the anchor weighed, and the ship, swinging around, began to gather headway. Exclamations were made by the people on the shore. 'There she goes—she'll keep away and run!' But no, she did not bear away, but hauled on the port tack, close upon the wind, which began to increase. 'She shows fight,' was now said, as she held on the course across the Sound to meet the gunboats alone, her consort remaining motionless. The excitement increased as she came nearer. The sight was beautiful and imposing. The black hull, surmounted by the white cloud of sail, laid over under the pressure; and as she could be seen through the spy-glass, the yeasty foam gathered under her bows as she dashed through the water. The majestic beauty of a large ship, under a full head of sail and adroitly handled, affords a spectacle which no steam-propelled craft can equal. The frigate was evidently in skillful hands.

On she came, and as the distance lessened, showed that she was in earnest for the fray by an occasional shot, which, it could be seen, fell short. After standing well across the Sound she came into stays, and was soon swung around on the starboard tack, which course carried her more toward the gunboat fleet. A speedy conflict seemed inevitable. 'Now then, our fellows are going to give 'em a taste!' shouted Uncle Billy, as the gunboats all rounded-to, one after the other. All were waiting, breathlessly, to hear from their boasted long-range cannon. Anticipations of the great execution promised for the guns were mortifyingly dispelled. They were not tested. Instead of sinking the frigate, as had been boastingly claimed, the rounding-to was the preliminary movement for running away, as each boat did as fast as their sails could drive them; some of the rear ones, it was said, actually ran out their long oars to accelerate their escape. The frigate held on her way, firing ineffectually as if in exultant challenge. As no reponse was made, she at length took in her upper sails, and squaring away before the wind, went back to her former anchorage.

"The little knot of spectators were greatly disappointed. They had come out in confident expectation of seeing the insolent enemies sunk or taken, or, at least driven off. But the driving was ignominiously the other way. Had both frigates been engaged it would not have been so humiliating; but for our little fleet, that was boasted of as a match for both, to retreat before a single one while the other remained motionless at her moorings, was a mortifying back-down. The boats had the weather-guage and could have kept this advantage, but the bold front assumed by the frigate may have overawed the incompetent commodore of our flotilla. (I don't remember his name).

"A marvellously succinct account of this affair of large promise, great expectations and minute results, was found in the papers. It was about thus: 'Our gunboats proceeded up the Sound to within sight of the enemy's ships, but the wind not proving propitious they came back to their anchorage, near Sands Point.'

"Poor Uncle Billy was cast down. Walking ruefully back to the house, he imparted his belief to the two boys, holding each hand, that if General Washington had been alive there would have keen no such sneaking as that. When, a few weeks afterwards the ships sailed away and returned no more, Billy encouraged himself and the boys with the improbable consolation that if the gunboats did not drive them away, 'mebbe they did scare 'em off.'

"Few are left who were lookers-on at that event. I go to the old place occasionally. All are strangers. The local events of the war of 1812 are but dimly known. As for those of the Revolution, there is scarcely more knowledge of them than of the predatory wanderings of the Israelites, after leaving Egypt.

"One old man, a centenarian, lived near in those days, whose acquaintance a few years later might have been richly worked on other happenings, previous to those of the Revolution. He was one of the Acadians, 'Jaques Tournaire,' by name—anglicised into Jack Turner, age 104. It was said that at one time, when his great age was spoken of, he replied that he feared the Lord had forgotten him. A few years after, knowing the history of that cruel deportation, it would have been high gratification to have obtained personal details from the ancient exile's lips. It was then too late. The Lord had remembered him."

Two letters of Lucretia Mott, written in this winter of 1814–15, give glimpses of the life at Mamaroneck, in the year following the return from Nine Partners. Lucretia's father, Thoman Coffin, died in Philadelphia, after a few days illness, from the effects of a cold, on the 1st of 2d mo., 1815. Eight days later she writes the following letter:

"PHILADELPHIA 2d mo. 9, 1815.

"My Dear Parents and Sisters—* * Our late *irreparable* loss has left a blank in our circle which can never be filled, and has altered the face of all our prospects so that at times everything I look toward appears dark and gloomy. * * How sudden! How little thought of two weeks ago! * * I am much pleased to hear of the renewal of Silas' visits.* It is what I wished last summer, for I always liked the friend's looks. * * Let us know how often the white horse goes down the lane. * * Lucretia."

Her husband, James Mott, Jr., adds:

"Father's letter by T. K., (Thomas Kimber), is received. I was pleased to find that you was on a visit to L. and A.† It must have been very pleasant to them. * * I feel so incompetent to giving advice that I scarcely know what to say in reply to father's letter. The salary offered to Sarah, to take Friends School in New York, I think is a pretty liberal one; but I should suppose her future prospects would so occupy her time that the school could not be attended to. * *

"Love to all, James Mott, Jr."

The next letter from Lucretia Mott is dated;

"PHILADELPHIA, 22 (3d mo.) 4th day (1815).

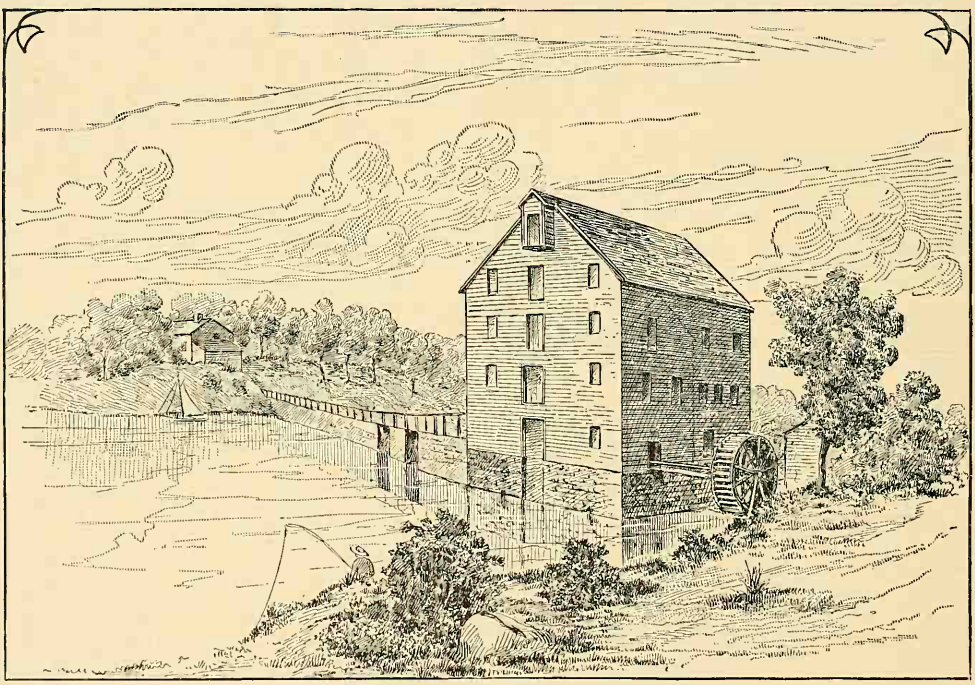
"My Dear Parents and Sisters, &c.—How swiftly time passes! Who would suppose it? So short a time since we arrived in Mamaroneck and found Mary preparing for her wedding, and now she is a mother! * * We are pleased with the name, and I was so selfish as to say I was glad she had a son, that Anna might be the only grand-daughter a little longer. * * Emmor Kimber was here yesterday; inquired who was coming on, (to Yearly Meeting in Philadelphia), and being told, said, 'Well, I am very glad to hear it, for Anne Mott is one of the finest women in the world, except my wife.' You may not break up housekeeping again very soon—that now is the time, and we should be exceedingly disappointed if you did not come. * * We feel much for Silas and Sarah, but I have some courage to hope the old gentleman will yet relent. How necessary patience is. Several have observed lately how well you have married your *daughters*. We shall keep the affair quite secret. * * Does not Brother Robert talk of going to the city to live, too? Your prospect, we think, a good one. I should suppose Samuel Underhill quite a suitable partner. How clever it would be if Lindley and Abby could remove to New York. * *. We should rejoice to see grandfather here at the Yearly; he is so smart I should think he would come. Uncle R. said that Aunt Abby had had a concern to attend this Yearly for some time; it would be very pleasant to us if he would escort her here this spring. We often think of cousin Samuel and Mary Titus. Love to all. Kiss Anna and the little James

*Silas Cornell, whose marriage with Sarah had been prevented by his father's opposition.

† Lindley M. Moore, who then had a school at Rahway.

for me. * * How is Uncle Samuel making out? Is Avis* addressed by J. E.? Please let us know the day and hour when we may expect you. L. C. M."

The foregoing letter of James Mott, Sr., (10th mo. 5th, 1814) gives some intimation of the anxious questions of the place and means of living, which were pressing on Adam and Anne Mott, during the year at Premium Point after leaving Nine Partners. This, as above mentioned, was the last year of the war of 1812, and was a time of great business depression. Peace was finally concluded, and the treaty signed at Ghent, on the 24th of December, 1814. But the news did not reach the United States until a month later. It was now hoped that business might revive. And the result of all the anxious consideration of the question was the decision, after a year's stay at Premium Point, that Adam Mott should sell out all his interests in Mamaroneck and remove to New York, and to go into business there.



PREMIUM MILL, IN 1878.

After this removal to New York Adam and Anne Mott never again made their home at Premium Point, and the property soon after passed into other hands. But the place and name always remained a pleasant memory to them and to their children, and to their children's children. The place suffered but little change for three-fourths of a century. The house of James Mott was enlarged and is still in good repair. The mill

* Samuel Mott's daughter, Avis, soon after this date married James Everingham.

gradually went to decay, but was in use in 1878, when the sketch, given above, was taken. But since 1880 the improvements, in the neighboring settlement of Larchmont, have removed the old mill, and substituted pretty Queen Anne cottages on the neighboring Point.

This removal of Adam Mott also made necessary the removal of Robert and Mary U. Hicks, who had made their home with her mother since their marriage. They finally consented to try the farm, which his father wanted to give him at Westbury, and they moved there in 5th month, when their son James was two months old. Mary would have been content to remain at Westbury if Robert had been satisfied. But, although he had consented to remain a year with his father, he was discontented, and Mary was in distress as long as there was disagreement between Robert and his father. A wise and prudent letter, which Mary received from her mother a little later, will be interesting here, although a few months in advance of its chronological place:

LETTER OF ANNE MOTT TO HER DAUGHTER MARY U. HICKS.

"NEW YORK, — of 8th mo., 1815.
Third Day afternoon.

"My dear Mary's letter was truly welcome, on reaching home this morning, as was one from her loved sister, A. Moore, which I shall enclose. * * I rejoice to find you are all well, except R.'s scalded foot, which I hopewill soon be well.

"You have been the subjects of my solicitude very frequently since we parted, and very much do I regret that home has not as many charms for you as for myself. I know that of that happiness which arises from mutual esteem and attachment you have a large share; but painful experience has taught me that this, though the most substantial enjoyment which springs from a terrestrial source, is incomplete without being connected with a certain degree of independence; and from an acquaintance with your dispositions, I am sensible it is peculiarly painful to you, and perhaps the more so from being unexpected. Yet I see no remedy in the present situation of things; nor, unaccountable as it may seem, do I think blame is to be attached anywhere in the whole business. Robert's mind has got a bias one way and his father's another, and each must think his own opinion best, or he would adopt the other. I should very sincerely rejoice if R. could be satisfied with a farm, not only because I think he would be more comfortable than he imagines, but because I think much is due to an affectionate parent, willing to make his children comfortable, but naturally wishing to do it in that way which his observation and experience has led him to believe is the best; yet from what he said to thee, intending to conform to R.'s views rather than that you should not be settled. Thou, my dear child, hast the character of firmness—now is the time for its exercise. Adhere strictly to thy "neutrality." Use the influence thou possesses in the best manner, and suffer not, I entreat thee, thy precious mind to be overspread with "gloom." For tho' your situation is not as you could wish, how many would view it as an enviable one. Even thy deserving brother, would he not rejoice to exchange his cares for the present and fears for the future, for the reasonable expectations you have in prospect? * * *

Sarah is at Westchester, went up there last 7th day, will stay till the next, and then come home. She has recruited finely and intends giving thee particulars of her tour by James and Debby U. (Underhill) who intend paying a visit to their Long Island friends next week. The corner house folks are of the number.* We made an agreeable acquaintance with Edward Stabler and companion Roger Brook. The latter told Sarah he was afraid of me, but it did not last long, for he became very sociable before we parted, and pleased with thy sister. * * * Father, (James Mott) Sister L. and Alfred left Mamaroneck first day. * * They go in father's wagon * * When your father left me at Purchase on 5th day (to accompany E. Stabler and companion to Mamaroneck the next day) I expected to have crossed over to Cowneck and so to Westbury again, but the weather becoming cool and Samuel Titus offering me a seat in his chair when he came to mg. for sufferings, I was induced to come home, at least to see how they were, and what about. * * I shall therefore postpone finishing my visit to Westbury. * *

I love Phebe Hicks well enough to write her ten letters, if they would be any use in her quandry, but what shall I say? I should rejoice to see her married to her equal, but where is he to be found? Who is the man that in the balance of not only good, but pleasing, amiable qualities, would be found to deserve her? * * I have asked some questions about J. C., (John Clapp whom she soon afterward married) when I could do it without suspicion * * Her own good sense must at last decide and I have no doubt she will do it rightly, as she attends to that, be it which way it will. Time nor paper admit of more.—A. Mott."

It may be added here that before the year was out Isaac Hicks yielded to his son's wishes and set him up in business in New York, and they again made their home in the city with her mother.

* Robert and Mary U. Hicks were living in "the corner house," at Westbury.

CHAPTER VII.

IN LOMBARDY STREET.

1815–1817.

In the spring of 1815, as above stated, Adam Mott removed to New York, and undertook the crockery business with his nephew, Samuel Underhill, under the name of Mott & Underhill. Their store was No. 312 Pearl street, corner of Peck slip. In less than a year Samuel Underhill retired, and Adam Mott continued a similar business with James Nelson and James Hawxhurst, under the name of Nelson & Mott. The store was removed to No. 35 Fulton street. Business was but moderately prosperous.

They made their residence in Lombardy street, now Monroe street, then a very respectable street and much frequented by Quakers. In the spring of 1815 they hired the house, now almost unchanged and known as No. 88 Monroe street; but the street is regraded, so that the front door is now half a dozen steps above the sidewalk. In 1815 it was but a single step. This house they occupied until April, 1816, when they removed a few doors to the brick house now No. 66 Monroe street, and little changed except by the addition of a third story. Their nearest neighbor (No. 64) was Whitehead Hicks. The next house above them —a lumber yard intervening—was No. 72, occupied by Henry Brooks, clothier, father of Brooks Brothers, now prosperous clothiers on Broadway. In No. 74 lived Nathan Comstock, a prominent Friend of that day.

The family in Lombardy street comprised the eldest daughter Sarah, until her removal to Flushing in the spring of 1816; the second daughter Mary and her family and the youngest son Richard during the entire stay, and also the youngest daughter Abby and her family after 11th mo. 1815. Lindley Murray Moore gave up his school at Rahway at that date, and took charge of the boys' department of the Monthly Meeting School in Pearl street. Richard was a pupil in this school and subsequently an assistant teacher under his brother-in-law. The elder James Mott also made his home with his daughter whenever he was in New York. James Mott, Jr., of Philadelphia was also an inmate of his mother's house in Lombardy street for about six months in 1816–17, when he was in Jacob Barker's bank, in Wall street, near William, as an experiment, on a salary of $600 a year. One of his fellow clerks in Barker's bank was Fitz Green Halleck, who was subsequently in the service of John Jacob Astor, and left considerable reputation as a poet. But James Mott Jr., gave up this experiment with Jacob Barker about the end of January, 1817, and returned to Philadelphia, where his family had remained, and

where he ultimately prospered. There was also a time when Robert F. Mott, son of Anne Mott's brother Richard, was another inmate of her house in Lombardy Street.

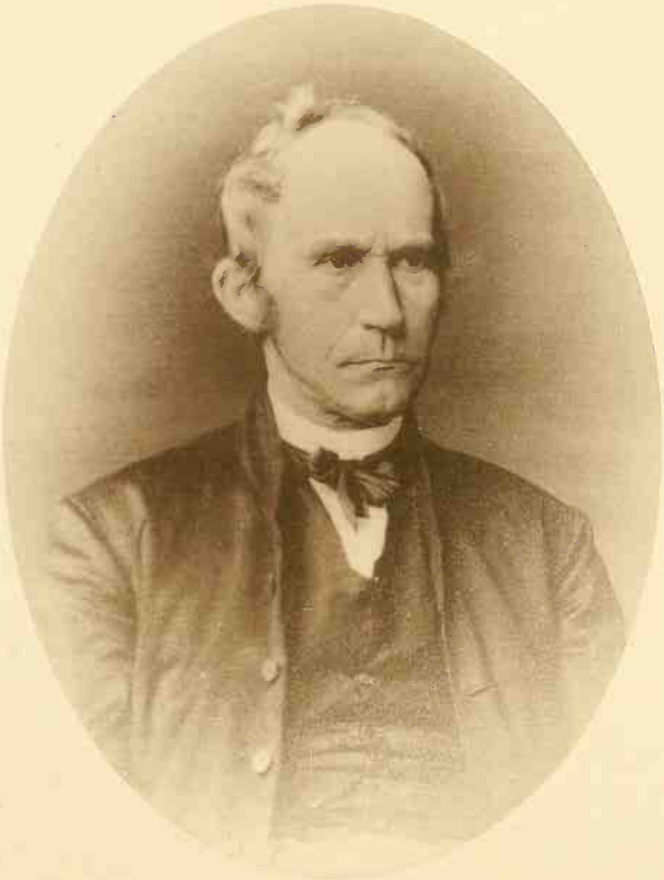
The New York City Directory—July, 1816 to July, 1817, gives—"Adam Mott Crockery, 3 Beekman Slip cor. Pearl St., house 76 Lombardy Street." The same Directory also first brings in the name of "Robert Hicks, merchant, 76 Lombardy Street," not naming his place of business. He had gone into the flour business with Clapp & Griffin, and the firm afterwards became Clapp & Hicks. In the Directory of the following year—1817–18 his name appears in the same way—"Robert Hicks, merchant, 76 Lombardy" (the house of his father-in-law). In this house was born to Robert and Mary U. Hicks, a daughter, who lived but a few days, but who received the name of her grandmother and was called Ann Mott Hicks, and died on the 8th of 1st mo. 1817.

The New York Directory of 1816–17 also gives the name "Lindley Moore, teacher, 76 Lombardy." And in this house was born to him on the 29th of 7th mo. 1816, his second son, Gilbert Hicks Moore. The following year, 1817, Lindley M. Moore hired a house in Chrystie Street, into which he removed his family, and the Directory of 1817–18 gives "Lindley Moore, teacher, 61 Chrystie." In this house was born on the 19th of 6th mo. 1818, his eldest daughter, who after her grandmother was called Ann Mott.

The relations of Adam Mott's family with the Monthly Meeting School, were at this time so intimate, that it will be of interest to note that the house in Lombardy Street was about five minutes walk from the Pearl Street Meeting house, and that the Monthly Meeting School house stood in the same inclosure with the Meeting House on the east side of Pearl Street opposite Hague Street, and about half way between Franklin Square and Oak Street.

The Pearl Street Meeting house,—of dark red, hard burned brick,—had been built, "up town," before the Revolution, and was so spacious that when the British army occupied New York, the Meeting house was first used as a Military Hospital, and was afterwards made a Riding school for training cavalry recruits, being large enough to admit a roomy ring. Perhaps the few Friends remaining in the city during the war may have gone back to the old meeting house on the north side of Liberty street, just east of Broadway.

The Pearl street school house, also a spacious brick building two stories in height, but somewhat more modern than the meeting house, was set back near the north side of the lot and in the rear, where the ground was lower than at the street, leaving the north windows of the meeting house unobstructed. In this school house the girls occupied the lower story, and the boys were up stairs. The spacious yard, ascending from the school house to the street, was paved with brick, and the whole property, including the school house and the meeting house,



Silas Cornell

Sarah M. Cornell

FROM DAGUERREOTYPES TAKEN ABOUT 1850.

was enclosed along the street by a good brick wall, eight or ten feet in height and coped with cut stone, and through this wall arched gateways led to the meeting house and to the school house.*

This was the school house in which Adam Mott's daughter, Sarah, taught the girls from the spring of 1815 until the spring of 1816, when she opened her own school in Flushing, and his son-in-law Lindley Murray Moore taught the boys from November, 1815, until the spring of 1821, when he also established his own school in Flushing. I have not learned what salary the Monthly Meeting paid Sarah for her services as teacher, except that her brother James called it "liberal." The salary paid to L. M. Moore, as related by his brother-in-law, Richard Mott, sixty years later, was $1,200 per year. This was during the suspension of specie payments, and everything was high.

One of the important events which occurred in the first Lombardy street house was Sarah's marriage. After three years' patient waiting, Benjamin Cornell so far relented that the time of the marriage was fixed for the end of the year 1815. Had he not at length consented, the Monthly Meeting would have authorized the marriage without it; but this consent, although tardy, permitted the usual form of proceeding, and the marriage certificate recited that the young people had the consent of parents. But this long opposition had not been accepted patiently by Sarah's family. Anne Mott relates how she happened to dine at Benjamin Cornell's house, about four months before the marriage, and soon after the old gentleman's reluctant consent had been given. She and Lydia P. Mott had been at Purchase Quarterly Meeting where was also Edward Stabler, a minister on a religious visit with his companion, Roger Brook. Anne Mott is writing to her daughter Mary. She says:

"Benjamin Cornell and wife called at Wm. F.'s after Quarterly Meeting to invite the strangers to dine with them the next day on their way to Mamaroneck, and as we were in company (L. P. M. and myself), we were also invited. I did not intend to accept it, but the next morning Lydia got into the chair with Edward Stabler, and Roger Brook in the wagon with me, so that I must either go with them, or give the reason. I thought best to do the first, tho' very disagreeable, and was treated with attention, and judging from circumstances I should suppose they are willing some things should be forgot, but it will require time."

The marriage took place in Pearl Street Meeting house on the 12th of 12th month, 1815. The hospitable wedding dinner was spread at her mother's house in Lombardy, for many relatives and friends. Elias Hicks attended the meeting and preached the wedding sermon and was

* It may be of interest to note that a new meeting house was built in Rose street about 1822–24, and the Pearl street meeting house was sold and the building taken down, and Goold Brown the grammarian bought the school house property and conducted a school there for some years. He sold the property to Mahlon Day, a prominent Quaker bookseller, who erected his store and printing house upon the lot. This book store was No. 374 Pearl street.

a guest at the wedding dinner. And Silas' step-mother showed her good will by presenting the young couple with a feather bed and bedding.

As Sarah was still in charge of the girls' department of the Monthly Meeting School in Pearl Street, the young people lived in her mother's house during the winter, while they made arrangements to open their own school at Flushing, in the Spring. This year of 1816 was remarkable for being so cold that frost was formed in New York every month during the year. Fruit and corn were almost entirely destroyed, and many other crops much injured, and the previous evils of financial distress thus aggravated. But it was in this Spring of 1816 that Silas and Sarah M. Cornell opened a boarding-school for girls at Flushing. They occupied a house belonging to the Preparative Meeting of Friends, adjoining the grounds of the time-honored Meeting house, where at a little earlier period New York Yearly Meeting had long been held. There was less than an acre of ground, and a house which could be made to answer the purpose, for all of which the preparative meeting charged a rent of two hundred dollars a year, but exercised no supervision over the school. In this house they lived from the Spring of 1816 to the Spring of 1823, and in this house the present writer was born.

Some glimpses of the life of the different members of the family of Adam Mott, during these years, may be found in contemporary family letters.

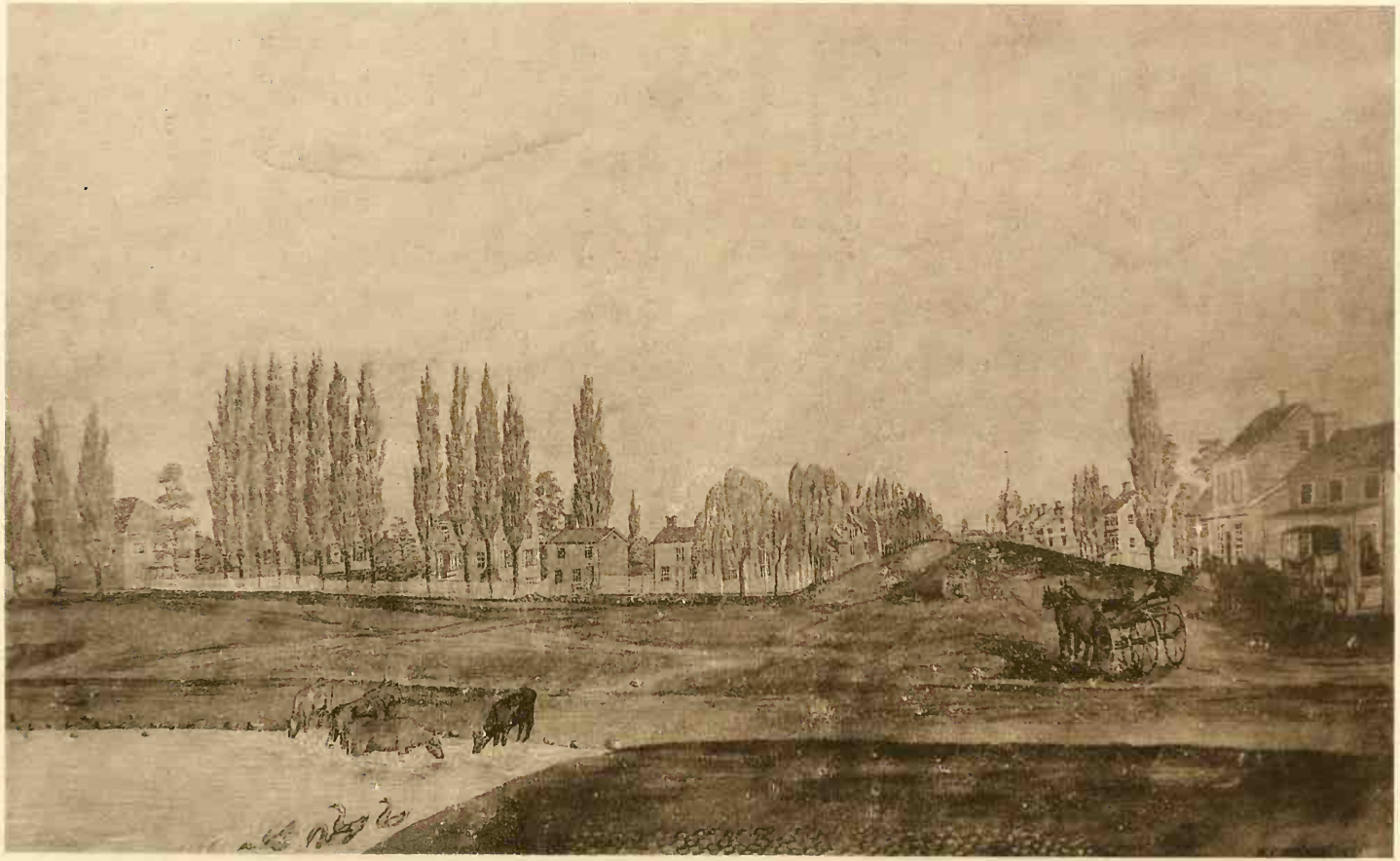
James Mott. Jr., writes from Phil^a., under date 6th mo. 27, 1815.

* * "It is not unexpected to hear of S. and S. conclusion to accomplish their intentions next fall. * * Silas' plan of spending the summer with Lindley I think a good one, and it is my opinion that they will be much more likely to get along comfortably by school keeping, than in mercantile pursuits. It is probable they might get more scholars and a better price at New Hartford than in the neighborhood of New York, but I do not think it would be very advantageous to connect a farm upon shares with the school. * * The proposal having been made by T. Clapp,* and adopted by them, I should recommend consulting him as to a situation. * * He has it in his power to do much for them, and probably will if he should happen to take with Silas' wife. * *

Lucretia Mott adds to her husbands letter—

"My James has written so fully that there seems but little left for me to add; indeed I have not much time to write now. * * I have thought

*Thomas Clapp was brother of Dorcas (Clapp) Sutton, mother of Silas Cornell's mother, Alice (Sutton) Cornell, and consequently Silas Cornell's great uncle. Thomas Clapp was a prosperous farmer and mill owner living just over the Connecticut line, east of Purchase Meeting House. He had inherited the house and farm from his father and had become one of the wealthiest Friends in Purchase Quarterly Meeting, and having no children had money to divide among his nephews and nieces. He died in 1828 at the age of eighty-four, and among numerous bequests, divided eleven thousand dollars among eleven Preparative Meeting Schools of Purchase Quarter, one thousand dollars to Nine Partners Boarding School and one thousand dollars each to the three Monthly Meetings of Purchase, Chappaqua and Ammawalk. To this present writer, then eight years old, his patriarchal benediction on taking leave of him a few months before he died, "be a good boy!"—is one of memory's most vivid pictures.



FRIENDS MEETING HOUSE.

RESIDENCE OF SILAS CORNELL.

MAIN STREET.

FLUSHING, L. I., IN 1819.

REDUCED FROM A WATER-COLOR DRAWING BY SILAS CORNELL.

seriously of sending Anna to school this summer. * * She mentions with pleasure that her Aunt Sarah is coming to see her, and I believe remembers the rest of you. A few days since she said that her great-grandfather had gone to New Hartford. It is also pleasant to the rest of us to look forward to Sarah's visit. When may we expect her? * * I also approve Silas and Sarah's conclusion. Will not he accompany her on here? We should like much to see them together."

James Mott, Sr., writes from

"New Hartford, 11th mo. 21, 1815.

"My dear daughter's letters have been very cordial to me, as they not only afford me much satisfactory information, but manifest her attachment to and feeling for a parent who is sensible of the natural effects of old age both on body and mind. * * How gladdening to the heart of a superanuated parent thus to be cared for by his children. * * [He was then in his 74th year, and lived nearly to his 81st birthday, with but little abatement of his physical or mental vigor. He walked from New York to Flushing and returned in the winter following his entrance on his 80th year.] * The prospect of spending the winter with you appeared pleasant and was what I had contemplated, but * * as your fireside will have the addition of Lindley and Abby and son, as well as Sarah's Silas this winter, that perhaps I had better accept Lydia's invitation to stay, and Alfred and I occupy her little warm bedroom, have a fire to ourselves, and be by ourselves whenever it best suited us. I have now come to the result to do so. * * But it is not in consequence of want of room or acceptance with you or at Richard's or Sammy's, but through Alfred's entreaty. * *

"Altho' Lydia's school consists of 20 boarders, she left it to attend their Quarterly meeting at Duanesburg. * * I have no doubt but the school will be profitable to Lydia as to money making. * * She has sold her farm on the north side of the road. * * This I consider a good sale. * * She gets about a thousand dollars more than it cost her. * * Lydia has been speculating since she came home—purchased two lots of 400 acres each in Joseph Frost's tract. * * I have hinted to Sammy whether Adam and himself could not make a profitable speculation in joining with Joseph Frost in purchasing some Robert Bowne owns adjoining this land of Joseph's—perhaps six or eight thousand acres. What accounts hast thou to give me of J. Mott's dry goods business? And how does Adam and Samuel's crockery business succeed? I hope Adam and Sammy will be careful whom they trust. * * Upon the same ground I hope Slocum & Mott* will be guarded. How do they succeed? * * This goes by John B. Wilbor, who offers to bring any little matters we need. * *

In much love to you all, I am, affectionately, &c.,

James Mott."

JAMES MOTT SENIOR TO HIS DAUGHTER.

"New Hartford 12 mo. 24, 1815.

"Dear Anne:—Thine of 5th instant containing so much pleasing information I rd. a few days ago. * * It would have been very pleasing to me to have been at Sarah's marriage; and one of the number of the

*Thomas Slocum and Barnard Mott, son of Samuel.

social club around your fireside this winter. I love agreeable society, and here I am pretty much deprived of it, particularly in the day. Evenings dear Alfred and I have some of Lydia's company, and of Sarah Sutton's after she gets through her Evening School. * * I am well suited with Silas and Sarah's prospect of going to Flushing; I apprehend the opening looks favorable with respect to the pecuniary part of it. * * But as they are now setting out in life, it is not only all important that they set out right, but persevere in doing right. * * I wish them to bear in mind that every deviation from that line of conduct pointed out to them by the infallible guide, the secret convictions of their own minds, as their duty, will weaken their hands and open the way for further stepping aside.

"With respect to Robert and Mary's moving to the city, my choice would have been for them to quietly settle down on a good farm. * * But I own I feel less uneasy about Robert and Mary's going to the city than I should of some others, from a well grounded hope that they, as well as Silas and Sarah, will be on their guard. * *

"Thy account of the proceedings of the Boarding School Committee was interesting and yet discouraging. Sometimes when I reflect how different the views of the Motts and some others of a similar cast are from many others (and some of these the first promoters of the institution) with respect to the best mode of procedure to promote the original design, I am almost induced to think it will be best for us to wholly give it up to others to manage. Let the economical plan of cheap teachers and superintendent be tried. * *

"Can it be that Richard will consent for Robert to go to John Griscoms in preference to his agreeable and useful employment in the factory, and which has been held up as the main object in the establishment of a factory. * * Love to you all,

James Mott."

JAMES MOTT SENIOR TO HIS DAUGHTER.

NEW HARTFORD, 2d month, 28th, 1816.

"Very welcome was my dear Anne's long looked-for, interesting letter by Thomas Dean. It seems next to being with you to get such variety of pleasing information. And none of it is more so than that of Richard being about to engage in a family visit to your city. I often rejoice when I hear of friends who are qualified—going from door to door 'to provoke to love and good works.' * * He is engaged in a service which I have thought he was peculiarly gifted for. * * And it is pleasing that he was enabled at your quarter to set Scriptures 'on correct ground'—for I have been fearful with thee that Elias, in endeavoring so to do, does, in some instances, in consequence of other people placing them above their proper standard, unintentionally fix them below their real value, even in his own estimation. And does not the precious man, from his strong desire to extricate people from their erroneous principles in other respects sometimes suffers his zeal to carry him such lengths in opposing error that he almost forgets to hold up to view the beauty and amiableness of truth, and thereby frustrates his well-meant intentions. * * Well, after all is said, we must allow that Elias is a great man and very useful instrument, and could he be prevailed upon to relinquish his censorious manner of treating controverted subjects and the disposition to enforce his own sentiments, his equal could rarely be found. * *

I am very glad to hear that Robert Mott prefers staying quietly at home and attending to the factory instead of exposing himself to the city, separated from his father and mother. I am glad that Silas and Sarah accepted the invitation to go to Scarsdale. To overlook and forgive improper conduct toward us is a Christian duty. * * Will not a residence in Brooklyn make it very inconvenient for Adam to attend to his business? I am surprised at thy account of the rise of rents. I think if 'Thos. Eddy and De Witt Clinton's canal should be opened' it will be more likely to convey such quantities of goods from N. York into the country that half the country shopkeepers will break than that it will 'pour a tide of wealth into the City.' In much love to all, I am, affectionately, James Mott."

An interesting illustration of the elder James Mott's zeal for "tracts" among other good works is shown in a paragraph from a letter of his grandson, James Mott, Jr., dated:

"PHILADELPHIA, 6th mo. 18, 1816. * * No doubt grandfather will spend the summer with Aunt Lydia. Did he take any steps toward establishing a society for the publication and distribution of tracts? I several times conversed with him on the subject, and he seemed to think he should make some attempt toward it. We are pleased to hear that S. and S. School is increasing. * * James Mott, Jr."

CHAPTER VIII.

IN VANDEWATER STREET.

1817—1819.

In the Spring of 1817 Adam Mott removed his family to the two-story brick house belonging to Michael Merritt, No. 33 Vandewater Street. The house still stands and bears the same number. A third story has been added to it and it now stands in the shadow of the great Brooklyn Bridge, but its internal arrangement is unchanged. At that time it stood in the midst of Friends and very near the Meeting house. The adjoining house, No. 31, was occupied by Abraham Brook, and No. 29 by Sylvanus Jenkins, next to which now stands a great printing house. On the other side Michael Merrit, their landlord, then lived in No. 35, which he also owned, and Borden Chase lived in No. 37, and William F. Mott in No. 39, and on the corner of Pearl Street, a framed building, still standing (1885), was then occupied by Ann Shipley, a Minister among Friends, as a dry goods store. In the rear of Ann Shipley's was Miles Chambers, a tailor, with whom Elizabeth Bell learned her trade. Wager Hull, another Friend, lived opposite No. 33, and a wagon entrance beside the house led back to the shop for making soap and candles, for which Wager Hull had a good reputation. The site of Wager Hull's house is now occupied by one of New York's great Public Schools.

Within the house at No. 33, on entering the front hall and stairway from the front door, the first door to the left opened into the front parlor, about 16 feet square, which had a door to the back room, which also opened into the hall, and had a window in the rear looking into the narrow, deep yard. At the back end of the hall, was, and still is, a little passage-way opening on the left to the narrow yard, and on the rear, by a rising step, to the dining-room about 16 feet square in the extension. Back of the dining-room was the kitchen, rather smaller than the dining-room with pantries and closets and a back stairs to the chambers.

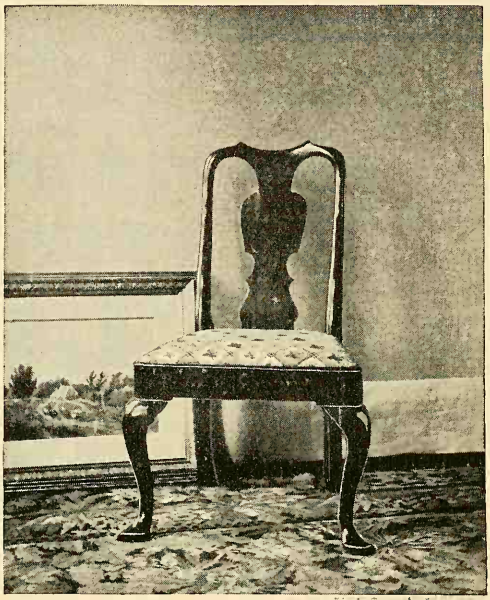
The back parlor was used as a bedroom, and was first occupied by Robert and Mary U. Hicks, but the following year they were moved to the large room over the dining room. In this house their daughter Sarah was born, on the 27th of 2d mo., 1818.

The elder James Mott usually passed his winters in New York, and when there made his home with his daughter in Vandewater street. Lindley Murray Moore, as stated above, had hired a house in Chrystie street, and removed his family there, although still conducting the Monthly Meeting School in Pearl Street. Richard, of course, remained with his parents, attending the Monthly Meeting School at first as pupil

and later as assistant teacher, and a few other young men were received as boarders to piece out the scanty income from the crockery store. The store was now at No. 35 Fulton street. But Adam Mott was looking for other business, and about the end of 1817 took up the more familiar occupation of measuring grain, and gave up his interest in the crockery to his partner, James Nelson. Measuring grain was then a business by itself. He continued in it about a year, and made $800 at it. Then he obtained the appointment of Inspector of Flour, which paid a good deal better. The Inspectors were appointed by the Governor, and I have in my possession Adam Mott's Commission, with the autograph signature DeWitt Clinton. Inspectors were paid 2 cts. per barrel, and as the law or the custom then required an official inspector of all flour, it made a good business to those who had the good fortune to obtain an appointment. Political influence had much to do with it. Adam Mott's long experience in milling made him an unusually good officer, and his strict integrity gave his brand additional value. Stories were told of his inflexibility when friends appealed to his sympathies or his compassion to pass flour which he could not pass on its actual quality.

Straitened circumstances did not limit the spirit of hospitality, and friends were often entertained in the house in Vandewater Street. Lindley M. Moore, whose gifts of conversation were great, frequently called in from his new house in Chrystie Street, and the Grammarian, Gould Brown, and the Chemist, John Griscome, then one of the most prominent scientific men on this side of the Atlantic, often met him there, and their talk gave an attraction to the house. The circle of relatives and friends was numerous. Among the most conspicuous and esteemed was Aunt Jane Parsons, the widow of James Parsons, his second wife and having no children of her own. She was the sister of Adam Mott's mother, and hence the daughter of Samuel Willis, of Westbury, from whom she had inherited considerable means. Her step-children, Samuel Parsons and the rest were always called cousins by Adam Mott and his descendants. She lived at this time in Pearl St., below Fulton, and often visited at the house of her nephew, in Vandewater St., coming early in the afternoon and staying to tea. She was an old style lady, slight but tall and handsome in person, and of high personal character and dignified and aristocratic in manner, but not on that account any less staunch in her Quakerism. She wore a crape bonnet, like those of the Nuns, with a wide cape, hanging on her shoulders. The coal scuttle Quaker bonnets of later times were an innovation to which she never succumbed. Her visits were events of special importance, and Adam Mott himself escorted her home, until his son Richard attained nearly to manhood, when he, with specially blacked boots, and dressed in his best, was admitted to that honor. She was born in 1741, married in 1780, left a widow in 1810, and died in 1825. Having no children of her own she left her property to her own relatives, her surviving brothers and sisters

having $2,500 each, her nephews and nieces $250 each, and $25 to every one of her grand-nephews and grand-nieces. Her household goods, her solid mahogany chairs, etc., were also divided, and are still held as treasures among the descendants of her brothers and sisters. One of her ancient mahogany chairs stands before me as I write, descended to me from my mother, whose worsted work made after she was seventy-five years old decorates the seat.



ONE OF AUNT JANE PARSONS' MAHOGANY CHAIRS, 1785.

Both Adam and Anne Mott suffered from impaired health while living in Vandewater street. Anne Mott, always hitherto slight and spare in person, was full of the energy which outruns physical strength, and under the adverse circumstances of later years had always overworked herself. Her frail figure of these times gave no promise of the health and weight and strength of her old age. The cough which she had brought from Nine Partners did not permanently abate, and for some years she was compelled each winter to confine herself to warm rooms. In the winter of 1818–19, at the age of 50, she was so much reduced and so feeble that it hardly seemed that she could live till spring, and it was decided that should she live till then she must be removed to more favorable circumstances.

Some extracts from contemporary letters will be of interest here.

The elder James Mott's vigilance in providing himself with woolen cloth of domestic manufacture which he considered suitable in style, is curiously illustrated in his letter from New Hartford, of 7th mo. 27, 1817. After giving all the family and the meeting news, he says:

"I have sold my sheep that Peter Jones had in keeping, and take wool in payment, which I have taken to the Factory to be made into broadcloth. If James Everingham* would please to send me by the first opportunity a few patterns of saleable colors, and among others one of a mixed cloth—James Hawxhurst wears it; it is a lightish brown, with a little white in it—he would much oblige me. If Richard, Abby and Robert come out here next month, and no opportunity offers sooner, the patterns and books might come by them."

He wrote from

"NEW HARTFORD, 8th mo. 30, 1817.

"* * I yesterday received Anne's of the 14th. * * Samuel Parsons, in his letter, says: 'Adam and Anne both feeble, Adam yesterday a good deal on the bed.' I fear Adam's business is injurious to his health. The dust in the straw must be prejudicial. * * Confinement in the City is not salutary to either of you. * * I am not only willing but desirous, as far as my small means will warrant me, to aid in procuring some little comfortable home for you myself. My love to Sammy's, Lindley's, James Everingham's and your own families, not forgetting Silas and Sarah, Robert and Mary, and Jas. and Lucretia, when opportunity offers, Richard, Abby and Robert.

James Mott."

James Mott, Sr., wrote again to Adam and Anne Mott, under date

"NEW HARTFORD, 10th mo. 2, 1817.

"Altho' I wrote my dear children quite lately, yet as private conveyance offers by Kellog Hurlbert—merchant at New Hartford—I will stain a little more paper, particularly as he offers to bring any little package for me, and I am anxious to have the patterns of broadcloth James Everingham was to send me. * * I wish if Adam comes out here he would bring a good parcel of tracts, we find abundance of ways to distribute them. * * I don't think I have ever known a time when so many people's minds were prepared to receive useful knowledge. * * Adam queried in his last whether if he came out here he could find a conveyance to De Ruyter and go home with me, which I answered in my last. But I want him to bring John Alsop with him, or let John bring him. He has got a covered one-horse wagon, and I think if Adam urges him he will come. I have lately wrote him and pressed his coming, and after inquiring into Job's† situation and circumstances, to advise and assist them in doing what appeared best—they are in a very tried situation. But I want particularly to be informed what your future prospects are—whether to remain in the City or whether you have a look toward Lydia's proposition, or whether, in preference to either, to get on a little snug farm, and in what part of the country, if the latter. Land may be bought in this county on good terms—for still less in the neighborhood of Jos. Frost's, and equally good if not preferable. Or whether if a profitable opening should present by a new arrangement of our factory concerns you would like that, or on less land in Westchester or Dutchess County than we are able to purchase here would be more agreeable. These queries answered, either by writing or by Adam here on the spot, would be a satisfaction. * * We have concluded to go

* James Everingham had married James Mott's granddaughter, Avis Mott, daughter of his son, Samuel Mott. He was a dealer in cloths.

† Job Webb was John Alsop's brother-in-law, and John Alsop was James Mott's half brother.

and see the Onondaga Indians, and from them to Jos. Frost's, which is about 60 miles from here, and I should be glad Adam was here to go with us and see what is called an excellent and beautiful country adjoining the Skaneateles Lake. * * James Mott."*

Anne Mott's reply to the above letter from her father gives vivid glimpses of their situation. She writes under date

"NEW YORK, 17th of 10th mo. 1817.

"My dear Father:—Thine of the 2nd inst., we should have replied to immediately as thou requested to have the patterns soon, but J. Everingham having sent them two days after we wrote, presume thou has received them ere this. As to the questions thou kindly proposes, Adam says he wishes thee and I should be suited, and I have so lost all local attachments that I should have no choice in places. Let me be with those I love, and I matter not where it is. Sister Lydia and Arthur's company would make New Hartford agreeable, but then land is higher there than further west, or in Canada. As to Westchester Co., land is dear, and it has no peculiar charms to me. Yet how shall we obtain a settlement in any place? The little we have left, if indeed we have even that, is not in our power to dispose of, and we should be very loath to be the means of thy placing the little that thou hast saved from the wreck in any way that would not be profitable as well as more agreeable to thyself than its present disposition. We are very sensible of thy kindness, and well know that few parents have so freely assisted their children, and wast thou now in possession of property more than sufficient even for thy own moderate views, there certainly is no person from whom we could so willingly receive assistance, for we are sure it would be cheerfully rendered, and when generous affection bestows, the bitterness of dependence is lost in gratitude. But it must I fear straiten thee to attempt settling on even a small farm. And sister Lydia's school we know not what to decide about. I never did consider our qualifications as the right kind for such an employment, and the fatigue, anxiety and disappointment we have experienced have not had a tendency to increase their suitableness. But if with thine and L. P. Mott's assistance we might make out tolerably as to management, is there a reasonable prospect of success? * * Adam is tired of crockery business, it is so very dull, but knows not what else to go about. He has thought some of measuring and has been advised to try it, if only for the winter, it being a business easily left if it does not answer. The City air or employment has hitherto seemed favorable to his health, at least his leg soon got well after we came here, and has continued so, and he suffered so much with it when he worked out in heat and cold that I have felt cautious of saying too much to induce him to try country labor again. We shall, I suppose, go over the old ground for the winter, planning and contriving by the fireside, and doing nothing more. Perhaps the spring may produce a change. I desire to be preserved from too much thoughtfulness about what becomes of us here, and to be more intent upon receiving an inheritance that fadeth not away. I have been grieved

*Lydia Mott's postscript to the above letter shows that some of the little distresses of life existed then as well as now. She says: "Brother Adam will confer a favor on L. P. M. if he will procure from Thomas Hazard some spermaciti soap, made to prevent hands from chapping in cold weather. Zephaniah Winslow told me of it as preventing it entirely. If the soap is high priced I will pay it. * * L."

about Uncle Job Webb's business, and fear the proposals Adam makes will not be acceded to. From those J. Alsop made last summer he thought he must have the first mortgage, and that to cover the buildings, and Adam to come in afterward. Perhaps if thou goes it may be arranged for them to keep the farm. I hope it may. And when thy influence is used with some of the Long Island folks it will likely have more effect than any one else. Sammy Hicks and Adam went to see T. Pearsall on the subject in the summer, but without success. I have and do feel for them exceedingly, and desire to be affectionately remembered to them. S. and Sarah have had a vacation for two weeks, in which they have made a visit to Scarsdale, Purchase and Philadelphia. Returned from the latter place yesterday—left them all well. * * Richard desires his love to you all, and to tell Cousin Arthur he should be glad to have his company this winter in learning French. Robert Mott and Richard have engaged a clever Frenchman to teach them—he has only the two, and meets them at R. Mott's at 7 in the evening. * * I have not time to add more than love. A. Mott."

A letter from James Mott, Jr., dated Phil[a], 2d mo., 22, 1818, asks how "Father gets along measuring," which indicates the change of business referred to in Anne's letter above quoted. Lucretia adds to the letter, and says: "Please tell Grandfather that his letter is nearly worn out, and I have thought several times in the last week of attempting to write to him to ask for another, but my courage failed."

JAMES MOTT, SENIOR, TO ADAM AND ANNE MOTT.

"NEW HARTFORD, 7th mo. 24, 1818.

"Dear Children:—I had not time by Joseph S. Shotwell to add to Lydia's letter, not even how I got along from Athens. It was rather a lonely ride. I got to Jos. Mott's, within ten miles of Lydia's, in two days, one of which was pretty warm—part of the other rainy, so that I got pretty wet, having no cover to the sulky. But stopping at a tavern I dried my clothes, and skin, too, for it was wet through all my clothes on my back—but the afternoon was fair, and I got along comfortably. And going from Jos. Mott's I met Phebe Field and Lydia near our factory, going to a meeting in a Methodist Meeting house. * * The little account Anne gives respecting Edward Moore is a proof of the disposition I have often thought so observable in him; and while I wish every manly trait in his character may be cultivated and improved, I hope his parents will not do it at the expense of Gilbert's neglect. Partiality toward a favorite child is too often to be seen in families. I do not give the hint in consequence of having observed anything of the kind. * * I am glad to hear Silas and Sarah's number of boarders has so increased since I left home. My love to them when thou sees them. I am glad Mott and Redman have sold off their flour before it got down. * * Lydia and I are about setting off to a meeting which is under the care of a committee of which she is one. It is about 30 miles distant, and we have some thought of attending Butternut mo. Meeting before we return, and Bridgewater mo. Meeting is the day following that at Butternut, that we shall likely be absent from home near a week. My love to Richard and Abby's families, Lindley and Abby, Robert and Mary, and your young men. I often remember the pleasing conversation which occasionally took place at table when we were all together * * farewell, in much affection James Mott."

Another family letter from James Mott, Sr., at New Hartford, 8 mo. 26, 1818, incloses also a manuscript, to be offered to "our tract association"—"if you and Lindley think it will answer." He hopes that "Adam or Lindley would send me 200 of those tracts on War." It must be remembered that James Mott had written and published many tracts at his own cost. They represented the principles of Friends and the testimonies of Friends against war and Slavery, and supported his own views on education and temperance. One favorite method adopted by him for the distribution of his tracts was to add them as extra pages to the Almanac published by Samuel Wood.

The following month, 9th mo. 21, 1818, James Mott asks for a "copy of the account Anne names respecting E. Fry's labors in Newgate," and wants sent to him "one of Dr. Rush's thermometers," and adds, "I wish Lindley would call on T. Eddy and get the little manuscript I wrote on the use of ardent spirits, which was handed to him by the association to make some changes in, and send this with Rush's thermometers." He adds that Lydia had sold half of her tract of 400 acres near Lake Erie, in Pennsylvania, for what the whole cost, and that Arthur had gone out with Joseph Frost about exchange some land they held there in common "for a farm at Skaneateles." And thus it came about that Lydia P. Mott removed to Skaneateles a few months later—and the next letter to be quoted from James Mott is dated from her home there.

But before coming to James Mott, Sr.'s, next letter, a letter to him from his granddaughter, Lucretia Mott, dated Phil^{a}., 1st mo. 24, 1819, asks a significant question. Speaking of the appearance of the daughter of Elizabeth Walker (a ministering Friend) as being "much altered" and "rather smart," she adds:

"But is there not danger of our placing too much stress on externals and of becoming justly chargeable with the faults of the Scribes and Pharisees? I ask, not that I wish more liberty in those things myself, but, when our reasons are called for, why we use not the appellation *Sir*, when we have the example of Paul and others in Scriptures for so doing, what must I answer? I don't find *that* satisfactorily explained by our early Friends. And why the heathen names are suffered to be pronounced any more in speaking of the planets, &c., than the day of the week and months. A little enlightenment on this subject would be satisfactory. * * With much affection, in which my James cordially joins, Lucretia."

I have never been able to learn what answer, if any, was made to Aunt Lucretia's inquiries!

JAMES MOTT, SENIOR, TO ADAM AND ANNE MOTT.

"SKANEATELES, 6th mo. 29, 1819.

"Dear Children:—I wrote Sammy a line from New Hartford, or rather from our factory, to which I went soon after my arrival at this place, at the urgent request of Joseph Frost, in order to settle the accounts with Savage & Plumb. * * This tour to the factory gave me an oppor-

tunity to visit Lydia's old neighbors and friends at New Hartford and Bridgewater. * * Lydia and I intend going to Farmington Quarter next week, when I purpose going to Canandaigua—have not heard whether J. Everingham has got there yet. * * Phebe Field had a meeting yesterday morning in this neighborhood, and in the afternoon at the Village of Skaneateles, about 1½ miles from Lydia's, and I thought was favored, particularly in the latter, to express gospel truths with much clearness to a crowded auditory. Women's preaching is a new thing among them. Yet the Presbyterian minister of the place was kind enough to give notice of her meeting at the close of his, and put off his afternoon meeting from five to six o'clock in order that hers might be at four; but he did not come to meeting himself.

"Please inform Sam[l]. Townsend Lydia is pleased with his electrical machine, calls it a good one, but she is at a loss to know the use of the long iron rod with a wooden ball at each end. Lindley will please inform her, and also how to make the best amalgam. She has found much use for it among her neighbors. * *

"What is the last account from S. Grelette? How is flour? and Sammy's business? and does Adam's business increase? Lydia says give my love to all of them, and tell them I shall be glad to see any of them here, tho' I have got a poor old house to entertain them in. * * In much love to all, &c., James Mott."

The above letter indicates the removal of two of the Mott families. It is not only the first dated from Skaneateles, which had now become Aunt Lydia's home, it is also the first addressed to "Adam Mott, Market Street, New York." The previous letters of James Mott above quoted are addressed to "Adam Mott, 33 Vandewater Street." And the Directory of the City of New York, for 1819, gives "Adam Mott, 207 Front St., h. Market near Lombardy." It also gives "Robert Hicks, merchant, Market n. Lombardy." Adam and Anne Mott now finally gave up housekeeping, and although it was at first with the intention of again resuming it when they should have determined where to settle, the result was that they never kept house again. Adam Mott was now 57 years of age and his wife 51. Their three daughters were married, and each daughter desired to have her parents living with her, and constantly offered them a home. Robert Hicks had just finished the house in Market Street, where he passed the remainder of his life, and Adam and Anne Mott went there with him.

Robert Hicks, in May, 1819, went into the Ship Chandlery business, which he carried on for the rest of his life. He began on the N. E. corner of Burling Slip and Front St., with Capt. Laban Gardiner, under the name of Gardiner & Hicks, and a year or two later Capt. Gardiner left to take charge of the Bloomingdale Asylum, then just started, and Robert took into partnership his brother Benjamin D., and the firm was R. & B. D. Hicks, until Benjamin died, in 1835, and soon after the firm became Robert Hicks & Sons.

CHAPTER IX.

IN MARKET STREET.

1819—1825.

Robert Hicks' house was on the east side of Market street, the second house above the corner of what was then Lombardy and is now Monroe street. It was No. 46 until 1848, when it was made No. 54. It was on land leased from the estate of Henry Rutgers, the annual ground rent then being about $100, to which taxes and assessments were to be added. Lindley M. Moore took the lot next above Robert Hicks, and built on it a similar house as a prudent investment of some of his savings as a teacher. He rented his new house and continued to live in Chrystie Street, and to conduct the Monthly Meeting School in Pearl Street. Silas and Sarah M. Cornell continued with fair success their boarding and day school for girls adjoining the meeting house at Flushing, and a little later Adam and Anne Mott occasionally made this house their home. But in 1819 and 1820 it was necessary for Adam Mott to live in New York. He was then prospering in business as Flour Inspector. After fifteen years of adversity in business, he was now making money.

The elder James Mott, when his daughter gave up housekeeping in 1819, could no longer make his home with her when in the city, but his son Samuel took a house in Market street the same year (1819) and his father made his home with him when in New York for the remainder of his life, and died there on the 7th of 5th mo., 1823. He occasionally visited his grandchildren in Flushing and in Philadelphia, as well as in New York—and passed much of his time with his daughter-in-law at Skaneateles.

Extracts from the family correspondence of those years will bring more vividly before the mind the hopes and fears and uncertainties—the events and the circumstances of their current life.

JAMES MOTT, SENIOR, TO ADAM AND ANNE MOTT.

"SKANEATELES, 8 mo. 13, 1819.

"My Dear Children:—Soon after I put mine to you in the post office, I received yours of 7 mo. 1st. * * Josiah Field and B. Cornell are much to be pitied, and I trust will have the sympathy of their friends. And yet I think they are both chargeable with imprudence, as indeed all of us are more or less, Josiah for launching into credit sales so extensively, and Benjamin for indorsing for any man to such an amount. * *

"We, a few weeks ago, had a visit from J. Everingham and A. U. Mott. They informed us that Lindley M. Moore called on them a few days before, on his way to Canada. I hope he will want to see us enough to take Skaneateles on his way home, and see whether he will not like the

lake, and the good land around it, as well as Canada. Arthur is much suited with his situation, works with courage, his crops good, and has twice the quantity of summer wheat, rye, oats, peas and Indian corn that I should have supposed he could have done, seeing he got here so late in the spring. * *

"Since I wrote you, Lydia and I have been at De Ruyter, attended the monthly meeting, thence to Bridgewater, attended the monthly meeting there. Previous to this I went to Canandaigua and spent two or three days with Andrew, and James and Wm. Cromwell's family, thence to Abraham Bradbury's and staid 2 nights. Abraham and Betsey are well suited. They are about 1½ miles from meeting and 4 miles from Farmington Meeting house, where the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings are held. They have 50 acres of good land, with a running brook in the dryest weather, that runs the whole length of his farm. He had about 5 acres of the best wheat I have seen in all the country. I think it likely to give 40 bushels to the acre, and his flax, oats and corn all very good. They have six cows, and make noble cheeses. Betsey keeps no help, works hard, is very brown, but her countenance healthy. I attended the quarterly meeting at Farmington. * * I have also been once out to Scipio monthly meeting. * *

"There are abundance of farms for sale in this western part of the country. The pressure of the times is such that many good livers, having fine farms, yet owing a little money on them can find no way to raise it and are obliged to sell. Several such on this lake can be bought on very reasonable terms. If Adam's business should not answer his expectation, or the council of appointment should remove him, as they did poor Robert, good farms on easy terms can be had. * * Has John Griscom returned? Where is William Rickman? What number of boarders has Silas and Sarah? When do you of the Yearly Meeting Committee set out? Who is like to come? Lydia says she shall expect you here without fail, tho' she has got a poor old wigwam of a house. Has E. Hicks given out his visit to this part of the State? * * My little wagon is at Thomas Underhill's, and if any of you will be accommodated with the use of it to come the journey, and are humble enough to ride in it, you are welcome to it. I have enjoyed my health well since being here. With love to all, James Mott."

JAMES MOTT, SR., TO ADAM AND ANNE MOTT.

"SKANEATELES, 8 mo. 22, 1819.

"The day after I had put a letter in the office for you, my dear children, I received yours of 8th inst. * * I am truly glad to hear that Anne in her tour on Long Island 'recruited finely both in flesh and strength.' * * I think her visit to Westchester, New Rochelle and Purchase must have been a delightful one—among her old intimates. * * I I much rejoice at one remark she makes that 'Richard is unwilling to be anything but a farmer.' * * But she goes further and says: 'I should be quite willing to become a resident in that country if we had the means to get a farm.' The want of means of your own I desire may not prevent it. * * I have, you know, some property left of my own. * * And as I intend as much of what I have as will purchase a smallish farm these cheap times shall go to you when I am done with it, (which it is probable will not be a great while), I am quite disposed to lay out some in purchasing a small but good farm * * for your use, and to

be yours when I am done with it. I wish it could be so that Adam could come out with Anne when she comes on the Committee, but if he cannot, let Anne be deputed to conclude on something. * * Anne says the men of the committee to visit Monthly Meeting in Duane Quarter do not appear disposed to be troubled with the women. Where is Hardy? (a horse). Has Adam quite disposed of him? If not, put him to my wagon and be independent of them. * * Would there be any possibility of getting $1,000 from Isaac Hicks or some other friend to save the sale of a farm that cost $6,000 and has since had a double house two story put upon it. * * I am, affectionately, James Mott. This is Onondaga County."

Yellow fever appeared in New York again in 1819. It was a much more frequent visitor then than it has been in later years. James Mott, Sr., refers to it in the following letter:

JAMES MOTT, SR., TO ADAM AND ANNE MOTT.

"SKANEATELES, 10th mo. 3, 1819.

"I last evening returned from De Ruyter. You doubtless will easily imagine how disappointed I was when I got to Monthly Meeting there and found that neither my precious Anne nor Richard were among the Committee. I went alone in a one-horse wagon, that I might take one or both of you in * * but had to return alone, with very different feelings from what I went with, and I believe Lydia was no less disappointed than myself. With the perusal of Adam's letter I endeavored to reconcile myself to the disappointment as respects Anne by considering the exposure to the prevailing contagion Adam's business necessarily leads him to—and what a trial it must have been to you both should he take it and you be thus far separated. * * I should have been glad Adam had been more particular respecting the prevalence of the fever. * * A letter from Wm. Wood to Lydia says nearly all the stores below them are shut. * * I often remember Adam's asking my opinion about your going to N. York, previous to your moving there, and the answer that it occurred to me to make, that should I give my assent and the yellow fever should break out again, and some of the family should be taken off with it, I should blame myself, and therefore must leave you to judge for yourselves. Yet I consider my reply no more than conjecture, arising from fearful apprehension of that awful disorder, for such it has been to me since hearing that my father died with it, and the manner in which he took it.*

"We intend setting out to-morrow for Scipio Quarterly Meeting. * * Lydia says tell Anne I had been so many years in this country and at last thought she was going to be gratified with a visit that she whitewashed and painted up one room of her wigwam to receive her—and went so far as to make up the bed all nice and clean for her, boiled a solitary neat's tongue that she had kept all summer, had a fat turkey tied in the yard ready to kill, a great loaf of pumpkin and Indian bread, baked peach pies, &c., &c., and had told her most agreeable neighbors she intended to call them in and have an intellectual feast—and lo! when I got back, all was blank! * * Yours, affectionately, James Mott."

* His father died, a young man, 15th of 8th mo., 1743, soon after removing to New York from the head of Hempstead Harbor, (now Ros'yn), about two years and a half after marriage, and when the writer of the above letter, his only child, was about fifteen months old.

James Mott, Sr., wrote 11th mo. 28, 1819, that he was glad of Adam's information that his business was growing better, and that he thought "Sammy's business must be pretty good at the prices he gives of wheat and flour—10s. and $6.25."

In his letter of 12th mo. 23, 1819, he speaks of the controversy among Friends in New York about the cornice on the gable end of the new meeting house, "which the Quarterly Meeting requested might be removed."* He adds: "I conclude it must be something uncommon for our meeting houses to be ornamented with, for such friends to be grieved at it as I am informed are." He asks: "How does Lucretia come on in the preaching line?" and says that "Anne mentions having been at Nine Partners." In his letter of 1st mo. 4, 1820, he refers to what his grandson, James Mott, Jr., had written to him of the excitement "on the subject of slavery in Missouri," and asks for further information. "We get no such thing here," he adds. The daily news of the world was not then delivered at their doors every morning!

He seems to have remained in Skaneateles nearly all winter, for he writes from there under date 25th of 1st mo., 1820, that on his return from Farmington Quarterly Meeting he found Adam and Abby's epistle, with the unexpected intelligence of Isaac Hicks' death. He went to New York in the early spring, and did not return till summer.

JAMES MOTT, SENIOR, TO ADAM AND ANNE MOTT.

SKANEATELES, 7th mo., 28, 1820.

"Dear Children:—I three days ago rec^{d} your welcome messages dated 14th and 17th inst, the first line I have received from the city since leaving it. * * I am sorry to hear that Anne's health is so poor. Would it not be well for her to take a ride somewhere? * * I am really glad to hear of Silas and S. increased number of boarders. Had Emmor been contented to begin as they did, in a small way, without risking much of their own or of any other people's property, how praiseworthy would it have been."

On the 13th of 8th mo., 1820, he writes, again referring to intelligence that 'my precious Anne is quite feeble,' and urges her 'take a ride,' and asks her to meet him at Athens, 'and I will take her' he says 'wherever she thinks best to go, and as far as she chooses; bring her out here, go North, East or South. I shall now not be content to stay here after hearing what I have. I shall only wait long enough for her to inform me whether it will suit her to come to Athens, or to the school at Nine Partners, if that would suit better, and what time she will be at either place. My proposing to meet her at either place is more to favor my horse than anything else, thinking a little trip on the water might be pleasant as

* This was the "Hester Street Meeting House," now for many years the general office of the New York Gas Light Co., on the north side of Hester Street, a little west of the Bowery. The cornice which thus scandalized the Quarterly Meeting was the horizontal cornice under the front pediment, and it keeps its place there to-day.

well as useful. Don't, my dear, let any trifling consideration prevent thy taking the journey. Health is precious, and to use every endeavor to preserve and regain it a duty. * * Do write immediately on the receipt of this. * * I am, affectionately, &c., James Mott."

Anne Mott did not accept her father's invitation, other calls detaining her at home. But she wrote to him a little later.

ANNE MOTT TO HER FATHER.

"NEW YORK, 9th mo., 7, 1820.

"Yesterday was our mo. mg. and I have no doubt it would have been pleasant to our dear father and sister to have shared with us the satisfaction of hearing the very interesting account S. Grellet gave of his late travels in the old world. I have taken my pen to convey a part of it to you * * a communication that occupied I should judge as near two hours as one. The mg. was large * * Stephen began with Norway. Wm. Allen and a friend of that place, E. Jacobs, who had felt his mind bound to the service accompanying him. There they found a few professing with us. Some of them had been convinced while in the prison ships in England. * * S. & W. A. thought it right to lay the subject before the King, who, on hearing the principles they professed and the rules by which they were governed, promised his protection and the enjoyment of liberty of conscience. In Finland he found some to whom he felt united in spirit. At St. Petersburgh they spent four months visiting the Emperor and the nobility in their palaces, and the prisoners in their dungeons. * * Of the Emperor it seems as if increased acquaintance had not lessened Stephen's regard. They had many interviews with him—one in which, while vocal supplication was offered to the Almighty, Alexander knelt and the tears flowed down his cheeks. Prince Gallitzeri also retains a high place in S.'s esteem. * * With many of the clergy of Russia they had very satisfactory conferences. * * In crossing the desert called Steppes which divides Russia from Tartary they found hard fare, a crust of bread and drink of poor water, and that scanty, with their camp for a lodging place. * * In the Crimea they had much satisfaction. * *

"After visiting many places in Italy, S. G. believed it required of him to go to Rome. This he said was like drinking the dregs of the cup of bitterness. * * Here as at other places, way was made for him to his humbling admiration. He visited the Convents with priests for his interpreters, and thought they did it faithfully, his knowledge of the Italian language being such as to enable him to detect any misinterpretation. * * Stephen had hoped visiting the people in Rome might excuse him from seeing the Pope, but did not find it so, he therefore requested an interview and obtained it readily. The Pontiff had not *asked* to have a visit from him, but had intimated a willingness for it previous to the application. He treated S. with civility and attended to his remarks, tho' some of them could not have been of a pleasant nature, as he thought it right to let him know that the conduct of his Priests and Missionaries, in some places where he had traveled, were reprehensible. Thro' Switzerland he went to the south of France, with those under our name he had many comfortable seasons * * and now in returning to his own Church, among brothers and sisters * * he found cause of mourning and signs of weakness that pained him deeply. Dr. Rogers

was exceedingly pleased with Sn's narrative, all he said was good, but the humility and self abasement so conspicuous through the whole he thought the crowning part.

9th mo. 11th. The above has lain unfinished several days in consequence of Robert and Mary's being unwell and my time taken up. They are now pretty smart again and R. has gone out to-day. Mary's complaint I expect will be ague and fever. Adam has been unwell for two weeks past,—is now able to attend to business. I am not overstocked with strength, but about as usual. S. Mott's family as well as common. * * Valentine Hicks left town this morning for home. He has been very ill for ten days past, and it is not expected he will be restored to health again. His head is exceedingly affected, so that he is seldom quite himself. * * They put him on a bed in the carriage. * * At the close of our meeting yesterday notice was given that E. Walker would be with us in the afternoon and wished we would invite our neighbors. The meeting was large, and not fully settled, when Elias Hicks began to speak about mourning dresses, depending on the Scriptures, Missionaries, Bible Societies, etc., until it was time for the meeting to close. E. W. then said she had felt it right to invite the people together, and as way had not opened for her to relieve her mind, if the exercise remained she should try to see them again. It was handsomely expressed, and may put E. upon examining the ground he occupied.

A. Mott."

The above letter may seem long, notwithstanding that much is omitted. But it is all characteristic, and her report of Stephen Grelette's narrative has an interest of its own. The little dissatisfaction with Elias Hicks implied in the close of the letter is in keeping with the confidences between Anne Mott and her father for some years before this, and this dissatisfaction was aggravated as time passed on. In these respects she differed from her son, James Mott, Jr., who was always a staunch defender of Elias Hicks against the complaints which since some years earlier than this date were occasionally made against his doctrines or his methods of expressing them. But Lucretia Mott had less confidence in Elias Hicks than her husband manifested. "He was a very narrow man," she said to the writer of these lines, nearly half a century after Elias Hicks' death; "narrow in his views, but an eloquent man—an impressive speaker and of great personal influence, and he could always draw a large number to hear him."

Early in 1821, Adam Mott was removed from his office of Inspector of Flour, and was out of business. "His opposing applicant was a man of influence in the ruling party," wrote James Mott, Jr., a few days later (3d mo 19, 1821). What was the next thing to do was the question. The flour business on his own account was suggested. A farm was a constantly debated expedient—but where the farm should be was never settled. "The making of soap and candles would be my choice," wrote James Mott, Jr., "perhaps adding lamp oil."

But there was really no longer any necessity for Adam Mott to continue at work. He had been able to pay all his debts and had laid up

something in addition. These savings and the small amounts he was able to collect from his doubtful claims, and to rescue here and there from the wreck of his former property, in the end made the little competency on which Adam and Anne Mott with their simple tastes and frugal manners were able to live in comfort for the remainder of their lives. Projects of business continued to be considered and abandoned. At one time, in 1824 and 1825, Adam Mott, with Thomas Underhill, did something in the way of smoking meat in New York—but the business was not extended, and Adam and Anne Mott gradually adopted the custom of spending their summers with their children in the country, and their winters with their children in New York.

In the autumn of 1820 Lindley M. Moore entered on the sixth year of his service as principal of the boys department of the Monthly Meeting School in Pearl Street. He had commenced his work there, as above stated, in the times of high prices, during the suspension of specie payments, at $1,200 per year. A couple of years later prices were falling, and the Monthly Meeting reduced the salary to one thousand dollars. But prices continued to fall, the times were hard, and in the summer of 1819 Lindley M. Moore had visited Upper Canada, where some of his own relatives were living, and uneasiness had been felt among his wife's relatives, lest he should remove his family to Canada. But he concluded to remain a little longer in New York, and hired a house in Suffolk Street for his dwelling, and continued his work in the Monthly Meeting School. In the Suffolk Street house was born on the 14th of 7th month, 1820, his second daughter whom, after her Aunt, they called Mary Hicks, but she died before she was two years old.

In 1820 the times had become still harder, money was very scarce, and prices very low, flour selling as low as three dollars and a half a barrel, and the Monthly Meeting felt constrained to reduce the salary of the Principal of the boys school to eight hundred dollars, and Lindley M. Moore decided to give up the school and to remove to Flushing. He hired and fitted up an old building, formerly a tavern, standing on the other side of the broad street, almost a parkway or a village green, nearly opposite the Preparative Meeting building, where Silas and Sarah M. Cornell had now for nearly half a dozen years conducted a school for girls. Immediately opposite the girls' school the wide road bordered on one of the fresh water ponds which abound in this part of Long Island. At the upper end of the pond, about opposite the Meeting House, dwelt in easy competence, under his ancient willows, Walter Farrington, the brother of Silas Cornell's step-mother. At the lower end of the pond, towards Flushing bay, was the newly fitted up school building of Lindley M. Moore. Here, in the Spring of 1821, he opened his boarding and day school for boys. The school prospered, and he soon added to it the adjoining building. And here he remained and prospered until the Spring of 1828, when he removed to Westchester.

The removal of Lindley M. Moore, in the Spring of 1821, from New York, gave Adam and Anne Mott another daughter in Flushing, where also they were coveted and frequent guests. "It must be very agreeable to Silas and Sarah to have Lindley and Abby settle so near them," wrote Lucretia Mott from Phila., on the 19th of 3d mo, 1821, "and an additional inducement to you to visit Flushing; still we think you will miss them very much from New York"—and James Mott, Jr., added to the same letter: "I am rather pleased to hear of L. and A. going to Flushing, believing L. will feel more independent and make more money."

JAMES MOTT, SENIOR, TO HIS DAUGHTER, ANNE MOTT.

"SKANEATELES, 8th mo. 23, 1821.

"I received my dear Anne's favor of 4th inst.—the only line received from any of my connections since I left the City. * * Anne's first inquiry is whether any exchange is likely to be made for the De Ruyter land. I do not find that there is. I have had some conversation with Jones, the man whose farm Adam had in view. He wishes to sell, and I suppose from what I can learn must sell before a great while, but declines exchanging. * *

"My little tour out to the west with P. Field and Lydia * * was a very pleasant journey to me, tho' we travelled over some very rough roads. * * Lydia's little, slender one-horse wagon broke down once, but it happened near the friend's house to which we were bound, and a carpenter handy, that it was soon repaired. * * We parted with John Alsop and daughters the day we left Rochester. * *

I am glad of almost any arrangement that Jethro Wood* and Robert Hicks may have made with T. Freeborn respecting the plow business if it does but put to sleep the contention * * between Thomas and John Earl. I understand by Sam. Willets * * that Jethro Wood informed him on their passage here that T. Freeborn had sold out, and of course I conclude Robert is the purchaser—a very agreeable change. * * How does the tract association progress? * *"

In another letter of 9th mo. 2, James Mott says that John Alsop with his daughter Mary, who was in declining health, and Martha Barnard had just left there, after ten days' stay, to return to their home at Athens, and adds: "Cannot Anne or Elizabeth so arrange matters that one or both of them take a turn to Athens and see the dear child before she takes her leave of time * * as well as sympathize with her father and Martha. There is a very strong attachment between the three. * * I have seldom seen a greater. * * They are indeed a family of love. * * How soon I may return I have not yet determined, but do not intend to stay till the weather is very cold.

"My love to all of you, James Mott.†"

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* Jethro Wood, a Friend at Scipio, had made and patented some valuable improvements in cast iron plows, and Robert Hicks had taken an interest with him in the business.

† An interesting indication of the constant habit of sending all these family letters around to all the members of the family is a request on the back of the foregoing letter in the handwriting of Anne Mott: "Please send S. Cornell's & my knitting work."

JAMES MOTT, SENIOR, TO ADAM AND ANNE MOTT.

"UNION SPRINGS, 9th mo. 26, 1821.

"Dear Children:—Lydia and self are so far on our way home from a tour to Canandaigua and Farmington. We attended the mo. mg. at Scipio last week. * * Will mention a marvellous escape Lydia and I experienced a little before getting to Canandaigua. We were crossing a long and pretty high bridge, when we heard a carriage behind with great speed coming after us. Lydia says 'do drive on and get off the bridge.' Our back curtain being down we could not see behind us, and almost before I had time to urge the horse forward they were upon us. It was a wagon and horses without a driver full speed. From appearance, the end of the tongue took the spokes of our hind wheels, broke off two, and then fetched up against the felloe and the near side horse against the back part of our wagon, which stopped them. I expected by the crushing of our wagon it was ruined, but it was not so much injured as I expected. Had the horses cleared our wagon, had the wheel struck it, what the consequences might have been I almost shudder to think. * * And now, in reply to yours. As respects your land at De Ruyter, I hope you will never be under the necessity of going to live on it, as I apprehend you would not enjoy yourselves on it, nor in its neighborhood. John Alsop and I made them a visit at Job's. * * I perceived Richard* was looking forward with a hope of owning yours also. He has concluded to fall in with Adam's proposal of clearing and fencing four acres a year for the use of it. * * The probability is that I shall not set out for home till the last of next or first of 11th mo., as Caleb Mekeel has business at Hudson, and will probably go about that time and take me with him. * * In much love to you all, James Mott."

As intimated in the preceding letter, James Mott returned to New York late in the season, and as usual made his home with his son Samuel in Market Street, but was much with his other children. In the early part of 1822, while the snow was yet on the ground, he and Adam Mott undertook to walk from New York to Flushing, where they spent a little time with Lindley and Abby Moore, and with Silas and Sarah M. Cornell—and then walked home again. James Mott was then well on in his 80th year. He had always sought to preserve his vigor by exercise, and to make himself hardy by exposure. It was not half a dozen years before this time that he had ceased occasionally in the winter to go out for a short and hurried walk in the snow in his bare feet. This walk to Flushing or its accompanying exposure proved too much for his strength, and brought on illness, from which he recovered slowly. He regained his health in the summer, and made a visit to Rhode Island, and then, as usual, went to Skaneateles, stopping at Athens on the way. The following letter from Athens has an outside interest from the glimpses it gives of the beginnings of the great summer resort of the Catskill Mountain House. At the date of the letter he had entered his 81st year. Athens, it will be remembered, was the home of his half-brother, John Alsop.

* Richard Webb, son of Job.

"ATHENS, second day, 18th of 8th mo., 1822.

"Dear Children:—By this you will perceive I am yet at Athens, and am undetermined whether I shall go to Skaneateles or return to N. York and Flushing. * * I spend the time pleasantly. I meet a disposition in the whole family to make me comfortable, and to gratify the whims of old age. The first 2 or 3 days after my arrival my appetite was very poor, and I felt its debilitating effect, but latterly it has been very good. I have had only one short turn of palpitation and tremor in the day time. In the night I am frequently waked out of my sleep with it, but it subsides by sitting up in the bed 10 or 15 minutes.

"John, Martha and self have been twice to Catskill to see the good folks there, and we three, with Robert's wife, made an excursion to the summit of the Catskill Mountains. It has got to be a place of great resort. It is said that not less than five hundred people have visited it this season, with a view of being benefitted by the pure, cool air—perhaps as much from curiosity. The air, tho', is certainly much colder than below, for we found it warm travelling—arrived there about sunset, when John and I were glad to get our great coats on to be comfortable. The top is, by measurement, three thousand feet above the river. The side we ascended it is extremely steep, and yet, by a zigzag direction, the road is not difficult, being well worked. The resort to it is so great that the Catskill folks have put up a temporary building, in which the comers there can have what they wish to eat or drink. We had supper and breakfast in good order. Our lodging, indeed, was not what some would like—straw beds and pillows. They can lodge about forty persons —in berths one above another, as in steamboats. This building stands 3 or 4 rods from the edge of the mountain, on a level spot, next the river. It affords an extensive prospect south, east and north. * * There are two small lakes near the top of this mountain, and in order to see the falls of water from one of them—which it is said falls near two hundred feet perpendicular—we took another road, which we found very rough, stony and in some places steep, so that near the bottom our careful driver, John Alsop (I think I may safely call him such), overset us, and in such a dismal place of logs and stones that the top of his carriage was smashed all to pieces * * and yet no one was hurt. I found it was going over and jumped out, but all the rest remained in. John got a little skin scratched off his hand, was all the wound they received. When I saw it go and the situation it lay in I was apprehensive some of their bones would be broken, if their lives were spared. * *

"I have conversed with John about your land at De Ruyter. * * He says it is out of his power to do anything in it just now. Robert is about entering into trade without any capital of his own. * *

"I shall be glad of a line from you. * * By the newspaper accounts there is reason to hope the yellow fever will not spread over the city. * * Please inform Sammy's folks how it is with me. With love to them and you and yours, James Mott."

The above letter is addressed "Robert Hicks, Burling Slip, New York." The following letter is addressed "Samuel Mott, 20 Market St., New York." These addresses signify that Adam and Anne Mott were then absent, probably at Flushing. The letters are postmarked Hudson, and the postage marked 12½ cents.

JAMES MOTT, SENIOR, TO ANNE MOTT.

"ATHENS, 9th mo,. 1, 1822.

"I yesterday received my dear Anne's letter of 29th ult. * * We have been looking for Elizabeth and the little girls (Samuel Mott's family) to take up their abode with us, John having given them a pressing invitation, but by what Sammy says in his letter, they think to remain in the city until greater danger is apparent.* I wish they may not tarry too long. I perceive Sammy has moved his office near the State Prison†." I am glad to find you continue out of town, and are so circumstanced that you can remain without injury where you are." * *

JAMES MOTT, SENIOR, TO ANNE MOTT.

"SKANEATELES, 10th mo. 6th. 1822.

"I yesterday received my precious Anne's letter of 22d of last month, directed to J. Alsop, and by him forwarded to me. I conclude it will be somewhat unexpected to you to receive a line from me dated at this place. My coming was unexpected to myself one hour before I left Athens. Abraham I. Underhill, wife and son in one carriage, Stephen Brown, his daughter, Phebe Field and her daughter in another, called at J. Alsop's on their way to Scipio, and Abraham gave me an invitation to a seat in their carriage, I accepted it, and here I am. We had a pleasant time on the road, fine weather, and the roads good. We met with one accident, broke one axletree, which let us down in the path, but it happened just about sunset, near a tavern and a blacksmith and carpenter shops, both of which we needed. * * And as our company, P. Field and myself excepted, had not seen the canal, we bent our course to the salt works, and had the satisfaction of seeing several boats pass, among them the passage boat, with a number of passengers. Curiosity induced our company to step on board of her in order to go through a lock, which was in sight. This detention made us quite in the evening getting home. * * I had some intention of returning with Abraham Underhill, but he goes too soon to give me time to go to De Ruyter and Canandagua, * * and shall therefore not go with him, but perhaps with Andrew, who I understand intends seeing N. York this fall. Lydia says if no other suitable conveyance offers, she will take me to Athens, as she wishes to make them a visit. * * I shall be anxious to hear from you, and of Sammy's family, and all the particulars about the fever. * * Let us hear from James and Lucretia when you write."

The above letter was carried by private hand—a favorite mode in those days—and was addressed, "Adam Mott, Flushing, Long Island." The following letter was addressed to "E. Burrell & S. Mott, Greenwich Street, nearly opposite State Prison, New York, for Adam Mott." The postage charged on it was 18½ cents. Yellow fever was still rife in the city.

JAMES MOTT, SR., TO ADAM AND ANNE MOTT.

"SKANEATELES, 10th mo. 31, 1822.

Dear children. * * * My general health is good, save that I have turns of palpitation and tremor at my heart; was it not for these I think

*Yellow Fever was then in New York an epidemic.

†The State Prison was near the foot of Christopher Street.

I feel nearly as well as before I was sick in the spring. * * They are not of late origin. I had turns of them while at the boarding school with you. * * Lydia says tell Sister Anne I often feel as if I should never see any of you again, but still she loves you all, as does your affectionate father, James Mott.

The following letter is the last of James Mott to Adam and Anne Mott. It is dated the last day, but one of the year 1822, and the writer died a little more than four months later. It is addressed to Adam Mott, Market Street, New York, indicating that the yellow fever had left the city, and that Adam had returned to Robert Hicks.

JAMES MOTT, SENIOR'S, LAST LETTER TO ADAM AND ANNE MOTT.

"SKANEATELES, 12th mo. 30, 1822.

"Perhaps I may as well say at once that I have improperly deferred replying to my dear Anne's favor of 12th inst. and Adam's short postscript. The information that my much loved Elizabeth had so far recovered her health as to get out to meetings and that the rest of my connections and friends were favored with usual health, relieved me from some anxiety. And for you to be informed that I have continued to regain mine, so that I should not much fear to undertake to walk with Adam to Flushing again, may afford you a satisfaction, and that I am only waiting for snow sufficient to warrant setting out with a sleigh to go to Athens or New York— * * Lydia's health tho' much better then it has been, is not yet established. * * Their school is large, near 40 boarders. * * She thinks some of accompanying me to Athens, and relieve herself from the cares of the school by remaining with John and Martha awhile, perhaps during the winter. I rejoice that one year more will close the lease Arthur has given of this place, when he intends to occupy it himself, and she will no longer feel herself under any engagement to the school, as her views in engaging in it were merely to assist Caleb* and Sarah by lending her name on account of being so generally known in this part of the country as a teacher. I say no other views, she had at least no pecuniary views, as she receives no pay for her services except her board. * * Several of the Committee on the Indian concern * * have lately spent several days among the Onondaga tribe. * * No way yet opens for E. Bradbury but to continue on the farm. * * Isaac Thorne visiting families! Well, you citizens have abundent labor bestowed on you. * * I am pleased that Silas has purchased, but had much rather it had been on this side Genesee River, we were much disappointed in not seeing him. It is agreeable to hear of Lindley's school doing well. * * And has it got to this among you, that the censure one friend passes on another has got into print? Report tells us so. What will these clashing opinions in your quarter lead to— * * I can say as John Wesley said 'I am sick of opinions.' * *

"Lydia desires me to say she intends in a few days to take the liberty of recommending to Anne and Mary's notice one of their scholars who has engaged to go into a family in Virginia to teach the children. * * I will close my letter with saying that Arthur, since his return home,

* Caleb Mekeel and his niece Sarah Underhill.

having made considerable improvements on his farm, and having nothing to do this winter, has engaged in one of the district schools—has about 50 scholars. Our love to you all about fills my sheet. James Mott."

Soon after the date of the above letter, the snow for which he had been waiting came to make sleighing, and the elder James Mott returned to his home in New York at the house of his son Samuel. Toward the middle of 2d mo. he was so unwell as to call in Dr. Rogers, as in fact was the case occasionally almost every year. Dr. Rogers subsequently thought that he probably had an aneurism of some artery near the heart, added to the infirmities of his age. Of some of his infirmities he had spoken a year before, when writing to Lucretia Mott from New York under date 3d mo. 29, 1822. Replying to her wish that he would come to Philadelphia Yearly Meeting he wrote:

"It is not likely I shall ever see Philadelphia again. If there was nothing else to prevent, my hearing is so impaired that I often find myself a mere cipher in company. I understand so much of what is said as to preclude thoughts that might tend to profit, and yet don't hear enough to take part in the conversation that is passing. In meetings, particularly those for discipline, I comprehend but little, and I find when in company with those I love I cannot enjoy myself as once I did. Thus it is that age and infirmities deprive of the relish of one thing after another. May love increase, whatever else I witness a decrease of."

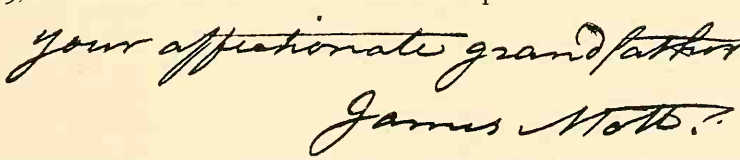
In the early spring of 1823, his health seemed about as good as usual, but toward the middle of April he complained of pain in his back, which he attributed to some services he had rendered his granddaughters in making their flower beds. Dr. Rogers was again called, and visited him frequently, and when the weather was fine took him in his chair to ride, which always seemed to recruit him for the time.

The following account of the last week of his life is slightly abridged from the letter of his daughter, Anne Mott, to James and Lucretia Mott of 5th mo. 12th, 1823:

"On the 7th day before his death, the weather being pleasant he wanted to go to Flushing" (to the house of his grand-children L. M. and A. L. Moore), "and having seemed better for a day or two R. Mott" (his son) "took him to the boat. I went with him, and we reached Lindley's very comfortably. He seemed to enjoy the country, his appetite improved, and that day and the next he seemed to improve fast. In the afternoon he rode out and came back fatigued. Second day drooped more and more, and said he felt great distress at his stomach, and was sick without bringing up much. Electricity had been tried without relief. He said he was too unwell to be abroad, and third day we came home, were on the boat about three hours. He sat up all the way from choice, and did not appear the worse for the sail. Late in the afternoon, complaining still of the load on his stomach, he vomited, bringing up some blood. It was a great shock to him at first, but relieved the oppression and he seemed comfortable, passed the night so, and relished some light food. No fear of a sudden change was in my mind.

Last year he had been unwell at this season, but recovered with the warm weather. Fourth day he felt easier than for some days, only more feeble. M. Allen wanted your father and myself to attend Flushing Meeting with her on 5th day. I felt more than a willingness to do so. Dr. R. thought there was not the least necessity of my staying, though his mind was not entirely decided as to the cause of his bringing up blood. Father gave his consent cheerfully, said he would deputize M. Barnard as nurse. Fifth day they wished to get him in his own room, the back room down stairs. He was then up stairs, walked down alone but leaned on S. M's arm, said he was not tired, asked for water and shaved himself with a steady hand. Between 5 and 6 another turn of bleeding came on, a quart or more, with scarce any effort. He seemed exhausted, but revived and seemed pleased when the Dr. came in. The Dr. remained nearly all night. It was dark and rainy and too late to send for us. About 2 o'clock on the morning of 6th day he discharged a still greater quantity of blood, and said to E. Mott it seemed as if his life would go with it. He said, "how many of my children are away at this time?" R. and A. were at Purchase Mo. Mg., Robert F. at Nine Partners, on a Committee, and we were at Flushing. When some one proposed sending for us he said, "do send." Richard left to bring us by daylight.* He said to his grand-children who were present, "see, my dear children what we must all come to." About six o'clock he asked the time, and being told said "I fear I cannot hold out till they get here." These were nearly his last expressions. He ceased to breathe between six and seven in the morning, perfectly sensible and collected, without a struggle. Alas, we found only his breathless remains. An only and most tenderly cherished daughter as I have been to him, to be absent at such a time, has wounded deeply, but a close investigation of the reasons for leaving home has not given grounds for self-accusation. The funeral was at Hester Street Meeting house on 2d day at 3 o'clock."

"I suggested in my last," wrote his grand-son James Mott, a month later, "making a selection from Grandfather's letters and other writings. * * Do you not intend preparing some account of his long and well spent life?" In the press of many cares such a compilation was neglected. Purchase Mo. Meeting made a full memorial of him, which was adopted on "the 12th of 11th mo." following, and of course is still on its records. And his tract on Education was re-published in Philadelphia in 1869, to which some account of his life is prefixed.



Adam and Anne Mott continued to make their home with their daughter Mary in Market Street whenever they were in the city until 1825, when Adam Mott for a short time went in the business of smoking

*The Ferry boats did not run during the night. Richard with horse and chair was at the ferry for the first boat in the morning, reached Flushing before seven o'clock, and found his parents not at L. M. Moore's, as he expected, but at "Cousin Ann Bowne's," in the old Bowne house, and they immediately took the chair and returned to New York, leaving Richard to come by stage.

meat with Thomas Underhill, and for a time they then made their home in his house when they were in the city for the winter. But a new summer home had previously been made for them in what was then very far west—and Rochester became more and more an important point for the remainder of their lives. Their eldest daughter, Sarah, settled at Rochester in 1823, and their youngest daughter, Abigail, removed there in 1830. And in 1836 their youngest son Richard removed to Toledo, and after this business often brought him through Rochester, and his family spent a considerable portion of every year in Rochester for many years. And thus the family of Adam and Anne Mott shared in the general drift of population to the west.

CHAPTER X.

ROCHESTER BEFORE 1830.

1823—1830.

A few days before the death of the elder James Mott, Silas and Sarah M. Cornell had left Flushing and removed to Rochester. This removal had been in contemplation for two years or more. In 1820 Sarah M. Cornell had lost her health and during the following year was slowly recovering from a serious attack of typhus fever. Her physician advised relief from the cares of the school, and removal to another neighborhood.

Western New York then seemed very far west, but was being rapidly settled. Aunt Lydia Mott was living at Skaneateles, and many Friends in Scipio and in the more western parts of the State were well known in the City of New York. Flushing was already celebrated for its Nurseries and Gardens, and the project was considered of a Nursery and farm in western New York. In 1821 Silas Cornell made a visit to this western country, accompanied by Adam Mott, and in July 1822 he made another visit with more care. A brief abstract of the record of this journey from the letters he wrote home will have an interest in the picture it gives of the country at that time, as well as in its relation to the family of Adam and Anne Mott. He wrote from Schenectady 7th mo. 1st, 1822, that he "left New York instead of two at half past four" (in a packet sloop,) "but having a good wind had a very pleasant passage and arrived at Poughkeepsie about eight next morning. Found all well, and David" (David Arnold, husband of his Sister Jane) "preparing to accompany me." This was First day morning, 6th mo. 30th—and "on second day afternoon we took the Richmond" (steamboat) "and after a pleasant passage arrived at Albany at half past one this morning. We had for fellow passengers, E. Haydock, C. Murray, L. Murray, M. Perkins and her children, and several young Friends from Philadelphia, going to the Falls and to the Springs. Having missed the Utica stage at Albany, they took the stage to Waterford at seven in the morning, and thence went on foot to Cohoes Falls and then, "by a very romantic walk up the banks of the Mohawk" reached Schenectady at sunset.

They remained at Schenectady all night, and at 4 the next morning "in a hard rain" took the stage (three stages) for Utica, and reached Little Falls at 5 P. M. Here they took the canal, which was now open from this point westerly for a considerable distance, "leaving three carriages which were before crowded almost without a passenger. At 6 we proceeded, but as this part of the canal has not yet its full supply of

water, and has several locks, our progress was slow, and we find the boats moving slower than last year, owing to their being restricted to four miles an hour instead of five. At 10 o'clock we stopped and took tea, and at 2 arrived at Utica, where we took lodgings and breakfast, and at 8 took the 'Montezuma' for Jordan." This was the morning of "Independence," the noise of which somewhat disturbed them. It will be noticed that they "stopped for tea" and again for "lodging." They reached Jordan, on the outlet of Skaneateles Lake, about 5 the next morning, and thence to the lake during the forenoon, where they spent the afternoon and evening of sixth day, the 5th of 7th mo.

"Next morning," he writes, "which was seventh day, Caleb Mekeel sent his wagon to carry us to Scipio, and we took up our lodgings at Humphrey Howland's Princely Establishment, where we received the most polite attention. We stayed there until first day morning, dined at John Winslow's, took tea at Joseph Tallcott's, called at J. Field's, and returned to H. Howland's. This morning H. H., his wife and children got into the carriage and accompanied us down to Aurora to take the steamboat."

He writes from the "Steamboat, on Cayuga Lake, second day morning, 7th mo. 8th :"

"We have been well pleased with the appearance of Scipio, and although we have been often told that there is no money in this western country, yet we see sure evidence of its existence in sufficient quantities, and we find the inhabitants possessed of the comforts of life, which are more valuable than money. David is almost rapturously pleased with the appearance of this country, and thinks that he would hardly be willing to be a farmer in the southern parts of the State after seeing these western counties—but whether he will determine to settle here is another question. I find nothing to discourage my prospect of a nursery, but am more and more of the opinion that Scipio is not the best place. H. Howland says Rochester, and that is the concurring sentiment of almost every person whom I have consulted—so we are driving our course rapidly to that place. We expect to be in Canandaigua this evening (8th), and as to our further proceedings we have not yet concluded. We omitted going to Jethro Wood's as he and his wife are both absent—probably now in New York."

The steamboat landed them at Cayuga Bridge early in the afternoon, and they "took the stage to Canandaigua"—he subsequently writes, "and arrived seasonably in the evening. We lodged at Wm. Cromwell's, and the next day dined in style at James Everingham's, and at four in the afternoon took the stage for Palmyra, stayed the night there. Next morning sent our baggage by the stage to Caleb Macomber's,* and walked to George Crain's, two miles. We viewed several farms in the neighborhood of Palmyra, but were not particularly pleased with them. John Colvin, three miles from Palmyra, told us if we would stay with him till next morning, he would furnish us with a horse and wagon to

*Caleb Macomber, of Farmington, was for many years one of the most eminent ministers of New York Yearly Meeting.

pursue our journey. We stayed, took the wagon in the morning, went to C. Macomber's, and thence to Farmington Meeting through a hard rain, which continued most of the day; the meeting was consequently small. C. M. invited us with him to Asa Smith's" (his half brother) "where we dined and were entertained for several hours with interesting conversation on various topics, and, among others, not forgetting the Nursery, and as this has formed a branch of conversation in almost every circle where we have been, I find it the general opinion that the business will answer in this country, and it also seems to be the general opinion that the vicinity of Rochester is the place where it will succeed best. We stayed 5th day night at C. M.'s and next morning, by Caleb's recommendation called to talk with Gideon Ramsdell, two miles on the way to Rochester. I dined there, and David found some of his relations in the neighborhood. While at Ramsdell's, Asa Smith came there and gave us an introductory letter to William Billinghurst; we then came on to this place" (Rochester) "and are now at Aldridge Colvin's. This day we have spent in a walk of about 15 miles on the canal eastward from here, but have not yet found what I want, and as it is now 7th day evening further examinations must be deferred till 2d day morning. * * * I am sensible that I have a great charge on my hands at present, for when I consider that the future happiness of my family may depend much on my present choice, it seems too important for my decision; but when I again reflect on the expense and intention of my coming, I see no room to give back, nor do I see any cause to dampen the views I have had of this country.

"*First day afternoon.* We have attended Rochester Meeting and extended our acquaintance with several Friends who politely stopped to speak with us after meeting. * * This village" (Rochester) "is indeed large, much more extensive than I had any idea of. David thinks it as large as Poughkeepsie, houses are well filled, rents are high and business lively. * * When we reflect that eleven years ago this place was a howling wilderness we look with astonishment on almost every object that surrounds us. I think it may be fairly presumed that the rapidity of improvement in this western country has not its parallel in the world, and will not the next ten years produce as great a change as the past. It is not certain that it will, but it is highly probable. * * I think in course of two or three days more I shall be able to find the place I have been searching for. It is not likely that I shall find a place combining every advantage we might wish." * *

The place finally selected as the first choice did, however, combine almost every advantage that could be wished. It was a farm of 160 acres, about a mile east of the bridge over the Genesee in the Village of Rochester on the north side of the main road to Pittsford and the east, and subsequently known as East Avenue. The soil was light and fertile, admirably adapted to the Nursery business, and so near the growing town that the rising value of the land alone would have made a fortune. He went by stage to Canandaigua, to consult the County record, for Monroe County had only been set off from Ontario and Genesee Counties in 1821, and Canandaigua was and still is the County seat of Ontario County. He writes under date

"ROCHESTER, Third day, 7th mo. 16, 1822.

"I found Joseph Bonaparte, Ex-King of Spain, at Canandaigua. After attending to my business there—procuring documents that I wished—consulting John C. Spencer, and finding things as I wished. I returned to Rochester 5th day evening."

But a personal interview with Bushnell was still necessary, and as they yet had the horse and wagon they had borrowed of John Colvin at Palmyra, they drove down to the mouth of the Genesee on 7th day morning, 20th of 7 mo., 1822, to see him, and finding he had not returned resolved to follow him.

"He had gone to Gaines, a small village 34 miles west of Rochester on the Ridge Road, and as I was detained several hours it was about four o'clock on 7th day afternoon before I set off, and I arrived at Gaines about nine next morning. This being First day I felt rather awkward in attempting to transact business, but as the person I went to see was a mercantile man, and I found him in his counting room, looking over papers, I concluded I might at least talk of business, and was not a little disappointed to find that he was not prepared to enter into a full agreement * * and was willing to engage so far that I should have the farm at the stipulated price if certain arrangement could be made. * * The particular circumstances I cannot detail in my letter, but they all appear reasonable. * * Considering this place preferable to any other that we had viewed, and having travelled 130 miles and spent ten dollars in the exclusive pursuit of this place I was unwilling to relinquish it. * * I have selected two or three as the next best, and have concluded to leave Rochester, having engaged a suitable person as agent if I should need one. I consider the above named place as purchased if no unforeseen circumstance prevents. It is larger than I want, but D. Arnold is to take a part of it. It contains 160 acres, and the price is 2,500 dollars."*

But the Bushnell title proved unsatisfactory. Frederick Bushnell, the nominal owner failed to make it good, and after much effort and months of delay, this first choice was finally abandoned, and the second choice was taken. This was a farm of 56 acres, three or four miles west of Rochester and near the Canal, which was bought of Frederick Hanford, for twelve dollars per acre. It was supposed that the nearness to the canal would compensate in part for the distance from Rochester.

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* Inquiry made in 1889 of Mr. Samuel P. Moore, Manager of the Rochester Title Insurance Co., as to the value at that date of the 160 acres for the purchase of which negotiations were opened, as related in the text, on "First day" morning, 21st of 7th mo., 1822, brings this answer. The "Bushnell property * * includes the residences of W. F. Cogswell, Daniel Powers, C. F. Paine," and several others "on East Avenue, the Female Academy of the Sacred Heart, the estate of C. J. Hill, the square containing the University grounds and buildings, and several residences on both sides of Prince Street, residences on both sides of East Main Street and on College Ave.," &c. &c. "The property must be worth in the neighborhood of one and a half or two millions of dollars, perhaps more." Mr. Moore also writes of the second choice, the 56 acres actually purchased, "that $100 an acre would be a fair price for it, and perhaps it would not bring so much."

The general interest felt by the family in the proposed removal to Rochester is indicated in contemporary letters. Six weeks after Silas Cornell's return to Flushing, and before he had abandoned the hope of getting the Bushnell place. James Mott, Sr., writing from Athens, 9th mo. 1st, 1822, to his daughter, says:

"I yesterday received a letter from James Everingham saying: 'Is Silas Cornell coming out? I hope he will not lose that farm. It is called a great bargain, and if much known may slip through his fingers.' Would it not be well for Silas to employ some person there to make some inquiry of the owner about it, and inform him of his determination?"

JAMES MOTT, SENIOR, TO ADAM AND ANNE MOTT.

"SKANEATELES, 10th mo. 31, 1822.

"Dear Children:— * * While at Rochester I conversed with Aldridge Colvin about the different farms Silas has in prospect there, and lest I should forget some of the circumstances I requested him to commit them to writing, which he did as follows: 'I inquired of Joseph Spencer respecting the Bushnell farm east of Rochester. Spencer has seen Frederick Bushnell, but Bushnell has done nothing further about the farm since Silas Cornell was here. I also made inquiry of D. D. Barnard concerning F. Hanford's farm. Barnard will receive nothing short of $2,500, it being Hanford's debt due Barnard. By paying this sum Silas can have a lien on the whole property. It is said that the whole is worth double the 2,500 dollars. Silas will be entirely safe if he does not wish to keep the property.' James Everingham and Aldridge Colvin think if Silas was at Rochester prepared to pay the cash there would be no difficulty in suiting himself." * *

ROCHESTER.

Early in April, 1823, Silas and Sarah M. Cornell had closed their business in Flushing and made ready to remove to Rochester. They had been in Flushing seven years. There was born to them on the 7th of 1st mo., 1819, their first child, and after his father's great uncle they called him Thomas Clapp; and on the 13th of 10th mo., 1820, their second son, to whom they gave the name of his mother's grandfather, James Mott; and then, on the 5th of 5th mo., 1822, their third son, and they named him Richard Mott, after his mother's brother, as well as her uncle. Their household also included Elizabeth Bell, a young woman then about 20 years of age, whose long connection with the family calls for mention here. Her father, Jacob Bell, an English Friend, had a cabinet maker's shop in New York. Elizabeth had come into the house when Thomas was six weeks old, and had cared for him and his brothers, except during a time when she learned the trade of a tailoress with Miles Chambers, in Vandewater Street. She went with the family into the western country, remaining in the household for several years, and with her went her eldest brother David, who, in the village of Rochester, learned the trade of a carpenter. And now, in her 85th year, Elizabeth Bell and her youngest and only surviving brother, John, still living in Rochester, remain in affectionate remembrance in the family.

The school at Flushing, next the meeting house, was taken by Joshua Kimber, and the family came to Robert Hicks' house in Market Street to take passage to Albany. There were a few steamboats running on the Hudson, leaving New York at 10 A. M. and arriving at Albany the next morning; but for convenience in taking all the household goods as well as the family with them, they preferred the still usual packet sloop. "The sloop lay at Coenties slip," said Richard Mott, in describing the departure more than half a century later, "and in the afternoon we all walked down, and I carried little Richard in my arms. The sloop was not to sail until daylight the next morning, but it was necessary to be on board over night. We saw you all comfortably settled, and did not leave you till dark, and the next morning, as soon as it was light, I was down there again, just in time to see the sloop pushing off. David Bell was on deck." The yellow dog Rover was also of the party, but got astray and was lost in Albany. The Erie Canal was then so far finished that boats were already running over most of its length, but it was necessary to stage at Albany to reach the canal. The party reached Rochester on the 2d of May, 1823.

The farm of 56 acres on which they were to settle was about four miles northwest of the Village of Rochester, and near the Erie Canal. Hardly half the land was cleared, and the only building was a log barn soon afterwards taken down. A new frame house was to have been ready for occupation at this time, but was not ready for some weeks later. And soon after a good frame barn was built, farming operations were carried on, and the beginning made of a Nursery business.

In the summer of 1823, in the latter part of July, Adam and Anne Mott visited their daughter at Rochester, accompanied by their youngest son Richard. They took a sloop from New York to Albany, paying a dollar and a half for passage and carrying their own provisions. From Albany they took the stage to Little Falls, from where the "Packet" on the canal took them to Rochester. They found the new house not yet finished but the work was progressing. "The account of their situation is encouraging," wrote James Mott from Phil[a], after receiving their letter, and then he discusses the project of "Richard settling on a farm in that country."

Adam and Anne Mott remained at Rochester till the middle of Autumn, when they returned to New York and spent the winter of 1823–4 with their daughter, Mary Hicks, and made a visit to Philadelphia in the spring. They visited Rochester again after the Yearly Meeting, and from this time forward it was one of their homes. Some passages from Anne Mott's letter to her children in New York, while on the road to Rochester the second summer, will be interesting to all her descendents now.

(July 1824) 7th day morning, on the Canal between Schnectady and Utica.

"* * I have seated myself at the corner of the table in the common room of one of these moving houses in which this "big ditch" abounds, to begin the story of our travels. The weather is rainy, and of course all the passengers are within doors, and I am surrounded by persons of various characters and dispositions. Some are talking politics, others inquiring the different and best routes for a fashionable tour through this western region—individuals are engaged with books—one company are killing time with backgammon, and others with cards, while some of my own sex are tenderly nursing their infants, and others plying their needles. We have between 40 and 50 passengers, pretty much crowded to be sure, but by each being disposed to forward or at least not to hinder the general accommodation we get along comfortably.

"R. & R. told you I suppose how crowded the Olive Branch was, not less than 250 passengers left New York in her, nor was the number greatly lessened when we reached Albany. * * The prospect was really discouraging when we got on board. To find a seat was out of the question, and to stand comfortably not an easy matter from the throng and bustle. We soon became a little more settled and found rather less inconvenience than I at first apprehended. On looking round among my female companions, no familiar face met my eye, and I witnessed a feeling akin to "solitude of the heart," when E. Bailey (one of our sort of folks) accosted me with, "How do, friend Mott!" The sound was really grateful tho' I did not immediately recollect the speaker, and I felt myself not alone in that miniature and motley world, the cabin of a steamboat. We parted with her at Albany, but her place has been supplied by two of our citizens whom she introduced as wishing to be our company to Utica. Captain Anderson's wife and daughter. They are serious and well informed and prove agreeable company. In passing along we have found other acquaintances. At Poughkeepsie several of the Arnold family came aboard, and on entering the Canal boat at Albany two of Elihu Smith's sisters, and Joseph Taber, the husband of one of them. They will be with us as far as Utica, being bound to Syracuse. The Kent was still more crowded than the boat we were in; 350 passengers left the City in her. One of them was yesterday our fellow traveller. She said there were 30 ladies that passed most of the night on deck, not able to find seats, much less beds. It needs pretty sharp looking out to get a seat at table in such a crowd. I did not get my dinner till 5 o'clock, but made out very well as I got a luncheon at 11 o'clock. Bread and butter, cheese and tongue and ham were set on the table at that time for all who wished. I lay down a few hours, after 12 o'clock at night on a settee and had a little broken slumber. A. Mott had no berth, and I believe no place to lay except on his coat under the awning of the quarter deck. Should any of you follow us, secure births early in the morning, and put your names upon them as well as in the Captain's book.

"We got to Albany a little past 4 in the morning, went to Joseph Mott's* to breakfast, and were on our way to Schenectady a little past 7. We chose the water passage, tho' more circuitous and taking longer time than the stage. We wished to see the junction of the Northern and

*Son of Daniel and grand-son of Stephen.

the Western Canals, the numerous locks, Cohoes falls, etc. We were 12 hours in reaching Schenectady, and exceedingly gratified in viewing the works both of Art and Nature which this 28 miles afford. * * One thing that gave me much pleasure on this route, that a sentimental traveller would scarcely observe, was the abundance and variety of useful and necessery articles that were moving with apparent ease on the waters of this artificial river, or piled upon its banks ready to be conveyed to our commercial mart. These boats are much neater, and the accommodation more to my fancy than the steamboat, and the company more like the citizens of a republic than the motley crowd we found in passing up the Hudson. We paid $2 to Albany, $1.50 to Schenectady, $3.50 from the latter place to Utica.

"BRIDGEWATER, 13th of 7th mo.

"We reached Utica between 7 and 8 of the evening of 7th day. * * We put all our baggage, except one trunk, on board the Rochester packet, expecting it would get there last evening. We put up at L. Cozens, to whose care our wagon was directed. He had not received it, nor can we yet hear of it. * * First day, we all wishing to go to meeting, Cozens, having a nice wagon, took us to New Hartford, attended that meeting and brought us to D. Mott's. Our mare is here. R. Webb brought her at the time fixed. She is in good order for the journey, and if we could but get our wagon we should soon be on the road. * * Their family is small here, only Daniel, Amey, Mary and Phebe. The parents pretty well. Mary cannot do anything just now from a rheumatic affection in the arm, which she thinks wearing off. Phebe is unable to do any business except a little light sewing. They have help, in doors and out, and seem very comfortable. Joseph, Isaac, Abigail and Lydia have taken the upper part of a house in Albany and have opened two schools, one for boys and another for girls, and their prospects are pretty fair. * *

"SKANEATELES, 18th of 7th mo.

"We were detained at Bridgewater until sixth day morning by not getting our wagon. Fourth day I decided upon going to Utica and starting for Rochester by water the next day, but when morning came a young man who lives with D. Mott was going there, and said he would search for the wagon. He did so, and found it in a store in the far end of the town, where it was delivered before we reached the place, so that we were unnecessarily detained several days. The person fastened it to his wagon and brought it safely. The next morning we set off and reached De Ruyter just at evening. As our horse was raised on the "pinnacle" we got up the hill with less difficulty than when we were here last summer; and it looked much pleasanter. A few more visits may make it appear not only tolerable but desirable. John Webb and his family live with Uncle Job, and they all seem comfortable. Richard has given up the Pennsylvania scheme, and now talks of exchanging for land on the banks of Lake Ontario. * * If that fails, Richard will take our farm unless we move upon it—and really there seems a combination of circumstances to make us look very seriously toward it. The fine appearance of the country, the abundance of the crops of every kind, give an interest that I never felt before. * * I shall be obliged by M. U. Hicks ascertaining whether the minute of the Women's Y. Mg. respecting the division of Farmington Quarter has been sent on, or is in

the hands of some of the Committee—if not, let it be given to some that are coming, for we should look rather blank to go round to the Mo. Mgs. without our credentials. Perhaps M.* will write to A. W. W.† and request her to attend to it. Perhaps A.‡ will bring it, as she is one of the committee, which will be better yet. L. P. M. says she ought to come and see Charles L.§ * * L. P. M.'s and my love must close this farewell. A. M."

On the same page, Adam Mott adds a few lines:

"We hope to reach Silas's some time third day. Our detention at Bridgewater was trying under the circumstances in which we were placed, otherwise it was pleasant to pass a few days with the friends of our early days. * * Mother has told you all about our journey, &c. I never rode or passed through the country when it looked so fine. Wheat is very fine, grass good, corn generally so. * * We think of leaving this afternoon and go as far as Auburn. * * Arthur is building a house. Calculates to get in it in 10th mo. The situation is pleasanter than where they now live. C. M. has bo't 50 acres, with the house, barn, &c., for $2,500. We fell in with J. Willis and S. Leggett & Co. last evening in Skaneateles village—expected to be at Rochester in about a week. Do you hear anything more about smoke-meat business? I want R. should look out to see what can be done to help us. Has Uncle T. U. been down? Write us soon. * * I hope to meet a letter from you at R. * * A. Mott."

The above letter is interesting from the glimpses it gives of other members of the family. The wife of Job Webb at De Ruyter (Hannah Alsop) was a half-sister of the elder James Mott. Daniel Mott was the eldest son of Uncle Stephen Mott of Cowneck, where he was born and married, and was double first cousin of Adam Mott. L. P. M. was the widow of Anne Mott's brother, Robert Mott, and Arthur was his only surviving child. C. M. was Caleb Mekeel.

The reference to the "division of Farmington Quarter" and her contemplated visit to "the Monthly Meetings" indicates the prominent position she long held in the Yearly Meeting and her active interest in all "Society affairs." A letter written by her a few weeks later, while on the visit to the "mo. mgs." with the Committee furnishes several passages which ought to be quoted. She writes at intervals, and begins from Hartland, a settlement of Friends in Orleans County.

LETTER FROM ANNE MOTT TO HER CHILDREN IN NEW YORK.

"HARTLAND, 13th of 9th mo., 1824.

"Here we are on the Ridge Road, 52 miles west of Rochester, a pleasant level country, pretty thickly settled, but not arrived at the third stage of

* Her daughter, Mary U. Hicks.

† Anne W. Willis, then clerk of the Women's Yearly Meeting.

‡ Anne W. Willis.

§ Charles Lawrence, nephew of Anne W. Willis.

improvement, there are a few brick houses, but generally log ones; these mostly have a comfortable appearance. John Cooks, where we now are, is much more so than many that make a splendid figure. There are two large rooms decently furnished, and as clean as need be, plenty of good fare and a hearty welcome. This is a bountiful land. I include all we have travelled over, and a large portion of good housekeeping. * * I too "have talked right on," and almost forgot to tell you how we got here. Our last was to Richard, finished or nearly so at Farmington, and put in the office at Rochester, where we found one from Mary and Richard, and one from L. and Abby, which like all the others was most truly welcome, and a treat to us. It is only those who are absent from home, as we are, that can realize the feelings which arise on the perusal of such letters as we get from our dear children, filled with interesting reading matter, and evidently penned by sincere affection. And there are seasons when to be told of that which we had *never doubted* is still a cordial, and Lindley is entitled to my acknowledgment for some expressions of regard in his that were grateful to my feelings.

"I think it was on 6th day our last was closed. Part of our company stopped in the Village (Rochester), while J. and M. Kirby went with us to Silas C.'s. We found Sarah much better than when we left, about house and able to do small matters.* The rest well and very busy, having carpenters tearing the siding off the front of the house in order to raise the proposed addition, which is fixed to be 7 feet on the west part, of the same width and height of the other. We got dinner and stayed a few hours, and then went a cross road to the ridge, and found the rest of our band at Clarkson. The road was so fine that we got to this settlement early in the afternoon. I. Thorne,† C. McComber‡ and wife, who with some other friends were in company, went on to Lockport that night, while we made a few visits and attended the Meeting here yesterday. This day is the Mo. Mg. and as our lodgings are near the Mg. house, friends are flocking in. One Preparative Meeting is 30 miles distant.

I did not expect to find any person I knew in this distant land, but 7th day, on some friends coming in, the countenance of one of them took my attention as one I had seen. I soon found it was a sister of Isaac Martin's, that I had not met with for more than 40 years, and last evening Huldah Atwater, Hoag once, was here. She inquired about Abby. They live 16 miles from this place.

"HAMBURG, 17th of 9th mo.

"From various causes I have not found an opportunity to take my pen until this morning. We found a considerable number of friends from five preparative meetings to constitute a mo. mg. One thirty miles distant, another sixteen. After mo. mg. we went home with Jesse Haines, an acquaintance of J. Kimbers, who kept school in Philadelphia a number of years, but 6 years ago he took his wife, two children, and their goods in a wagon and came into this country. He had purchased 150 acres of land one mile south of Lockport, entirely new, and on that, they have formed a comfortable settlement. He cut down the trees, built the best log, or rather block house, I have ever been in, and commenced farming in earnest. The first year he cleared 12 acres with

*Her eldest daughter was now a few weeks old.

†Isaac Thorne, of Nine Partners. ‡Caleb McComber, of Farmington.

his own hands. He says he is his own Carpenter and Cooper and farmer, and all bears the mark of industry and good management. His wife does her part well, and we enjoyed ourselves much under their roof. How could some of our Flushing teachers make out in swinging the ax? We spent a few hours in Lockport, the rest of the company passed the night there—J. & M. Kirby with Stephen Mott*—the others in different places. S. Mott has a grocery store and 7 or 8 boarders. We were all gratified in viewing the double locks and other works of the Canal. * * The road to and from it (Lockport) we found *sufficiently bad*, tho' the people there think it quite tolerable, and we have been rather more of their opinion since we have passed worse ones.

"We left Lockport rather late in the day to reach the Falls seasonably to take a view that night, so put up 1½ miles short. Early the next morning we were on the road with our expectations highly raised,—all the company except I. Thorne being strangers to the scene. I suppose we had not the best view, as we did not cross the river to Canada; but from Goat Island it was sufficiently grand to pay us for the trouble. The falls about meet the ideas I had formed. The current under the bridge and the rapids far exceeded anything I had imagined. * * We started without our breakfast, and had to ride a number of miles before we could find a house that could furnish us with one. At last, with begging as well as paying we got a meal. You may judge how we relished it, when I tell you they were cutting the canal just before the door—a number of the hands boarded in the house—the landlady had an infant in her arms, and no one to assist her. There were 9 of us. D. Golden and S. Sutton† went to work. One cleaned and cooked some excellent fish, while the others prepared the table. From this place it was 12 miles to Buffalo, generally on the side of the river and canal. * * The canal is extending to Buffalo—very rightly, I should suppose, for it is a fine village. * * From Buffalo to this place is 12 miles, nearly the whole way through the Indian Reservation, and such roads as I do not wish to ride again—the holes and mud so deep that I thought we must either overturn or stick fast, and the walking such that I could not get out to lighten the wagon. It grew late, and I began to have serious apprehensions of being obliged to stay in the woods all night, as it would have been out of the question to have gone through in the dark with our wagon. Not a house to be seen for miles. We got out, however, before daylight was quite gone, and reached a neighborhood of friends.

"COLLINS, 20th of 9th mo.

"We have now reached our last stage. The Mo. Mg. is to be held to-day, and to-morrow, if nothing interferes, we shall turn our faces toward the rising sun with gladness, I believe, for the road that separates us from those dear to our hearts appears long—more than 500 miles. Yet we have much to be thankful for. Our health has been good, our travelling companions agreeable, friends uniformly kind, and, with very few exceptions, our accommodations comfortable. * * We lodged one night with Hadwin Arnold, a brother of Oliver's. * * We found excellent quarters at Joseph Webster's, and were furnished with a farm wagon and good horses, as our wagons were not so suitable for the roads

* Eldest son of Daniel Mott and born at Cowneck.

† Sarah Sutton, who afterward married Nehemiah Merritt.

and our horses needed rest. Our particular company is J. and M. Kirby. We ride together and lodge at the same house, as there is seldom room for all at one place. S. Brown,* I. Thorn, D. Golden and S. Sutton are in another wagon, which the owner drives and serves as guide. *Our fame* has gone before us. They hear New Yorkers are coming, and really fear "they cannot make us comfortable with their new-country accommodations." If you could see their bountiful tables, with a clean house and hearty welcome, you would think we must be difficult, indeed, to find fault with our entertainment. But the joke is, they do not find out the *Citizens* until we tell them. * *"

"22d of 9th mo.

"We have now got back to our kind friend's, Joseph Webster's, at Hamburg. Returned their horses and wagon safely, and find ours in good order for travelling. From here to Collins is 24 miles. Collins is the most distant Mo. Mg. * * Between Collins and Hamburg * * we had a considerable collection of people in a barn. All our preachers had something to say—I. T. had much and excellent. He has ministered largely on this journey in mgs. and in families, where our lot has been cast, at all times satisfactorily and frequently—especially in private opportunities in such a manner as to reach every feeling. We have travelled together in much affection. I. T. remarked he had never been with a Committee in which there had been a more uniform agreement of sentiment and disposition to make things agreeable to each other. This is the sugar that sweetens such a situation."

"ROCHESTER, 27th.

"We have reached here again without filling our sheet. * * We got to S. C.'s the evening before last. Found them all well. * * We found Richard's of 14th and 15th at Rochester. It was welcome. * * We shall hardly write again."

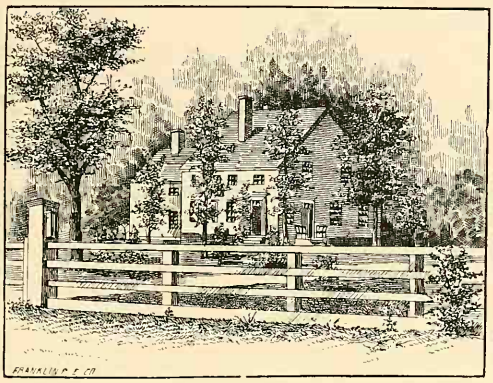
A few lines are added in the hand of Adam Mott, who says: "We expect to leave here the last of this week to Scipio quarter. and then home as soon as we can well, but how I cannot tell, except I buy a little wagon that may bring us home."

The above long letter is so full of characteristic details, that I have felt unable to make the extracts shorter. They amount to about one half the letter, all of which is written on one sheet of foolscap paper, in a fine, clear hand.

Adam and Anne Mott returned to New York for the winter of 1824–5 as intimated in the letter, spending the time with Robert and Mary Hicks, in Market St., and Lindley and Abby Moore, at Flushing, and making occasional visits elsewhere. Business projects were discussed, but no final action was taken, and the following summer Anne Mott remained at Flushing and Adam Mott again visited Rochester. On this occasion Mary U. Hicks also visited her sister at Rochester, and a brief visit was made by James and Lucretia Mott on their return from a tour in Ohio.

* Stephen Brown of Peekskill.

At Rochester they all took part in the discussion of an addition to be made to the house of Silas Cornell for the better accommodation of his winter school, and this present writer, then six years old, distinctly remembers that the decided opinion of Uncle James Mott determined the ques-



FARM RESIDENCE OF SILAS CORNELL, NEAR ROCHESTER, 1823—1836.
From a Pencil Drawing by T. C. Cornell in 1843.

tion that the new building should be placed with the end and not the side to the original house. This little school for his own children and a few boarders was kept by Silas Cornell for four winters, beginning in 1824–5, and continuing for four or five months each year.

The following letter finds here its chronological place and is so full of family and local details that it can hardly fail to interest all the descendants of Adam and Anne Mott:

ANNE MOTT AT FLUSHING TO ADAM MOTT AT ROCHESTER.

"FLUSHING, 1st of 9th mo., 1825.

"For several days past I have been waiting for leisure to take up the pen and tell my dearest friend how we are, and how anxiously we are looking for intelligence from him and our beloved Mary and the loved circle at Rochester, but the days have furnished so many stockings to mend, and the evenings someone stopping in, that writing has still been put off for a more convenient season. This morning I have risen before the bell rang and made a beginning to fill a sheet. * * When I wrote last the intention was to take James and Sarah Hicks to Westbury the fore part of that week, but James did not seem ready. Seventh day was quite as soon as he was willing to leave * * so in the afternoon we set out, E. G. A. Moore, J. S. Hicks* and myself—six of us in the little wagon. We got to S. Hicks† between 4 and 5. Found them in usual health. Benjamin (D. Hicks, son of Isaac and Sarah Hicks) came soon after we got there, said Robert, (father of James and Sarah Hicks)

* Edward, Gilbert and Ann Moore and James and Sarah Hicks.

† Sarah Hicks, widow of Isaac and grandmother of James and Sarah Hicks,

thought it best not to come up until next 7th day. James and Sarah were rather disappointed, as they expected to meet him, but their cousins being with them, it was not of so much consequence. * * * Sarah had seemed anxious to see her Grandmother Hicks, and delighted when we came in sight of the house. I intended leaving her and James there and taking the Moores with me to Jericho, &c., as I did not wish to have the care of five children while visiting, but Sarah could not stand it, to have Ann go with me to Jericho and she stay behind, so I took Gilbert and the two girls" (each about 7 to 9 years old,) "and left Edward with James very much to their satisfaction. We went to Phebe Powell's* that night, found Cousin Phebe much improved in health, Elizabeth gone to Cowneck, and from them to Edwin Post's. Mary Titus keeping house for Amos Willets until he can find some person to take the place. * * We attended Westbury mg. Had a sermon from J. Plummer. * * We went to Wm. Willis's to dinner. * * In the afternoon Wm. went with me to see Aunt Parsons† and the other worthies under her roof, leaving the little folks with Anna. Aunt Jane was down stairs, sat up most of the time, and thought she ought to go to work, as her appetite was good, and she should gain strength faster. "The ruling passion" is strong in her, industry and a lively interest in the welfare of others. She made many inquiries about you and especially of Silas and Sarah" (Cornell) "and their children, as to their situation, farm and all the &cs. * * Next morning I took the little girls to see Aunt Parsons and the rest of the family, wishing they might know their relatives They wished to know all about aunt and cousins, but it was rather difficult to make them understand the connection. S. H. asked soon after we got to Jericho how Wm. and Anna were akin. On my telling her she said: "I believe thee must tell again when I grow older, for I cannot understand now." * * Elias Hicks had meetings that day at Cold Spring and Hunt^{n}. He has been on the East part of the Island as far as Smithtown, accompanied by S. Willis (Samuel Willis cousin of Adam Mott) and S. Mott (Samuel Mott brother of Adam) and had returned a week or more ago, and now takes those places in the neighborhood. (The letter then drifts into a relation of dissension in "Westbury mo. mg.," with some detail and then goes on). What the event will be time will determine. Things seem to be drawing to a crisis and it seems doubtful whether my plan of a separation will have any room to operate, 2d day afternoon we stopped at S. Hicks, left J. and S. H. and came to Flushing. They shed a few tears at parting, but James seemed intent upon fulfilling his promise to his mother, to be a good boy and take care of his sister. Sarah more than once said: "I hope mother will have a pleasant visit, I think of her almost all the time." You think me too minute, but I know a mother's heart. * * * With much love to all, A. Mott."

In the Autumn of 1825, Adam Mott returned to New York, and went into business in smoking meat with Thomas Underhill, his wife's uncle, in whose house they also made their home when in New York. At this period they spent a good deal of time with their daughter in Flushing.

* Widow of Joshua Powell and cousin of Adam Mott. See p. 19.

† Daughter of Samuel and Mary (Fry) Willis, widow of James Parsons, own Aunt of Adam Mott—several pieces of her handsome Mahogany furniture are still among the treasured relics of her great-grand-nephews and nieces. She died three weeks after this visit.

A letter from James Mott, dated Phil[a], 9th mo. 23, 1825, says that he had but just heard that they were no longer in Market Street, and he adds: "You will be quite comfortable with Uncle T. and Debby.*" The smoked meat business was moderately successful.

After the Yearly Meeting of 1826, Adam and Anne Mott again went to Rochester. Their daughter, Mary U. Hicks, writing to them "8th mo. 6, 1826," gives news of her father's business as follows:

"I have been up to Uncle's several times, but only found him at home once. R. says that he (that is, Uncle T.) visits a great deal. He has gone to Westchester to-day. The hams are all sold, and a demand for more. Another hundred would find a ready sale—that they may increase their stock next year."

The letter gives much current news, with incidents in Mo. Mgs., &c., and adds:

"James has preferred staying at home rather than going alone to the country, either to Westbury or Flushing—he says he don't want to go till I do. * * I had expected to have got a letter from you by this time * * for it is a long time since we have heard."

And then come a few words in the letter which have a special interest to the present editor, who has now, for more than half a century, been blamed for his rapid speech, and is here reminded of the many injunctions, "*Don't drawl so!* which he once received—for Aunt Mary here writes:

"I make you many imaginary visits, and fancy how the dear little boys are lengthening out g-r-a-n-d-f-a-t-h-e-r, giving each letter its full sound. Does Anna imitate them? * * I shall send this letter to R. to finish. We expect to set out for the country to-day. With much love, M. U. Hicks."

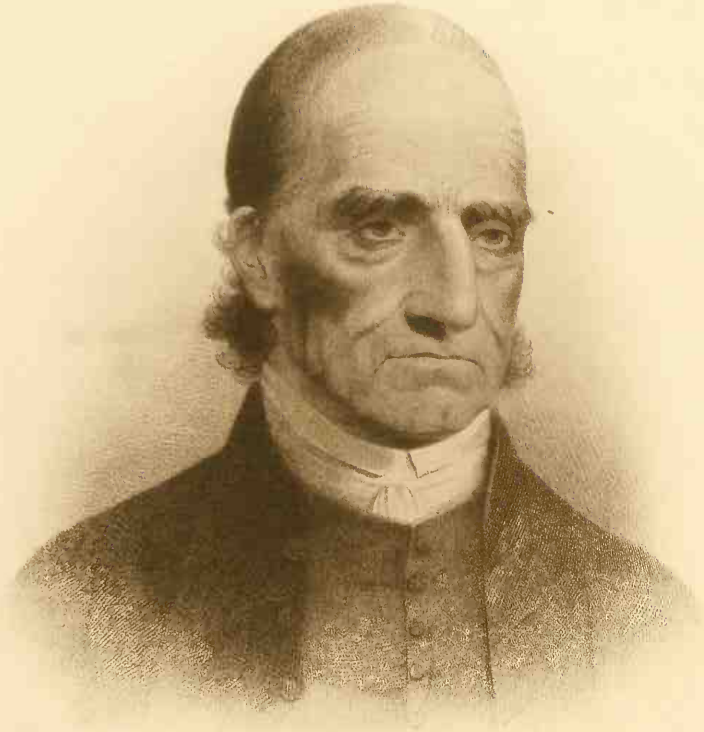
Then follows a glimpse of her brother's life, in his handwriting, of those days:

"* * I go to Flushing first day, and first day before last went to Cowneck with Edw[d] and Gilbert. Somebody had taken the liberty to go off with Tommy and Silas' sailboat a night or two before I got there. They had just got her fixed up in first-rate style in order to go to New Haven in her. * * Things go on in the same old jog trot at the Bank. No prospect of any change, and not much room for hope. Shall have to be check clerk yet awhile from present appearances. R. Mott, Jr."

Adam and Anne Mott did not visit Rochester in 1827, but their daughter there, after four years' absence, visited them in New York. Early in May, Silas Cornell, with his wife and three children, driving his own horses and carriage, left his Rochester home on Monday morning, and by way of Scipio, Owego, Ithaca and Goshen, and crossing Hoboken Ferry, reached the house of Robert Hicks, No. 46 Market Street, about noon of the Saturday. The present writer recalls many of the incidents

* Deborah Underhill, his niece, who afterward married Samuel Haight as second wife.

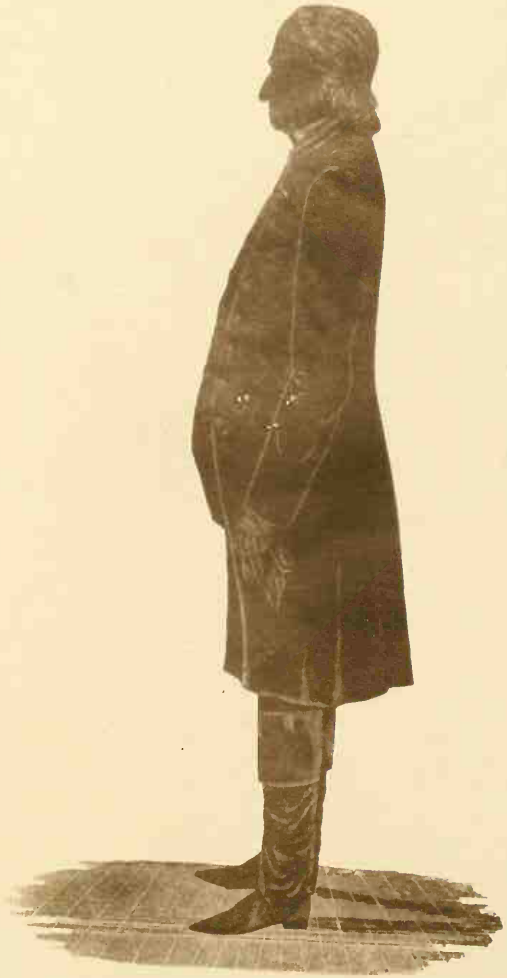
of the journey—the stay at Uncle Robert's, the visit to Flushing, remaining at Uncle L. M. Moore's during Yearly Meeting; subsequently visiting at Cowneck and at Scarsdale, when the stay of some weeks at Grandfather Cornell's was in the season of cherries; and then, by way of Poughkeepsie among my Arnold relatives, passing two nights at Catskill, and visiting the Mountain House, then "The Pine Orchard Hotel," and through the country, stopping one night at De Ruyter, and so home.



Elias Hicks

From an engraving by Peter Maverick, after a drawing by H. Inman.

PUBLISHED BY EDWARD HOPPER IN 1830.



CHAPTER XI.

THE SEPARATION IN THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

The dissensions in the Society of Friends, which culminated in the Separation in 1827–28, were among the most important events in these years in the lives of Adam and Anne Mott. They had both been always deeply interested in all affairs of the Society—had always taken leading parts in its business, and but few of its members held positions of so much influence. They had been on the most friendly terms with Elias Hicks, who became the representative of the disturbing force which led to the separation, so that his name has been popularly given to one of the parties. He had been a not very distant neighbor when they lived in Cowneck, and he had long been a welcome and an honored guest in their house. For these reasons, and also because some of my cherished cousins of these later days have borne his name and have mingled his blood in their veins equally with that of Adam and Anne Mott,* his portrait is introduced here and a word is said of him.

Elias Hicks, descended from a family already settled in Hempstead for a hundred years, was born at Rockaway 19th March, 1748, and died at Jericho 27th February, 1830, having nearly completed his 82d year. He married January 2d, 1771, Jemima Seaman, a descendant of Capt. John Seaman, also one of the earliest and most prominent settlers in Hempstead, and one of the early converts to the preaching of George Fox, and also an ancestor of Anne Mott.

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* The subjoined tabular statement shows the relationship between some of the grandchildren of Adam and Anne Mott and of Elias Hicks :

Robert Hicks, the immigrant, came to Plymouth in 1621,
John Hicks, b. 1607, d. 1672,
Thomas Hicks, b. 1640, d. 1740,
Jacob Hicks, b. 1669, d. 1755,

Benjamin Hicks, b. 1716, d. 1744, — John Hicks, Elias Hicks, the preacher, b. 1748, d. 1830,

Samuel Hicks, b. 1741 d. 1819,

Adam Mott m. Anne Mott — Isaac Hicks — Valentine Hicks m. Abigail Hicks,

Mary U. Mott m. Robert Hicks,

Sarah Hicks married Elias Hicks, Jr.,

Mary Hicks m. P. B. Franklin, Elias Hicks, Jr., (Dickey), Caroline Hicks,

Anne M. Franklin.

Elias Hicks was a man of force and character, and a natural orator of much power and influence. He attained very high rank as a preacher among Friends, and for many years was held in great esteem. But he seems to have gradually developed what may perhaps be called the Rational side of Quakerism, and this development toward Rationalism in the Quaker fold brought him in conflict with the Orthodox Supernaturalism which had been, perhaps unconsciously, inherited from the Ancient Church.*

Letters already quoted, show that almost forty years before the separation, the elder James Mott had been the chosen companion of Elias Hicks in his religious visits. The younger James Mott had inherited his grandfather's personal attachment to the celebrated preacher, and in addition his own relations with him had become very intimate in Elias Hicks occasional visits to Philadelphia, so that personal esteem and friendship, as well as the duty which he felt that he owed to Quakerism, made him one of Elias Hicks staunchest supporters.

A dozen years before the separation the elder James Mott had endeavored to defend his friend Elias Hicks, and sought to show that what Elias had said in disparagement of the Scriptures was only exaggerated in order the better to meet those who as he contended overrated their importance.†

A letter of the younger James Mott to his parents written five years before the separation, will be of interest here, as showing the extent of the dissatisfaction already felt with some of Elias' teachings, and that the breach was widening and not healing. Adam Mott had written to his son about a pamphlet relative to the controversy and James replies:

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*To this present writer much of the affirmative teaching of Orthodox Quakerism seems to be thus inherited from the Ancient Church, and in going back to the Church he does not feel that he has abandoned the Quakerism of his childhood so much as he has added again to it, what Quakerism had forgotten. The lessons of human duty, of God and Christ, which he was taught at his mother's knee, before he was five years old, are the vital rudiments of the lessons the Church is teaching to-day, and was teaching a thousand years ago. The obedience which Quakerism enjoins, to the Divine Inspiration in each heart, is only another phrase for the prayer of the Ancient Litany, "from neglect of thy Inspirations Lord Jesus deliver us!" The obligation in which he was educated, to join in public worship on all mid-week meetings as well as on all "First days," is the echo of the obligation, to hear Mass on all Sundays and Holydays. Both have sought to educate their own children in their own schools and in their own Faith, and to neither form of public worship is any sermon essential. The silent Quaker Meeting, where each soul waits to hear what the Lord will say, repeats the silent meditations of those other waiting souls, who in Convents and in Monasteries, and in ten thousand Chapels and Churches, for all these centuries have thus in silence sought to learn and to do God's will. And while the perfectly silent Quaker Meeting is still to me thus eloquent, the more stately services of the ancient Church thrill and edify me, because they come loaded with the spiritual significance of my earliest religious lessons.

†See James Mott's letter heretofore quoted of 2d mo., 28th, 1816. p 102.

"PHILA., 12th mo., 15th, 1822.

"* * The pamphlet father alludes to is not worth reading, if it was I would send you one. It is a pity the writer of it had not been better employed while he was thus endeavoring to injure the character and usefulness of a great and good man, for such I consider our dear friend Elias Hicks now to be. He is now in the city engaged in visiting families in Green St. mo. mg. * * Previous to Elias coming to the city it was rumored that he had advanced some unsound doctrines at the Southern Quarterly Meeting. On the evening of the day he arrived two elders waited on him." The letter then states with considerable detail how Elias was summoned to a meeting of elders, that he at first declined to meet them, on the ground that it was "out of order to require him to answer to them, for anything he had said or done before coming to the City," but under advice of his friends he waived this objection, and attended, bringing with him "an elder and member of the meeting where the heterodox doctrine was said to have been advanced, who was present at the meeting and happened now to be in the city." The elders objected to the presence of this stranger, and on Elias insisting that he wanted his testimony in his own defense, the elders replied that his remaining would be considered an "admission of the charge and they should withdraw themselves." This they did, and the meeting broke up without result. James Mott, Jr., goes on to say: "Thus ended a meeting, which both before and since it took place, was and is a universal subject of conversation, and has caused a much greater excitement than I ever remember to have known among Friends; and what will be the result of it is yet unknown? * * I believe fully 19 out of 20 of the members of our society in this City consider the proceedings of our elders out of order. * * My opinion is that Elias is as sound in the essential doctrines of Christianity as any among us. * * * I have written much more on this subject than I intended when I commenced. * * * I think there is a spirit of persecution afloat and I cannot remain neuter in my feelings, nor, altogether in my words or actions. * * Elias expressed to me the day he came to the City, that he had never performed a journey so much to his own peace, and, so far as he knew, to the satisfaction of Friends as the present. * * * with much love to all I am affectionately,

James Mott, Jr."

But Adam and Anne Mott did not share in their son's confidence in Elias Hicks and a painful uneasiness with some of his teachings had been felt by them for more than a dozen years before the separation, and when the separation came Adam and Ann Mott were very decidedly on the side which soon came to be called the orthodox side. Their children were divided. Lindley M. Moore and his wife and Silas Cornell and his wife and their youngest son Richard and his wife were also with the orthodox, although Richard in his later years sometimes said that the separation was a mistake. But Robert Hicks and Mary were always with Elias Hicks, as was also James Mott of Philadelphia as above shown. Lucretia Mott was reluctant to withdraw from the old organization, and it was only after some weeks of hesitation that she finally went with her husband.

"It is with heartfelt regret," Lucretia Mott wrote, in a long family letter to her husband's parents, dated Phil[a], 2d mo. 28, 1827, "that we learn the state of things at Jericho Meeting, as well as in many others. If we could only do as our beloved Grandfather advised—leave the present unprofitable discussion, and endeavor to go on unto perfection—how much better it would be. * * I know it is a serious thing to set up individual judgment against that of a Monthly Mg., but when, as Mother observes, we see those of unblemished lives repeatedly arraigned before their tribunal, and remember the test which the Blessed Master laid down—'By their fruits ye shall know them'—it is difficult always to refrain."

To make intelligible to those who are living more than half a century later the actual events of the Separation, it must be remembered that questions before the business meetings of the Society were not decided by counting votes, but the presiding officer, who was called the Clerk, because he actually kept the record, was expected "to gather the sense of the meeting" from the utterances of the speakers, taking into account "weight" and standing rather than numbers. I remember more than once to have heard my father, when Clerk of Farmington Quarterly Meeting, rise and "hope that Friends would express themselves;" and then he would add: "We are not yet able to gather the sense of the meeting." But the Clerk's minute, when finally read to the meeting, did not often fail to satisfy the whole assembly that it was really "the sense of the meeting." But in the stormy days before the Separation, differences of opinion, exaggerated by party feeling, made unity of action impossible, and Quaker self-control and gentleness were forgotten. My father told of a stormy debate in which he was himself speaking, when the Friend who sat next him on the raised seat, disapproving of his utterances, sought to bring him to silence by pulling on the skirt of his coat, and my father, grasping more firmly the rail before him to retain his position on his feet, continued to speak until he feared his Quaker coat would be torn under the strain. It was the final result of these dissensions that the party which, in each Monthly or other business meeting, felt itself aggrieved—having no other remedy, finally, by common consent, and led by a few of the "weightier" members, rose up and walked out of the meeting. In the yard they paused for brief conference, and then reassembled at the most convenient place and organized a new meeting. As far as my observation went, it was the Orthodox party which usually withdrew; but however that was, there were now two organizations where there had been but one. Of course, disputes arose as to the ownership of the property. Sometimes, as in Farmington, a new meeting house had been recently built, and the Orthodox went back to the old meeting house, which was still standing—and each organization soon began to deal with the individuals of the other as offenders, and to "disown" them by regular proceedings, as referred

to in James Mott's letter quoted below, and also in the subsequent letter of Anne Mott.

The bitterness among friends and neighbors and in families growing out of this division was sometimes very great. Adam and Anne Mott, and all their children, sought to exclude this bitterness from their personal relations, but in families where the interests of the Society and social relations with Friends had always been so prominent a feature of daily life, it was often impossible. The grief was very real. The present writer recalls the concern with which he saw tears in the eyes of the venerable Friends who stood in front of the Rochester meeting house from which they had just withdrawn, and in low voices counseled with each other where they should go. This was in 1828, but the separation had commenced in Philadelphia in 1827. James Mott wrote to his parents under date

"PHILADELPHIA, 7th mo. 26, 1827.

"I am disappointed in not having tidings from you since I left New York. * * The separation in our Society is progressing in the several Monthly Meetings. There are, I should suppose, not much if any less than 100 persons under dealing for "attending meetings set up in opposition to established discipline," &c.

Anne Mott wrote from the house of Lindley M. Moore, under date Westchester, 7th mo., 1828, to her husband who was at Rochester:

"* * We hear but little from New York. L[ly] does not take a paper, we seldom go out, and have few to call. I have neither seen M. U. Hicks, nor heard from her except thro' R[d] since I left town after mo. mg. James Mott has passed through the city going eastward and returning, but neither came to see us nor wrote a line.

"G. Taylor,* Maria Hancock and myself went to Q. Mg. last week. We met R[d] at Flushing and took him with us. * * Previous to Q. mg. I received a minute, stating to be from the Mo. Mg. of New York and signed by Stephen Underhill and Sarah Cock, removing me from the station of an elder. A similar one awaits thy return. * * At Flushing and in the Eastern Mo. Mgs. they have not been so prompt as the Yorkers. In the select Q. Mg. when a move was made to open the business of the Mg. our Sister Hicks objected to any procedure as there were those present that were not members of that Mg. Meaning myself, M. R. King, &c. She was overruled by her own folks. * * We went to W. Willis's. Cousin A. is much better. * * Next day was Q. Mg. * * When the shutters closed commenced the "tug-of-war." The men fr[ds] got through pretty soon, and informed us they had adjourned the Q. Mg. to Wm. Titus's, but we women have so much to say before we part that our separation was, in my opinion, unprofitably protracted. * * * Phebe I. Merritt spoke both in the Select and Q. Mg. on the offering of Jesus Christ; said her parents were careful to educate her in the belief of the Scriptures, but they never told her of the propitiatory sacrifice, nor had she ever found anything but repentance that atoned for her sins; what she found in her own breast was all she had to depend upon, and not on anything without her. I never heard such sentiments

* George Taylor a teacher in L. M. Moore's school.

so fully advanced in meeting before. A. B.* spoke pertinently upon it. We got out at last and found the men waiting. Went to Wm. Titus, the men to the barn, the women to the house."

The above letter indicates that one of the chief doctrinal differences in the separation regarded the character and office of Jesus Christ. The orthodox Friends in common with all who are called orthodox Christians believed that Jesus Christ was God made manifest in human form. The Hicksites were Unitarians and counted Jesus a man, more or less perfect. Such opposite principles need not make discord in social life, but they make religious communion impossible. Doubtless Friends had hitherto sought conformity to Christ's spirit in which they all agreed, rather than accurate definitions of His character in which they found that they differed when this discussion brought sharply up the question who Christ was. In interesting illustrations of the influence of these differences on religious communion I recall my Father's testimony more than thirty years after the Separation. He was always as staunchly orthodox in doctrine as he was Quaker in dress, and manner and habit. In his occasional visits to us at Yonkers he sometimes accepted our ininvitation to accompany us to the Convent Chapel of the Sisters of Charity at Mt. St. Vincent and he knew with what emphasis the Roman Catholic Church asserts in its services that God became incarnate in Christ. At that time there were a few Hicksite Friends in Yonkers who held a little meeting every first day and as the meetings were usually silent there was nothing on the surface to show they were not orthodox, and when my father was down in 12th mo., 1863, to attend the Representative Meeting in New York and spent the First day with us, I told him of this meeting, the members of which were my personal friends, who I knew would be glad to welcome him. He said he would not go to a Hicksite meeting under any circumstances, but he would like to go with us, and he added, "they believe in the Incarnation at the Convent and the Hicksites don't." As we came out of the Chapel after the High Mass he spoke as one who had found edification in the service, and a moment later when the venerable Superior Mother M. Jerome with the simple courtesy with which she always came to greet our friends, joined us in one of the Convent parlors, he expressed to her his gratification at being present at a service which so emphatically taught the Incarnation.

In further illustration of this vital doctrinal difference is a letter of Caleb McComber to Elias Hicks as far back as the summer of 1823, five years before the Separation. From my earliest recollection, Caleb McComber sat at the head of Farmington Quarterly Meeting, and he still stands vividly in my memory as my father's friend and mine—a man of dignity and piety and power, whom it was an honor and a pleasure to meet either in our house or in his own. Following a conversation with

* Anna Braithwait.

Elias Hicks, Caleb writes to him under date Palmyra, 25th of 7th mo., 1823, asserting the doctrine that all Adam's posterity fell with him, and adds:

"I believe that Jesus Christ was conceived in the Blessed Virgin only by the Power of God—that he led a sinless life * * that He gave himself up to die, a Precious Sacrifice for our sins. * * God manifested in the flesh Almighty in Power—never to be overthrown, for the Father and the Son are one. By the Word that was made flesh, the world was created, and I am not to call in question the enlightening influence of the Spirit of Truth that has opened to me the Scriptures. I have admired and I have adored, and shall it be said that a once beloved Friend shall get so bewildered as to call in question any of the great and awful truths which relate to the Lord Jesus Christ? * * Dear Friend, please pay attention to this—it is the language of a friend. * *"

But Elias Hicks would not consider the matter, and returned Caleb McComber's letter to the writer, telling him he was not willing to show the letter to any one, because he did not want to expose Caleb to "ridicule."

In interesting illustration of Anne Mott's desire, under even these adverse circumstances, to preserve harmony in families, may be quoted the tradition still preserved in the family of her daughter Mary U. Hicks, that at the time of the separation in New York, when Anne Mott, with those who were in sympathy with her, were leaving the meeting, she put her hand on the shoulder of her daughter Mary, who seemed disposed to follow her mother and said, "No! stay with thy husband."

No truthful account of Adam and Anne Mott could be compiled without showing their relations to this Separation. Contemporary correspondence must show how deeply they and their children felt it, but need not be further quoted. The official "minute" notifying Adam Mott of his disownment was preserved by him, and may be read here with interest. It is endorsed in the hand-writing of Adam Mott, "Hicksite Minute," and reads as follows:

"At the Monthly Meeting of New York held on the 1st of 4th mo., 1829.—The Preparative Meeting for the Northern District informs that Adam Mott has wholly absented himself for a considerable time from our meetings for worship and discipline, and attached himself to the society of those who went out from us fifth month last, thus voluntarily dissolving religious connexion with our Society. Wherefore this meeting considers him no longer a member with us, information of which, and of his right to appeal, is directed to be given him by showing him a copy of this minute, and James Merritt and Silas Carle are appointed to perform that service. Signed on behalf and by direction of the Meeting by Stephen Underhill, Clerk."

It should be repeated that Adam and Anne Mott, and their children who differed with them on these matters, sought to retain kindness and affection in their personal relations. But they had all taken such deep interest, and had borne such active part in the affairs of the Society, and so long continued such activity after the Society was divided, that it was impossible the division should not mar the community of feeling and interest which had previously existed.

CHAPTER XII.

SUFFOLK STREET.

Adam and Anne Mott, for several years had a home when in New York, with their son Richard Mott Jr., in Suffolk Street.

Richard Mott Jr., the youngest son of Adam and Anne Mott, was born on his father's farm in Mamaroneck, on the 21st of 7th mo., 1804, went with his parents to the mill house, and there in 1809 commenced his studies in his sister Sarah's little school. In 1811 the family removed to Nine Partners, and he was a diligent student in the school while there. He returned with his parents to Premium Point in the spring of 1814, at the age of ten years, and gave the year to study in his sister's school and to a boy's work on the farm. He accompanied them to Lombardy Street, in 1815, and in the autumn of that year was a pupil in the Monthly Meeting school in Pearl Street, under his brother-in-law, Lindley M. Moore, where after a couple of years he became an assistant teacher. In 1818, when the family lived in Vandewater Street and he was 14 years old, he commenced business as a clerk for Michael Merritt & Son, who kept a flour store on the North side of Burling Slip, three doors South of Front Street. He had a charge over the coopers and other workmen in the flour store, all older than he was, and all men of much more experience. Why then, he pondered, had he jurisdiction over them? In the evenings at his father's house he heard many questions discussed. Among the habitues of the house were his brother-in-law, L. M. Moore, Gould Brown the grammarian, and John Griscom, then the most prominent chemist in this country, and all good talkers, and one evening, as Richard related sixty years afterwards, he was much impressed by the following lines quoted by Griscom:

> "For just experience tells on every soil
> That they who think, will govern those who toil
> And all that freedom's highest aim can reach
> Is but to lay proportioned loads on each."

This seemed to explain to him that he being a student and "thinker" must govern the workmen. Was he not even now using his leisure in studying French? and a volume of Gil Blas in the original French was often in his hand when he was overlooking the workmen. But one day an Irish cooper, seeing him laboring at Gil Blas volunteered to help him, and he became aware that this Irish workman who obeyed his orders was yet much better educated than he was, and could instruct him in French, and in many other things. He said that he never forgot this lesson.

But at the end of a year Michael Merritt died, and Richard was out of employment. He returned to the monthly meeting school as assistant to L. M. Moore for nearly two years and spent a number of months at Cowneck, the old home of his ancestors and which was very attractive to him as long as he lived. Then he craved its rural life and wanted to be a farmer. His grandfather, James Mott, writing about this time, under date "Skaneateles, 8th mo. 22d, 1819," says, "I much rejoice at one remark Anne makes, that Richard is unwilling to be anything but a farmer." But there was no farm for him and in 1820 he went to work with Hicks & Titus (Whitehead Hicks and Michael Titus) in the lumber business in Cherry Street between Market and Pike Streets, running through to the river, and in 1821 he went into the employ of his brother-in-law, Robert Hicks, in the ship chandlery business (Gardiner* & Hicks) on Front street and Burling Slip. The firm soon after became R. and B. D. Hicks (Benjamin D.†) and he remained with them more than four years, at $75 a year in cash, and his board, during all of which time he made his home with his sister Mary and was therefore with his parents whenever they were in the city. In 1825 he obtained the position of Check Clerk in the Franklin Bank in Franklin Square at $500 a year. Samuel Leggat then president sold out all his stock soon after to Henry Post who was made president, but the bank ran down and failed in 1828 and went into the hands of a receiver and Richard only remained to aid the receiver in the settlement, and was anxiously looking round for business.

While living at Nine Partners, Richard had met in his occasional visits at the house of his great-Uncle John and Aunt Avis (Slocum) Alsop, in Athens, the children of Aunt Avis, sister Mary (Slocum) Smith. These children were about his own age and they called Uncle John and Aunt Avis as he did. On their mother's death, in 1812, Aunt Avis had brought them to her house and they made their home with her until their father married again. The children were Henry Mitchell, born in 1802, Elizabeth Mitchell, born in 1804, John Slocum, born in 1805, and Caroline Earle, born in 1808. Their father, Elihu Smith,‡ subsequently brought them to New York, and the intimacy which had commenced at Athens, ripened into an engagement of marriage between Richard and Elizabeth, and now, in 1828, the marriage was awaiting Richard's business success.

Some extracts from contemporary letters will be of interest here:— "Richard will please remember me to his friend," wrote his brother

* Capt. Laban Gardner who a few months later was made the first Superintendent of the Bloomingdale Asylum for the Insane, which was opened in 1821.

† Father of Benjamin D. Hicks, now of Westbury, L. I.

‡ Captain Elihu Smith of New Bedford, another of the Quaker sea captains trading to China and the East Indies, who like Captain Thomas Coffin and Captain Mayhew Folger, already mentioned, had left the sea for business on the land.

James, 2d mo. 26th, 1827, and he adds: "I often recur with pleasure to the short time I spent in her company, and hope, at no distant day again to enjoy it." And again James Mott writes to his brother, 7th mo. 26th, 1827: "Hast thou come to any determination in relation to the time of thy marriage? Please let us know in season to prepare for the wedding."

But a year later he was still unsettled about his future, and a letter from his mother to his father, who was then at Rochester, expresses her feeling on the subject.

ANNE MOTT TO ADAM MOTT.

"WESTCHESTER, 7th mo. ——, 1828.

* * "Richard told me he had written thee lately, and I suppose has given thee a history of his hopes and his disappointments. Dear child, his path seems strewed with difficulties, and his situation a constant drawback upon everything that under other circumstances would afford satisfaction. We have looked to him with a hope that his home might be ours, and that the evening of our days might be solaced by his kindness and affection, when now, alas, he has no way to earn his own bread, much less furnish ours. Still hope is left, and I look forward to better days. So many excellencies of character as he possesses, will yet, I believe, even in this life, obtain a reward. My mind is more and more turned to a little spot in the neighborhood of Rochester, Lockport, etc. Abby says it will not do, we are too old, (she was then 60 years old), and R^d^. not strong enough to work, &c. Dost thou think we need labor more than we now do when we are in the country? * * I have no wish to urge such a measure in any case, nor to resort to it unless R^d^. cannot find business that will answer. * * Rd. thinks as I do, that it is not best to be hasty about such a step, but keep it in reserve if we cannot do better. * * I have been thinking lately that if nothing turned up in the course of 3 or 4 months, it might be a good plan for us to pass the winter with S. and S., and be looking for a place."

A few weeks later Richard himself writes from New York, 8th mo. 9, 1828, to his father, in Rochester, and after giving news of the Quarterly Meeting he says:

"I have been spending a few days at Cow Neck. Returned last 3d day. Uncle S. has had the fever and ague since Quarterly Meeting and Leonard is a very sick man with remitting fever. * * I have been at Flushing to see Chas. Willets about the nursery, and if I can make all things work around right shall most likely buy his half of it. He asks $8,000 for it, and wants $3,000 cash paid down and the residue secured on the nursery. The account of the sales of the last year were shown me, and they amount to about $5000 per annum; the expenses are very light, and at this rate I could soon be able to pay for my half, and buying an establishment of this kind is very different from starting a new one. Thomas Bloodgood told me that when Chas. Willets went into the nursery business he was worth nothing. That was not quite nine years ago. He is now worth more than $15,000 that he has made out of the concern. Charles is not willing to sell to any one unless it is agreeable to T. Bloodgood. * * Shall see him next week, but shall make no bargain till father comes home. What does Silas think of it? Is it not a business that would suit father? The nursery is now larger

than when James Bloodgood wanted to sell it to Silas * * Business in the city at present is most outrageously dull, and I hear it is still worse in the country—tho' how that can be it is hard to conceive * * Agriculture, after all, is the only sure way, if it is rather a slow and a toilsome one. * * * Affectionately, R. Mott, Jr."

Neither the farm nor the nursery plan was adopted, for soon after the date of this letter, at the age of 24, Richard Mott, Jr., obtained the appointment of bookkeeper in the Bank of New York, then, as now, on Wall Street, corner of William. But these extracts from his own and his mother's letters just before he obtained the appointment will be read with much interest by those who have known him since. He commenced with a salary of $800 per year, but he showed such ability and such diligence in his work that he was rapidly promoted, and within four years had become paying teller, and was paid $1,750 per year.*

Immediately after receiving the appointment as bookkeeper in the bank, arrangements were made for the marriage, which took place on the 12th of 11th mo., 1828, in Friends Meeting House in Henry Street. He married Elizabeth Mitchell Smith, daughter of Elihu and Mary (Slocum) Smith, who was born in New Bedford, 12th of 2d mo., 1804, and died at Mackinaw, in Michigan, 31st of 8th mo., 1855.

As Richard's house was to be the home of Adam and Anne Mott, his letter to them at Rochester, a few months after his marriage, will show the situation of the question.

"NEW YORK, 7th mo. ——, 1829.

"My Dear Parents and Brother and Sister:— * * I have not yet bought a lot or house. I can get a lot on the west side of Montgomery Street for $1,500, near Henry Street, and one in Clinton St., on the east side, above Grand, for $1,000. Montgomery St. is the next above Clinton St., and is as handsome a Street as Market St., and being on the west side of the way is an advantage. The house that we should build would not cost more than $1,000, and I think the lots could both be had for less than is asked. * *

"7th mo. 12th. * * Your letter was received on 5th day. Went to Westchester on 6th day, and spent two days there.† We had calculated on going to Mamaroneck, but the rain both 7th and 1st days prevented. We were well repaid, however, for the disappointment by the company of C. McComber and Asa Upton and wife, who came to Lindley's on 7th day and remained till 1st day afternoon. Elizabeth was much taken with Caleb's off-hand and original manners. * * A number of the neighbors came in to meeting on 1st day to hear Caleb at Lindley's.‡ I have not yet bought any houses, having no money. I hear nothing from Brother James nor Arthur Mott, and without some of the funds in

* There were unaccounted-for discrepancies in the bank's cash at the time of his coming, and he volunteered to trace them out, and the bank had the books taken to an upper room, where, out of bank hours, he worked for many months, accurately tracing all the discrepancies. This work gave great satisfaction to the officers of the bank.

† One of the days being 4th of July.

‡ The Orthodox Meeting was regularly held in L. M. Moore's School House.

their hands I cannot proceed. * * I will send a plan and estimate of the house to be built, provided one is not found ready made, when I write again. * *"

But the next letter, five weeks later, told of the purchase of a house, and as this house became one of the homes of Adam and Anne Mott, some account of the buying, and of cotempary incidents as told with the vividness of a family letter will be read with interest. Richards letter is addressed to "Silas Cornell, Rochester, Monroe Co., N. Y."

"NEW YORK, 8th mo. 5th, 1829.

"My dear Parents and Brother and Sister—We returned yesterday from Cow Neck, where E. and I have been making a little visit. E. went some days before hand to Flushing to H. Mitchells, &c., and met me 7th day afternoon at Whitestone, and we went on accompanied by Edward* to Mosquito Cove" (Glencove) "in the Linnaeus, where we found Uncle Sammy and Dan[l]. Mott, with the sail boat waiting to take us home. We made a visit to Henry Motts, Leonards & Cornwell Willis, and were met at each place by most of the cousins in the vicinity who made themselves as agreeable as possible. * * The day I put my letter to you in the Postoffice I received one from Arthur Mott, inclosing a draft for $1,700. * * and Brother James in a letter recd. from him on 7th day, says that he will send me a draft. I shall want it on the 17th day of this month to pay for a house which I bid off on 7th day last. It is on Suffolk St., a few doors above the place where Lindley used to live, and on the same side of the way. The house is brick, 20 ft. front by 30 ft. deep—rather small to be sure, but will answer for poor folks—lot is 100 ft. deep with an alley in common with the adjoining houses in Grand St. It has been advertised for some time, and I had made up my mind to buy it if it sold for $2,600, without much expectation that it would go for much less than $3,000. It was struck down to me at $2,475. * * I shall have to mortgage it for $1,200 or $1,300. * * We shall try to make a visit at Mamaroneck before a great while—if it were not for the expense we should go to Westchester nearly every first day by the Linnaeus steamboat, but in the present state of our finances it is necessary to shave close to the wind in order to get far enough to the windward to sail easily in future days. That house, too, must be paid for, and if we have health I don't think the mortgage will remain on it long. Our expenses this year do not seem likely to exceed $400,† so that we shall salt away a little sum. If we should go to housekeeping next spring, that is, father and mother and ourselves, it would probably cost a little more though. I expect we could get along with very little and in a few years lay up enough to join our brothers and sisters at Rochester. * * * R."

Then follows in the penmanship of his wife:

"* * * I have not made that week's visit to Westchester that I promised Sister A. before you left, but have only been waiting for Sister Mary; when it will be effected I cannot say, as Robert is a little complaining, and would probably be unwilling for her to leave home just now." * * *

* Subsequently Dr. Edward M. Moore of Rochester.

† Uncle Richard orally told me after he was 80 years old that his first year's expenses proved to be about $385, about $30 of which went in charity.

The house in Suffolk Street was then No. 24, now No. 30, and not much changed except by the addition of a third story.

In this house was born, on the 11th of 3d mo., 1831, their eldest child, their daughter Mary S. Three months after her birth her father writes to his parents in Rochester:

"NEW YORK, 6th mo., 21st, 1831.

"* * * Our yard looks elegantly, altho' it has been so dry that I brought water from the pump in the morning, and let it stand all day in the sun to put on the plants at night."

It will be remembered that there was no Croton water in New York in those days, and water was brought by hand from the neighboring pumps, or in carts, as milk is now.

Two months later he writes again:

"NEW YORK, 8th mo. 20th, 1831.

"Dear Parents, &c. * * We are jogging along at home pretty much in the usual train. Little Sissy grows finely and don't lose much flesh, notwithstanding the hot weather. * * We have got a fine set of wheels fixed to the cradle, and it is trundled about not a little. Last fourth day our folks all went down to Robert Hicks' to spend the day. In Rutgers St., the king bolt came out, and the fore wheels came away, leaving baby with the rest of the apparatus behind! None of the escort had ingenuity enough to put matters together again, so they picked up the pieces and trudged on, Sarah Hicks carrying the baby and Elizabeth and Matilda following with the wheels and cradle! * * The yard is in very flourishing order. The peach trees have improved very much in appearance, * * the tree next the house hangs quite low with the weight. They begin to look tempting, but are not yet quite ripe. The creeper has grown astonishingly. * * The multiflora just by the stoop, which we thought dead, has lately sprouted forth nicely. The grape vines increase rapidly. * * Neighbor McMasters has Isabella vines on the fence next our yard, which have run over into our premises not a little: he says if we will be at the trouble of putting up an arbor, we can train it over as much as we want."

And again 9th mo. 30th, 1831, he writes * * "There has been a deal of plundering going on lately about town, by boring through kitchen window shutters, and lifting the thumb latch * * In our neighborhood, that row where Chas. Bruff lives, and other houses on Grand St., whose yards back on ours and Drake Palmer's have been robbed in that way, while they do not appear to have made any attempt on us, and we think it is because the little lamp has been kept burning all night in the back room. Father's tools have been brought in from the workshop for fear they might be taken."

These last lines are quoted because they bring vividly to view Adam Mott's home; the "shop" in the yard, and the "tools," that a farmer and a miller has learned to handle.

Adam and Anne Mott continued to spend their winters in New York, making half of every year, and when in the City made their home at Richard's, as long as he kept house there. And the feeling among us at

Rochester was that the house in Suffolk Street was a bright and pleasant home.

But Richard began to desire a better business than a salaried office, even in the Bank of New York. He proposed at one time to go into publishing and bookselling with Mahlon Day, a Friend, then a prominent publisher at 376 Pearl Street, next door to where Friends Meeting house had stood. In May, 1833, Richard Mott moved his family into the dwelling over Mahlon Day's book-store, working at the Bank in Bank hours and giving his mornings and his evenings to the book-store, and the present writer recalls with pleasure, the stay he made there during yearly meeting time of 1833, and the pleasant excursions he made with baby Mary in her little carriage along Pearl and Vandewater, and the neighboring Streets. And Adam and Anne Mott were still with him here in this Pearl Street home, and he still retained his place in the Bank.

These were the flush times of 1834 and 5, and Richard Mott determined to remove to the west, and early in 1836 gave up the Bank and went to Toledo, and took his family there late that autumn, and with occasional times of absence made Toledo his home, for the rest of his life. He went on his own account, and also as Agent of Samuel Hicks & Son and of others in the purchase of lands, and other business operations.

Adam and Anne Mott never lived in Toledo, and Richard's house was therefore never their home after 1835. But a little further account of Richard and of his family may be added here. His family did not spend their summers in Toledo for several years. The climate of the new city was malarious, and Elizabeth and the children spent their summers at Rochester, usually with Silas Cornell. They were also much in Buffalo, where they had relatives, and he had business interests, and at one time they kept house there. A letter of Adam Mott's in the Summer of 1836 gives interesting glimpses of the family. He writes from the residence of Lindley M. Moore, "Pomona Hill," in the new brick house. The property had just been sold, but they had not given up possession.

ADAM MOTT TO ROBERT AND MARY U. HICKS.

"POMONA HILL, 7th mo., 2d, 1836.

"* * * Ann says she has left this for me to finish, as she and her father and mother and grandmother have just started to go on to Lockport Quarterly Meeting. We had a pleasant passage to Ro.; got here 7th day morning, found a letter from Elizabeth saying she and the children had been sick. We thought it best to go and fetch them if well enough, if not, help nurse them. When we got there on 4th day about 4 o'clock we found Richard had arrived some time 3d day night. We found them all better. When we got to W. Russel's we found Sarah* there. They left them on 5th day about 9 o'clock for the western regions. I don't calculate they will stay very long, as Valentine feels in a hurry to get home, and I don't think he intends to return without

* Sarah Hicks on her wedding journey.

E. M. Mott.

FROM DAGUERREOTYPE TAKEN ABOUT 1849.

Richd. Mott - 80 years old

1884.

ARTOTYPE, E. BIERSTADT, N. Y.

his children.* Richard did not go with them, as he had business to attend to. He left 7th day with I. Smith.† They have been building a ship at Buffalo, about 300 tons. Buffalo looks almost like a seaport, so many vessels there. I said to Richard that I did not believe Toledo would ever be equal to Buffalo for size or business. He said it would go far ahead. * * * Richard said he had bought a young mare about three years old which he rode about 100 miles out and back, and she performed the journey better than any of the other horses in company.‡ I don't know who the company was except James Comstock. Richard says he is a very clever lad, James said he never saw such a man as Richard is, to be so short a time in the country and everybody knows him. * * We left Buffalo 7th day about 2 o'clock, in a line boat, entirely light. * * * We arrived at S. Cornell's about 11 o'clock on 2d day. Caroline was quite sick when we got to Buffalo, and now seems like another child. Mary enjoys it much being where they now are. * * * Your affectionate father, Adam Mott."

RICHARD MOTT, JR., IN TOLEDO.

Although not here in its chronological place, perhaps no better opportunity may occur to complete a brief notice of the remainder of the life of Richard Mott, Jr.

As above shown he was settled in Toledo with wife and two young children in the Autumn of 1836, and in May, 1837, came the great financial panic. Of the general commercial distress and disaster of the following years he had his share. After the return of prosperity, many years later, he sometimes told how in these disastrous days he often wished he could compromise with his creditors, and retain nothing but the clothes in which he stood. In addition to large real estate interests of wealthy men in New York, whom he represented, as well as his own, he carried on a large commission and forwarding business, having an ample warehouse on the Toledo wharf, and he was also concerned in various banking and railroad enterprises. This present writer recalls how in the autumn of 1838 he was passed free over the Kalamazoo railroad, of which uncle Richard was then president,§ and how in the ab-

* Valentine Hicks, father of Elias Hicks, Jr., who had just married Sarah, daughter of Robert and Mary U. Hicks. Valentine Hicks had married his second cousin Abigail Hicks, daughter of Elias Hicks the celebrated preacher, so that Valentine's son Elias Hicks, Jr., was a grandson of Elias Hicks the preacher.

† Isaac Smith, uncle of Elizabeth M. (Smith) Mott.

‡ This present editor also desires to bear his testimony to the good qualities of this black mare Kitty when two or three years later, but still more than half a century ago she gracefully bore him whenever occasion required in escort of several of the Toledo belles of those days in many pleasant horseback excursions.

§ Richard Mott recalling these days forty years later, wrote: "How this road was got into operation and kept up without money and without credit can never be fully explained, and perhaps not entirely understood, even by the parties whose energy and pluck, with possibly some little assurance, carried it along through years of difficulty and embarassment." And he further explains that in 1837 railroad bonds and preferred stock and all the various devices by which in these days such work is got through with, were then unknown.

sence of uncle Richard and all his family (except his sister-in-law, Caroline Earle Smith), he slept in the house on the corner of Locust and Superior streets, with a loaded pistol under his pillow, in temporary guardianship of $10,000 in gold provided for banking operations.

In those days arrest and imprisonment for debt were still lawful and in after years he related some of his stratagems and hair-breadth escapes, when fortune was against him, and creditors sought to collect their claims by capture of his person. On one such occasion, being obliged to go to Detroit on business, he succeeded in avoiding arrest by keeping out of sight, and when ready to return, took shelter in the office of a friend on the wharf where the steamboat was lying. Here he waited—expecting to run and jump on the boat after the gang plank had been drawn in. For the captain of the steamboat was also his friend, vigilant to protect him, and expected to take him away, but was not aware that he was ready to jump on board as the steamer left. The captain rang the bell, and gave notice that he was going, yet did not go, and rang again and again. Richard Mott stood all the time concealed behind the office window, biding his time, and wondering what the captain was waiting for. At length, after long delay, the lines were cast off, the plank drawn in, and the boat began to move off, and Richard ran across the wharf and jumped on board. "Where in thunder have you been," said the captain, "here I've been waiting and ringing for you this hour!"

Another story is told of the eager search made for him by the Sheriff of Monroe Co., N. Y., when he was once at the house of his sister, Sarah M. Cornell, at Rochester, and how the officers were beguiled with false hopes of finding him in one direction, until he was many miles on his journey in another. And fortunately this was before days of the electric telegraph.

Of course he surrendered everything he had, and sold at auction even his household goods and furniture, serving himself as auctioneer. And at the end, taking up some household silver in his hand he held it up saying, "This is my wife's silver gentlemen, what will you give?" There was a dead silence, not a bid was made.

RICHARD MOTT IN CONGRESS.

But none of these financial misfortunes lessened the esteem in which he was held by his neighbors in Toledo. He was nominated for the State Senate in 1844, but was not elected, but he was elected Mayor of the city in 1845 and again in 1846. In 1854, at the first organization of the Republican Party, of which he was one of the founders, the nomination to Congress of the new party was forced upon him—and having accepted it, although not a public speaker, he undertook as a duty the most thorough personal canvass of his district, travelling much on foot, and was elected by a very large majority in October of that year. He was

Mary S. Mott

FROM A DAGUERREOTYPE TAKEN ABOUT 1855.

ARTOTYPE, E. BIERSTADT, N. Y.

re-elected two years later for the following term, thus serving four years during the stormy times of the Kansas fight in Congress—in 1855–6–7–8. But he declined a third election.

Of course, he was staunchly Anti-Slavery in every vote, but was at the same time always on the friendliest personal terms with the hottest of the Pro-Slavery partisans during all his time in Congress. He was also true to the Quaker "testimony against war," and always voted against every appropriation for the support of the army or the navy.* During his first term, three or four Friends voted with him, but in his second term he was alone, or with not more than one Quaker colleague.

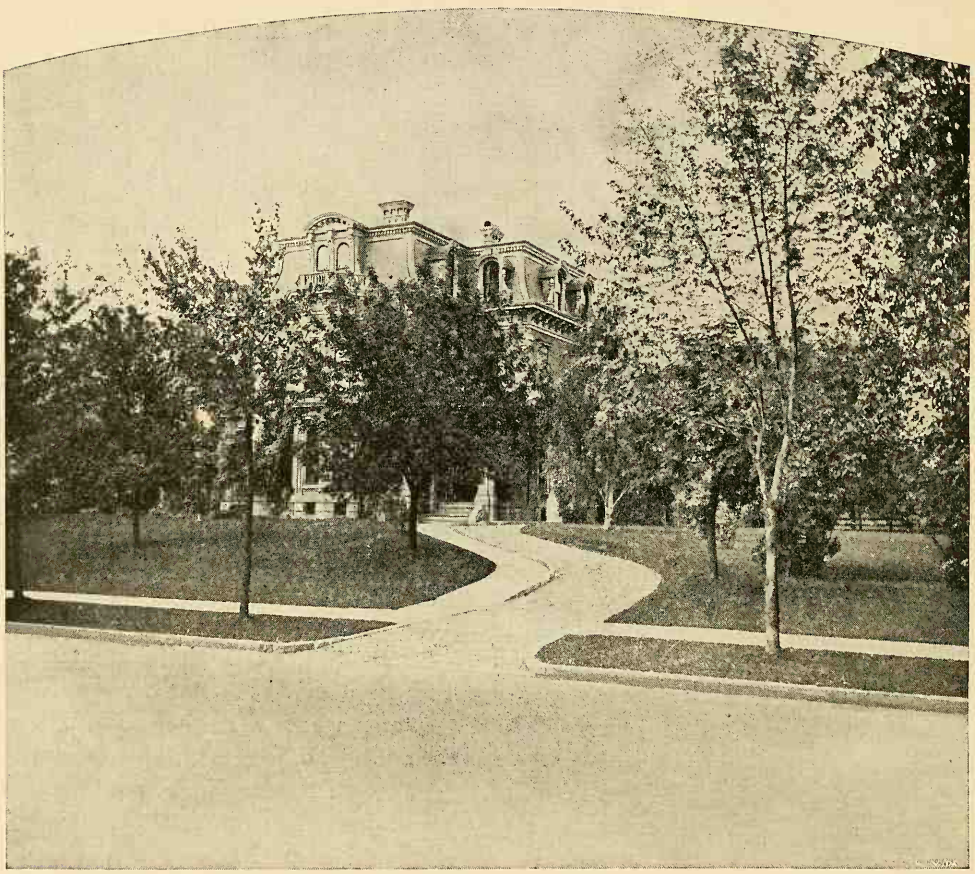
And faithful, also, to "Friends' testimony against oaths," when he first took his seat he and the handful of Friends who were in sympathy with him did not come up with their respective State delegations to be sworn in by the Speaker, but stood aside to the end and then came up in a body to make the affirmation together. Speaker Banks, who was then in the Chair, was from Massachusetts, and understood the situation, and without a moment's hesitation pronounced the formal words, to which they all joined in assent. But on the beginning of his second term no one joined him, and after all the other members had taken the oath he came forward and stood alone before the new Speaker to be affirmed. But it was now Speaker Orr of South Carolina who presided, and he did not understand the situation. When he was told that this one member was not willing to swear, but would affirm, the Speaker hesitated, and finally said: "But I don't know how to do it." "Then do nothing," said Richard Mott, "and I will say the words myself;" and he then went on and repeated the formal affirmation.

His wife had been in failing health for several years before he went to Congress, and in the summer of 1855 it became evident that she could not live till winter. He gave up business, and went with her to Mackinaw, on Lake Huron, where the summer climate was thought to be most favorable for her, and he and their two daughters remained with her until her death, of consumption, on the 31st of 8th mo., 1855. The funeral was held at the house of Silas Cornell, and she was buried at Mount Hope, Rochester, in the plot belonging to "Silas Cornell and Richard Mott."

Of course, he spent the four following winters in Washington with his two daughters, Mary and Anna Caroline—or Cannie, as she named herself in childhood, and has ever since been called. It was in Washington that Mary was supposed to have laid the foundations of her fatal illness. She died of consumption at Toledo on the 2d of 11th mo., 1860, and was buried in Mount Hope Cemetery, Rochester, near her mother.

* When Richard Mott was a clerk in the Bank of New York he was fined for refusal to do military duty, and refusing to pay the fine was arrested and lodged in Ludlow Street Jail. He was soon afterward released, and he supposed that the bank paid his fine rather than lose his services.

With the struggle in Kansas, Slavery had become the controlling issue in American politics, and when the war broke out in 1861, Richard Mott was one of the most active and earnest in welcoming to Toledo the soldiers who were marching to the front, and in cheering them on their way, long serving as Chairman of the Citizens' Military Committee, and, in default of other shelter on one occasion, filling his own



RESIDENCE OF RICHARD MOTT, TOLEDO, O.—1875 TO 1888.

house with them, as some of his neighbors also did. The tremendous issue of slavery thus forced upon the Anti-Slavery men of the North seemed to override every minor consideration, and the "testimony against Slavery" could not be subordinated to the "testimony against war."

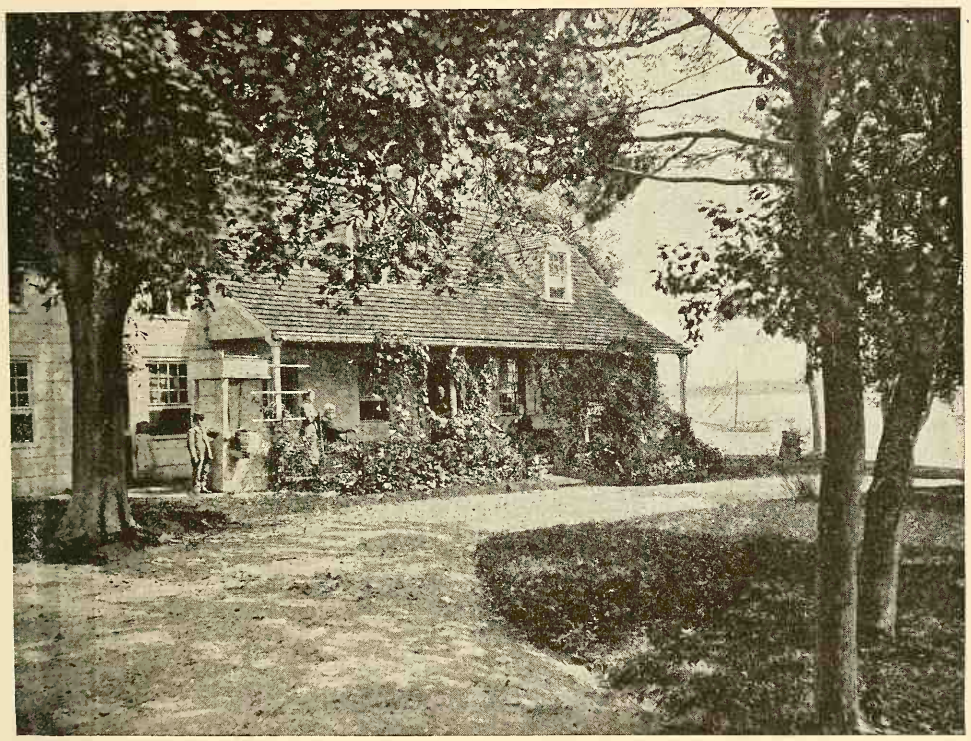
When Richard Mott decided to settle at Toledo, in 1836, there were hardly a thousand miles of railroads in the United States, and they were not as yet an understood factor in commercial development and in the building up of cities and of States, and the course of trade as ultimately

Lucretia Mott

1887.

ARTOTYPE, E. BIERSTADT, N. Y.

developed by railroads did not build up Toledo as rapidly as he had anticipated. At length, however, his investments in real estate began to bring in larger returns, and in the end made him rich, and after his return from Washington he gave up other business. But he was always so trusted by all who knew him that he was called upon to give much time and labor to public affairs and the business of others, as executor, trustee, or in other ways. And he sometimes sought to encourage despondent friends by telling them he had made all he had after he was fifty years old.



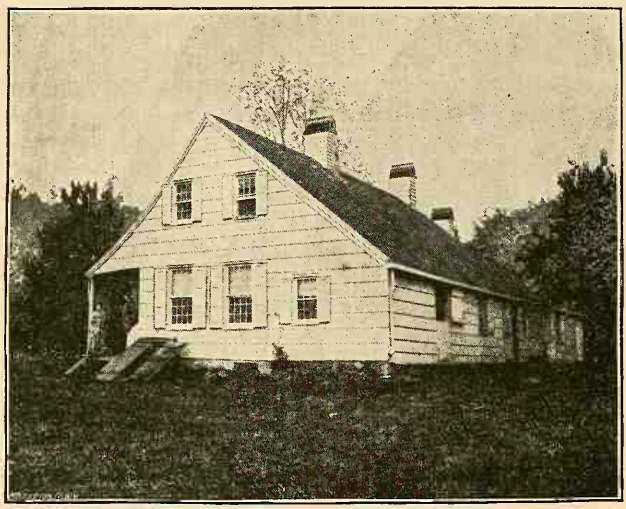
SUMMER RESIDENCE OF RICHARD MOTT, ON HEMPSTEAD HARBOR.
1871–1886.

In 1868 he organized the Toledo Savings Institution, of which he was President. The Institution was re-organized under a new law in 1874 as the Toledo Savings Bank and Trust Company, and he remained its President during the rest of his life.

The first dwelling house of the family had been built on the corner of Locust and Superior Streets, and although usually absent in the Summer they continued to make this house their home until 1848, after which they were much in Buffalo, a part of this time keeping house there, until 1853, when they moved into the brick house on Jefferson Street, near Summit Street, not long before he went to Congress. The Jefferson Street house remained their home until the Spring of 1875,

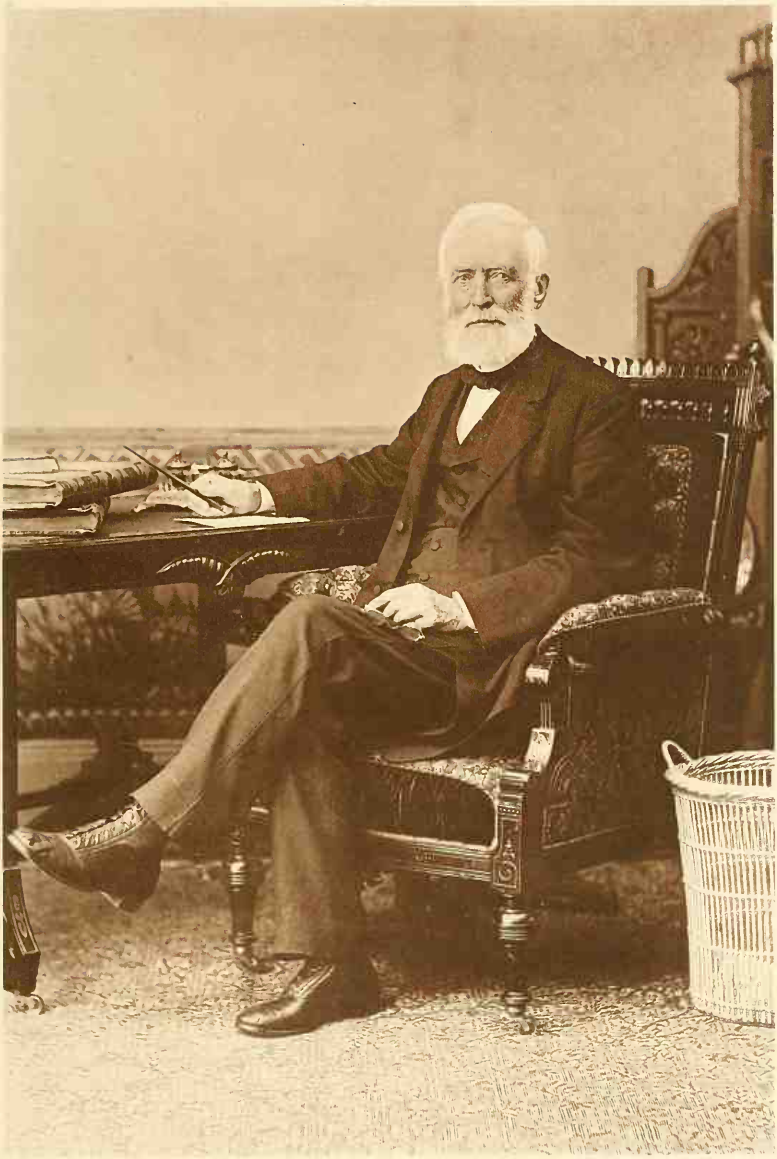
when they moved into the handsome house on Monroe Street corner of 19th, which was thenceforth the home of Richard Mott and his only surviving child Cannie. In fact the house was Cannie's house and was built in all respects to meet her wishes.

But they always spent a large part of every summer in the East, and to Richard Mott, Cowneck, the home of his ancestors and the favorite resort of his youth, became more attractive as he grew older. In 1871 he bought of Isaac H. Dodge, the farm of about 70 acres on Hempstead Harbor, near the residence of Silas Mott, then the only surviving son of "Uncle Sammy Mott," his father's younger brother, and here he passed most of his summers, during the remainder of his life. Isaac H. Dodge, of whom he purchased the farm, had in his possession the original letter of Grandmother Dodge to her husband, which is reproduced in fac simile on an other page of this volume, and this letter



SUMMER RESIDENCE FROM THE BEACH.

Isaac Dodge said was found in this house, which suggests the presumption that this farm and house had belonged to Tristram Dodge. But Uncle Richard could never satisfy himself that this had ever been Grandmother Dodge's home. But it was a pleasant and an ancient house, within an easy stone's throw of the waters of the Harbor. Some of the readers of these lines will easily recall the short walk in bathing dresses from the rear doors of the house to the clear waters of the harbor, on many pleasant summer days. These bathing parties, sometimes when friends or neighbors were at the house, numbered a dozen persons or more, and Uncle Richard, who had always been an expert swimmer, showed the younger members of the party how to swim—on some occasions, even when eighty years old, turning somersets in the water with the best of them. And here on the 21st of 7th month, 1884,



Richd. Mott

1885.

ARTOTYPE, E. BIERSTADT, N. Y

gathered many friends to celebrate his 80th birthday. He sold the place just as he was leaving to return to Toledo in the late autumn of 1886.

Richard Mott was a man of simple, but most kindly and courteous manners, void of all ostentation, but of dignified presence, above six feet in height, he used to say in earlier life that he was but five feet thirteen inches, and everywhere and among all classes a gentleman. His hair was entirely white from middle life, but never showed any signs of baldness, and in his later years, when he wore all his beard, which, like his hair, was white as snow, he was a remarkably handsome man.

He retained all his intellectual vigor and genial spirit to the last, and went daily to his office in the Bank until a week before he died, and it was in graceful harmony with the simple manner of his life, that in place of the carriage he always seemed to prefer to ride to and from the Bank in a one-horse open wagon. It is one of the pleasantest recollections of this present writer, that with his wife he went from Yonkers to Toledo to share in Uncle Richard's Thanksgiving dinner on the 24th of 11th month, 1887. And during the ten days' stay in Toledo he read most of the manuscript of this present volume, suggesting some changes and making occasional corrections in his own hand, in a penmanship having the accuracy and elegance of copper-plate printing, and always specially enjoining that his own place in these pages should be as inconspicuous as the truth would permit. And it may be added that the existence of this work is due to his interest in it. He had always sympathized in these researches, his own memory contributing many traditions. It was he who first asked to have it printed, and his will contributed to the cost of it.

He died after but a week's illness, in his house in Toledo, on First day evening at half-past seven, the 22d of First month, 1888, well on in his 84th year, and was buried beside his wife in the family plot at Mount Hope, Rochester, on Sixth day the 27th of the same month. It was a notable funeral. The private car bringing the remains and the friends from Toledo, reached Rochester at 10 A. M., in the blizzard. The thermometer was but little above zero. The wind blew almost a hurricane, and the mid-winter snow lay in deep drifts, but the earth walls of the grave were lined with verdure, and thoughtful hands had sheltered with a strong canvas tent the plot where we stood and in silence committed the honored remains to the earth.

The bearers were his grand-nephews E. Mott Moore, L. Murray Moore, Carlton H. Walbridge and Silas Cornell Walbridge, and his cousin Thomas Mott, of Cowneck, and his kinsman, J. Kent Hamilton, then Mayor of Toledo.

CHAPTER XIII.

ROCHESTER AFTER 1830.

The removal of Lindley M. Moore and his family to Rochester, in 1830, was an event of considerable importance to Adam and Anne Mott. It deprived them of one of their homes near New York, but eventually gave them another home in Rochester.

Lindley M. Moore had been a successful teacher and a prudent man. He opened his Boarding school for boys in Flushing in 1820. Seven years later he bought five acres of land in Westchester Village, on the road to New York, about opposite the Friends Meeting house, and removed his school to this place in the Spring of 1828. Here also he prospered, and his residence here is several times referred to in family letters already quoted. But he had laid up money and was beginning to think of retiring from the arduous labors of a school to the tranquility of a farm. A visit that he and his wife made at Rochester confirmed him in this desire, and after considerable inquiry and negotiation he purchased, in 1829, the farm of 170 acres then occupied by Erastus Spalding, for $5,200. The farm was beautifully situated, on high ground, on what was later known as Lake Avenue, in the City of Rochester, being the direct road from the City to Lake Ontario, at the mouth of the Genesee River. The farm bordered on the Genesee River at a point below the lower falls, and a short distance above the upper landing, to which vessels could come from the Lake five miles below, and extended from the River westerly about a mile, nearly to the Erie Canal. The farm was in fair cultivation, had an ample orchard, good barns and a log house. Into this house, with some additions and improvements, they moved in the summer of 1830.

Lucretia Mott, writing from Philadelphia under date 5th mo. 16th, 1830, to "Adam Mott, New York," expresses the sentiments of relatives and friends. She says: "The intelligence from Rochester was altogether new to us, not having heard particularly from Silas and Sarah for many many months. How pleasant to them must be the prospect of Lindley and Abby's removal there! And after so many years of close application to so large a school, the change must feel a relief to them." And then she adds, referring to their own affairs: "We feel quite unsettled with regard to future business. I always had rather an objection to James' engaging in his present concerns, and yet not sufficient to have him give it up for my sake, but of latter time I cannot regret that the dealing in slave goods is becoming increasingly burdensome to him." James himself writes on the same sheet, "Lindley's letter informing of

Lindley Murray Moore

FROM A DAGUERREOTYPE TAKEN ABOUT 1848.

A L Moore

FROM AN OIL PAINTING IN 1845.

his wish to dispose of his place" (the Westchester property) "was duly rec[d] and the information spread among a number of friends, but I have not heard of any one from this way who would be likely to become a purchaser, unless it is myself, as I am tired of mercantile business and have thought and talked much latterly of withdrawing from it. * * What does Lindley ask for his place?" * *

The removal to Rochester was effected soon after the date of the above letter.

Lindley M. Moore hired a sloop which came to the wharf near his house in Westchester and received himself and family and all his household goods, including his dog Sambo and his high-bred swine, and transported them to Albany. Here he hired the exclusive use of a canal boat, which came along side the sloop and received the entire cargo, and carried it without change to a point on the Erie Canal most convenient to the new farm. The two horses and the carriage Adam Mott and Edward M. Moore drove by the road through "the Beech woods" of Delaware and Sullivan Counties, all the way from Westchester to Rochester.

Lindley M. and Abigail L. Moore took with them to Rochester, five children, Edward in his 16th year, Gilbert in his 14th, Ann 12, Lindley M. Moore Jr., who was always called Murray, in his 8th year, and Mary in her 5th. The work on the farm was carried on with great energy, the crops were models for the neighboring farmers, the cattle and even the swine were all high bred, and the log house became a centre of hospitality and social importance, and here Adam and Anne Mott occasionally found a home. And to this present writer, then 12 years old, and doing daily a day's work on his father's farm, a couple of miles distant, and just beginning, unaided, to wrestle in brief moments of leisure with the difficulties of the Latin Grammar, the unasked for offer of aid from his cousin Edward was accepted with a gratitude not yet forgotten. Before a farmer's early breakfast he found his only hours for study, and after a day's work on the farm, a tramp across the woods of a mile and a half brought him to the upper room in the log house, where the boys slept, where once or twice a week he made his recitation, and then trudged home again in the dark.

The farm prospered. Great crops of the best apples for a winter market grew in the orchard, and loads of apples for the cider mill were gathered in the fall. "Tell Edward that he must take good care of his fruit," wrote Richard Mott, Jr., from New York 6th mo. 21, 1831, "for we shall want some when we come out to see you." This letter is a full sheet of foolscap, addressed to "Lindley M. Moore, for Adam Mott, Rochester, Monroe Co., N. Y.," indicating that Adam and Anne Mott were then in the log house. But during the summer they made a visit to Canada to attend the "Half-Year's Meeting" and to meet their friends, returning to Rochester in 9th month.

A new house was long discussed, and at length was planned and built —beautifully placed on the upland, overlooking the city—a square brick house, where Adam and Anne Mott for a time found a home. Just before the new house was ready to occupy, the old log house accidentally took fire and was burned to the ground. In recognition of the great apple orchard, the farm had received the classical name of "Pomona Hill."

A son, to whom they gave the name of Richard Mott, was born to Lindley M. and Abigail L. Moore, while they lived in the log house, on the 18th of 11th month, 1831, and died in the new house on the 12th of 11th month, 1835.

It was in the summer of 1835, on the 19th of 5th month, that Adam and Anne Mott completed the half century of their married life, but no festivities of a golden wedding were held, if, indeed, the anniversary was remembered.

These were the flush times of real estate speculation of 1834–5–6, and when, in 1835, there came to Lindley M. Moore an offer of $100 per acre for the beautiful farm of 170 acres, which half a dozen years before he had bought for $30 per acre, he consented to sell, and in the summer of 1836 Lindley M. Moore and the same family that he had brought into the log house on "Pomona Hill" six years before, removed into a roomy house, No. 5 Elizabeth Street, in the City of Rochester. A letter written from "Pomona Hill" just before they left will be of interest here from the glimpses it gives of the family life at that time. The letter is written by Ann M. Moore to her cousin, James M. Hicks, at No. 46 Market Street, New York.

ANN M. MOORE TO JAMES M. HICKS.

"POMONA HILL, 7th mo. 1st, 1836.

"Dear Cousin:— * * We arrived at home in safety on 7th day morning after we left you. * * We intended to have moved immediately, but it has rained almost incessantly, and as next week is Quarterly Meeting we shall not move till the week after. * * When we came home we found a letter from Aunt Elizabeth. * * She and the children all sick. Accordingly Grandfather and Mother went off the next 3d day, and reached Buffalo on 4th day. They found Uncle Richard, Elias and Sarah all well and happy,* and Aunt Elizabeth and the children better. Elias and Sarah started next day, Uncle Richard on 7th day, and the rest came on to Rochester. Mary is now well, and Aunt E. and Caroline gaining. Thou hast no doubt heard of the extreme diffidence of Aunt Sarah's little girl, but Mary Mott had not, and after they had been at Uncle Silas' for several hours she told her mother that she 'believed she was getting hard to get acquainted with.' I suppose she thought the fault was all her own. * * Brothers Edward and Gilbert have gone to Toledo—not in anticipation of buying much,

* Elias and Sarah Hicks were on their wedding journey. They had been married on the 8th of 6th mo., about three weeks before this date.

but purchasing some and seeing more. Whether G. will be joined* this fall or not I cannot say, but I rather think he will.* * * As I have to leave now, Grandfather will finish this during my absence. * * From thy affectionate cousin, Ann M. Moore."

The general excitement and speculation in real estate which had sold the farm of L. M. Moore and brought him to the city, also, in a different way, brought Silas Cornell there as his near neighbor. His nursery business had been moderately successful, his small farm had added its crops, a school had been revived after 1830, and continued with some intervals for two or three years, and Silas Cornell, who had also become Surveyor of his neighborhood, found this business so growing upon him that in the spring of 1836 he opened a Surveyor's office in the city of Rochester. This office prospered, and in the fall it was decided to move into the city. The farm was rented, and some years later was sold. A house and lot was purchased for $2,000 at No. 9 Kent street, into which they removed in the autumn of 1836. This house was about three minutes' walk from that into which Lindley M. Moore had removed the preceding summer, and was on the direct road from the house of L. M. Moore to Friends Meeting House.

These two houses were occupied by the respective families for many years and until both families were broken up, and in each of them, for the remainder of their lives, Adam and Anne Mott were at home—and it so happened that Adam Mott died in one of them and Anne Mott in the other, a dozen years later. But the more ample accommodations of the house of Lindley M. Moore made it their usual home until after the death of Adam Mott in 1839.

DEATH OF ADAM MOTT.

Adam and Anne Mott returned to New York in the autumn of 1837, and spent the winter there. He was then in his 76th year and she in her 69th. She retained good health and strength and all her mental vigor and interest in public affairs, but he was failing in physical health, although clear in mind and always gentle in manner and devout in spirit. On the 19th of 5th month, 1838, one week after the date of the following letter they entered on the 54th year of their married life.

LETTER OF ANNE MOTT TO HER CHILDREN IN NEW YORK.

"NEW YORK, 10th of 5th mo., '38.

"My Dear Children:—It is so long since I wrote you that I hardly know where to begin. * * Two weeks were passed with our bereaved friend Walter Farrington," (at Flushing) "and we rejoiced in being able to alleviate in some degree his deep feeling of the irreparable loss he has sustained, for such is his love for his friends that, while he is exercising the rites of hospitality toward them, he seems to forget his lonely situa-

* He was married a few weeks later.

tion. * * He wishes us to make" * * a longer stay * * "and seemed to have so set his heart upon it that it was difficult to decline it. But A. Mott's frequent indisposition renders it unsuitable for us to be so situated—besides we want to see our children. * * And I know not how to part from Henry St. Meeting house. * * And now Abby says none of their family expect to be here Y. Mg. S. and S. not decided. I do hope they will one or both come. * *

"I forgot to say we have been to Phil[a]. Lucretia's health is poor. She intends going on L. I. in 6th mo. to try bathing, &c. We returned on 3d day, and so missed the good speaking at the A. S[ly] Anni[y]. I regretted it. Have been gratified in attending 3 sittings of the F. M. Reform S[y], and one of the Young Men's A. S. S. The former were very interesting and altogether satisfactory. In the latter there was much eloquence, but too much levity mingled with it for my taste—and there is another, I fear, increasing fault with many of our Speakers, the introducing the Sacred Name too frequently and in a manner that nearly amounts to taking it in vain. * *

"To go back to our late visit—it was much pleasanter than some we have paid in that city. James seemed to enjoy our society like old times. A. Mott had one of his ill turns the week after the Y. Mg., which confined him, and of course myself, for a number of days. It was after E[d]* left Blockley and was staying at his Uncle's. He prescribed for his Grandfather, and attended him with unremitting kindness. After having his company for a week he left for Frankford—and when A. M. got well enough to ride on first day James took us out there. The Mg. is in the Village, and we *all* (James and his daughter E[th]) went in immediately, and then went to the Asylum to dinner, and spent the afternoon very agreeably. E[d] is nicely accommodated. * * We saw J. J. Gurney a few minutes one evening. He is very affable and easy in his manner. * * T. Weld and A. Grimkè are to be married on the 14th at Phil[a], and then retire to a cottage not far from N. Y. on the Jersey shore. Renshaw and Allen have changed their course and gone to the Rocky Mountains—the former took a wife also. Mother, I presume, has said something about Joseph John Gurney."

Reading the manuscript letter here, one does not notice the change in penmanship in the middle of the line—but the sense limps and one must go back to gather it, and then becomes aware that with the word "Mother" commences a new hand and that it is Adam Mott who is now writing. He goes on:

* * "We had a real pleasant time at Phil[a]. tho' I was poorly for a week, confined to the house. I wanted to have gone to Haverford School, but mother is such an Abolitionist we had to come away in order to attend some meetings in New York. To-day is the third day she has been out. Last night she did not get back till past 11 o'clock. She has to go without me as I cannot walk more than a little way at a time. Have not yet gained strength, * * my health will not bear exposure, I take cold so easily. * * We have been talking about coming out to Rochester, and bringing what few things we have. * *

"Adam Mott."

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* Dr. Edward M. Moore, of Rochester, then recently a student in Philadelphia, and at this date Physician in Frankford Asylum.

Early in the summer (of 1838) as above intimated, Adam and Anne Mott went to Rochester, and made their home at the roomy house of their daughter Abigail L. Moore, No. 5 Elizabeth St. The residence of Silas Cornell, at 9 Kent St., it will be remembered, was less than 5 minutes walk distant. Lindley M. Moore was Principal of Public School No. 5, and his daughter Ann was an assistant. The following letter of Anne Mott will give the particulars of the last days of Adam Mott:

ANNE MOTT TO HER CHILDREN IN NEW YORK.

"ROCHESTER, 5th of 2d mo., 1839.

"My Dear Children:—With such feelings as only the widowed heart can understand, do I take my pen to gratify your wishes in giving some particulars of your beloved father since we left N. York. The journey here was evidently useful to him, and he enjoyed the meeting of our friends here, and the country air, and during the warm weather continued to recruit in health and gain flesh until he seemed to have attained his usual standard, a low one altogether of late years, yet usually comfortable. In 10th mo. Lindley had some business at Sandy Creek, and not being able to leave his school, A. Mott and Abby went in his stead. They had both wished to see the property (mill and farm) as L^y^. was in some way entangled with it. They were much pleased with the land, its situation, etc., and returned improved by the jaunt.

"The latter part of 10th or first of 11th mo. we, accompanied by Abby, and Mary Moore and Mary Mott, went to Farmington to make a little visit amongst our friends there. As Mary Mott had chills and fever I did not go out much, but A. Mott did, and enjoyed the visit. One day we went to Canandaigua with A. and Mary, then to Palmyra, and next day to Rochester. The weather was mild and we got along comfortably until it began to rain, a short time before we reached home. There was no one to assist A. Mott in putting up the horses and wagon and he came in complaining of feeling chilly and fatigued. From this time he was not so well as before, tho' keeping about, and going out occasionally. I think he did not often walk farther than Silas's after this, perhaps a few times to meeting. I hoped by care and keeping him warm, he would be preserved from his billious attacks, as his appetite was good, he rested well, and the only appearance of cold was a little cough and some hoarseness, and he was more than commonly disposed to take care of himself, so much so that when Richard and his family left us he was willing to give up going to the boat with them. But all our care did not avail, and the next day he was taken down. Abby immediately put up a bed in her parlor, and the attack not proving as severe as some he has had, he pretty soon was up about the room and tolerably comfortable, but did not gain his strength as he sometimes did when the weather was warm. I had a cold when he was taken down, and from getting out of bed frequently and being in other ways more exposed than I have been accustomed to be of latter times, I was taken ill with a severe pain in the side, and a hard cough, and was obliged to be bled, etc., by which my strength was much reduced. While I was so unwell A. M. seemed to recruit, and exerted himself quite as much or more than was best, going out to the dooryard, etc. When I became better we thought a change of air and scene might benefit us both, and we were taken over to Silas's on Christmas day, A. M. being then able to sit up all day, his

food relished well, and his nights comfortable. We stayed a few days and then returned to our own pleasant room, his health apparently more improved than mine. On New Year's day he walked over to S's, and as he said, 'eat a New Year's dinner with them.' The next day was Mg. day and the weather being mild he had a mind to go to Mg. not having attended one for two months at least. He seemed so well that none of us discouraged his going, so the sleigh was got up, he was well guarded against cold, the house was very warm, and when he came out he stood some time waiting for the sleigh, and when he came home told Abby he felt cold inwardly. After dinner this passed off, and he seemed quite as well as usual until 6th day evening, when complained of being chilly and remarked that 'this weather (warm and damp) affected him more than when clear and cold.' I laid by my knitting and told him we would go to bed, altho' it was rather early, and he would probably get over the chilly feeling, as it was slight. We did so, and both dropped asleep. In the night I was waked by his voice, and found he had some fever, and his head a little affected, as he was inclined to talk more than was natural to him. What he said, as on similar occasions, showed the bent of his mind, and what was uppermost in his thoughts. It was apt quotations from Scripture, recollections of serious poetry, and fervent supplications for patience, mingled with the language of praise and thanksgiving. A quotation from T. Ellwood, I believe, was repeated earnestly—

'Let me in patience wait
In this my state,
Upon the God of love.'

There was no incoherence in his expressions, and when I spoke to him, he answered clear and distinctly. He spoke of pain in his back, and then it fixed in his side. Some external application relieved this, and he did not appear after the first night and day to suffer pain, not even a headache. The fever soon abated, but the sickness continued and reduced him rapidly. Still I had seen him so often in these attacks, that I was not alarmed with his weakness. Not so with some of the family. The morning after he was taken, on Abby's coming into the room he said, 'I am sick, I am sick.' On her telling Lindley of it he remarked, 'I believe it will be father's last sickness,' thinking he was too feeble to bear another turn so soon after the former,

"First day, the distress at his stomach being much lessened, he took some light nourishment, and on second day he did the same, remarking 'it tasted good.' This I had always found a favorable symptom, and rejoiced in hearing it. At night he took Morphine, and spoke of being comfortable. Third day he was evidently losing strength. Some one spoke of sending for Dr. Reed. He understood it, and said he did not want to have Doctors. I replied: 'Thou art willing to have Dr. Munn?' He said 'Oh, yes.' * * In the first ill turn your father had Dr. Munn watched the progress of the disorder, and gave advice as he saw occasion, and now he always seemed pleased to see him, while the sight of a stranger was disagreeable. Fourth day came a letter from Cousin D. Underhill, which mentioned the death of J. Barrow. I read it to him. He afterward spoke of it, and talked of J. B.'s age—thought he was not so old as himself. Fifth day morning, on attempting to get him up, I found he had failed much since the previous day, and I could not leave him in his chair until I made the bed. We got him back with some difficulty. He seemed exhausted, and dropped asleep. When

awake, I remarked how pleasantly the sun shone. He said, 'Yes, beautifully.' He now raised abundance of phlegm, and coughed considerably—still taking a little food and a small quantity of weak brandy and water. I was anxious, indeed. But I did not lose hope, for so often had he been brought low and again restored to me that I could not think but it might be so at this time. In the afternoon, Lindley particularly wishing Dr. Reed sent for, he came, and as Dr. Munn had just before stated it as a case out of the reach of medicine, his constitution they said was worn out. And yet I thought they might both be mistaken. I could not give up hoping. Two years since, Dr. Coleman had thought he would never leave his room again, and might not these err in judgment also? Alas, poor erring mortal, I still clung to the hope that he might again be spared a little longer—a very little we could either of us expect in this life, and yet to that I held, perhaps, with too strong a grasp. In the evening his speech became thick, so that we could understand but little. Ann Moore thought that he expressed the wish for us to be still. Perhaps an hour before his close I asked him if he knew me. He replied, holding my hand, 'Know thee, my love? Oh, yes.' Not many minutes before he drew the last breath he squeezed my hand, I believe as a farewell. There was no apparent suffering. All appeared calm and peaceful. I left him to step to a closet to get something to warm and wrap his hand in, and in that moment he ceased to breathe. A happy change for him, I doubt not, but oh, what a stroke to me. The severance of a union that had lasted more than fifty years needed all the consolation that an unshaken belief in his becoming a sharer of that joy which is reserved for the righteous could inspire. Indeed, the bitterness of that hour that writes us widow is inconceivable, and its utter loneliness and destitution of temporal support inexpressible. We have, during our married life, experienced many vicissitudes, some trials that have been keen and most unlooked for, yet through all I believe we have cherished the disposition to number our remaining blessings; and this I humbly desire may be continued to me the little time that may yet be allotted to me. * *

"Everything that filial affection could do to make their beloved father comfortable has been done by our attentive children here, and dear Richard—his exertions when last here so to arrange pecuniary matters that his father need not have any anxiety about them has been a subject of grateful recollection to me, indeed, I may say *to us*, and it will now be a consolation to him, far above dollars and cents, that he has always endeavored according to the utmost of his means to render our situation comfortable. To L^{y} and A. I believe it has been a great satisfaction that their father's latest days were passed under their roof. From L. M. M. first becoming a member of the family he has been uniformly one of the kindest of sons * * so that, whether their house was small or large, few or many inmates, there was always room for us It is now a comfort to me as well as to them, to feel that we have never been a burden to them. Abby is not very well this winter, but mostly gets out. My cough is better and my health tolerable. With love to every branch of R. Hicks and James Mott's families, I am your affectionate mother, Anne Mott."

Adam Mott died on the 10th of 1st month, 1839, and was buried at Mount Hope Cemetery, Rochester, in a plot held jointly by his son-in-

law Silas Cornell and his son Richard Mott. A stone laid upon his grave bears the simple inscription,

ADAM MOTT,
Æ 77
1839.

The Cemetery had then but recently been laid out by Silas Cornell, who at that time was the principal surveyor in Rochester, and who had first proposed the name of Mount Hope for the new burial ground.

Adam Mott was about six feet in height, rather spare in person, but of strong frame, and of strongly marked but kindly features, and of unostentatious and simple dignity of manner. Although his mother died of consumption, at the age of forty-six, and his father at fifty-six, his constitution carried him nearly through his seventy-seventh year, but a slight cutaneous weakness, inherited perhaps from some ancestor, showed itself in a few rough spots on his face through most of his life.

In a quiet way he had much natural humor, making dry remarks, and putting things in a grotesque light. Crossing the bridge to the Island at Niagara Falls with my father and mother, when this century was in its twenties, he found that a toll of twenty-five cents was exacted, and being in advance of the others he paid the twenty-five cents and asked if children were not half price. On being told that they were, he said, "these are my children," and put down another quarter of a dollar for the two, and walked on with a little gleam of laughter in his eye, which did not at all abate when he was called back.

He was always diligent in business. In the summers when he was at my father's house in my boyhood, his silent example as well as his precepts, inspired me to diligence in farm and garden work. This influence abides with me still, after he has been half a century in his grave.

The diligence in business, and the cheerful humor of his outward character accompanied a devout and spiritual, and very humble inner life. Some of his letters to his wife, heretofore quoted, show glimpses of this spiritual humility. And the same spirit will be shown in some extracts from a diary, some pages of which have reached me among other papers. These pages were written at Mamaroneck, when his wife was absent with a large Committee of Friends in Northern New York and Vermont, in 8th and 9th months, 1808. One of her letters to him while on that journey, has been quoted in its chronological place.

EXTRACTS FROM ADAM MOTT'S DIARY.

He writes (8th mo. 1808):

"5th day.—Pretty comfortable. Went to meeting. Hard work to keep my mind attentively enough on Him who giveth liberally and upbraideth not. Meeting silent. My mind was led to contemplate what blessings such opportunities might be if our dependence was but enough on the great Minister of ministers, who has promised to teach his people himself.

"6 & 7.—Engaged about my business—sometimes fearful I should become forgetful and easy.

"1st day.—Attended meeting. Silent. May we be more and more attentive to hear the still small voice that speaks in secret. The silent language was, Bless him for his boundless goodness is extended to all the workmanship of his hands, and may all stand open and be willing to hear and obey.

"2 & 3.—Pretty busy in my concerns for the support of my family.

"4th.—Left home for Hudson. Rode as far as Reuben Haight's and lodged that night. Next morning set off and reached Nine Partners. Lodged at Isaac Thorne's. Next morning to Anne Merritt's and took breakfast, after which set off and reached Hudson about 5 o'clock. Lodged at Uncle John Alsop's. Next morning set my face homeward. Rode back that day to N. P. Lodged at Isaac Thorne, Jr.'s. In the morning before I left went into the room to see his wife, she being quite unwell, and to outward appearance not likely ever to recover, and in sitting by her bedside my mind was forcibly impressed with the language: 'Be still and know that I am God.' And the fervent breathing of my soul was that she might be favored to witness that stillness and quiet resignation to the Divine Will, thereby she might know the Lord to be her refuge and rock of defence. But ah! the unsettled state of her mind—tossed as it were from wave to wave and from sea to sea. May she witness him who said to the raging billows formerly, 'Peace, be still,' to speak to her tossed mind, and she be favored to witness a great calm and have her anchor cast in a sure place.

"(1st day).—Attended Meeting at Nine Partners, after which dined at Isaac Thorne's, and then rode as far as Enoch Dorland's and lodged there. In the morning set off early and rode to Widow Boyd's and took breakfast, and so on to Amawalk. Took dinner at H. Birdsall's, and that night reached James Underhill's and lodged. Took breakfast early and reached home about noon. Found all well, which was cause for thankfulness to Him who had kept and preserved us from many dangers that we are not sensible of. May I dwell more and more in humble gratitude to Him who was near when there was no other help.

"4th day.—Poorly with a cold, yet was able to keep about.

"5.—Better. Went to meeting. Numbers absent. It is to be feared the love of the world is too much uppermost in many minds. * *

"1st day.—Attended meeting, and the silent language was—Behold I lay in Zion for a foundation a stone, a tried stone, a precious corner stone, a sure foundation; he that believeth shall not make haste. May all be willing to place their whole dependence on that sure foundation. * * *

"2, 3 & 4.—Pretty much engaged in my business. Hard work to keep my mind from being too much engrossed in the cares of this life, as there is a strong plea for it. Necessity is the excuse, lest my family come to want, and the cause of truth suffer thereby. * *

"5.—Attended Monthly Meeting. Had some good advice and counsel from R^rt^ Underhill, whether we did not make to ourselves some reserve that ought to be given up, was the reason we made such slow progress towards the heavenly Canaan. May we be willing to make a search and see what is the cause we do not make greater advances in the work that so much concerns us.

"6 & 7.—Engaged in my lawful concerns.

" 1st day morning received a very acceptable Epistle from my much beloved wife. How very comfortable it is to hear from her who is so near and dear to my life.

" 2 & 3.—As one day goes another comes. May we be willing to journey forward, for it seems to me we have encompassed the mountains long enough.

" 4.—Have this day attended meeting at Purchase. Dined at Wm Fields with his beloved Hannah, in company with Father, Thomas Walker, Saml Titus and R. Mott. The latter gave us some suitable food, according to my apprehension, at least suited the states of some then present.

" 5.—Attended our own Meeting. Father, S. Titus and Richard all absent. Sat alone in the high seat, but O, the cogitation of my mind and the secret aspiration of my soul was, Lord preserve and keep me, and that all may bow before Thee, Thou who art everlastingly worthy of all honor and glory."

DR. EDWARD M. MOORE.

Before Lindley M. Moore's family left the log house, his eldest son, Edward, commenced the study of medicine and surgery, in which he has since become eminent. He studied with Dr. Anson Coleman, then the most prominent physician of Rochester, and subsequently in the Medical College of the University of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia, then supposed to be the best medical school in the United States. Here he graduated, and subsequently served as Resident Physician in Blockley Hospital, and later as Resident Physician in the Frankford Lunatic Asylum for a year, and then, returning to Rochester, commenced the practice of medicine there about 1842, which he still continues.

Perhaps no better opportunity than here may occur for a brief notice of his public life. In 1842, he was chosen Professor of Surgery in the Medical School at Woodstock, Vt., and in 1847 he married at Windsor, near Woodstock, Miss Lucy Frederick Prescott, a cousin of the Historian. He continued to lecture at Woodstock for more than eleven years, while still residing at Rochester. He afterward occupied the corresponding chair in the Berkshire (Mass.) Medical College, and in Starling Medical College, at Columbus, Ohio. He filled the chair of Surgery in the Buffalo Medical College for twenty-five years, and resigned in 1883. At this time he had lectured for about forty years.

Dr. Moore has been President of the State Medical Society of New York, and he was one of the founders of the Surgical Association of the United States, and succeeded Dr. Gross in the Presidency. He was appointed by Gov. Cornell on the State Board of Health at its organization in May, 1880, and remained the President of the Board until 1886, and took a deep interest and exerted a strong influence in its administration. He was a delegate to the International Congress of Physicians at Copenhagen in 1884; has been for many years a Trustee of the University of Rochester, and is prominent in many local and public movements.

E. M. Moore

1875.

Lucy P. Moore

1871.

Dr. Moore has contributed papers on professional subjects to various medical journals and in the transactions of medical societies, and is a high authority in all professional matters, and has been eminently successful in his practice. As a lecturer he is fluent and entertaining, as well as clear and profound.

Dr. Moore has brought up two of his sons in his profession, and they are now associated with him in practice. Dr. Edward Mott Moore Jr., born in Windsor, Vt., in 1850, is usually called Dr. Mott, to distinguish him from his father, and Dr. Richard Mott Moore, born in Rochester in 1855, and usually called Dr. Richard. Each has his own office, in their father's house, and each his own patients.

Dr. Moore's second son, Lindley Murray, is also in business in Rochester, and his third son, Samuel Prescott, born in Rochester in 1854, is the manager of the Rochester Title Insurance Company. The youngest son, Frederick Prescott, is in business in San Francisco. The Doctor's eldest daughter, Mary Pettes Moore, also makes her home with her father and mother.

Dr. Edward M. Moore has so long been prominent in Rochester that this brief notice of him and his family seems properly to come in here although not in its chronological place. A list of all his children is given among the descendants of Adam and Anne Mott in later pages of this volume.

The other children of Lindley Murray and Abigail L. Moore all drifted away from Rochester. They will also be noted in the general list of the descendants of Adam and Anne Mott.

LINDLEY MURRAY MOORE.

Soon after the sale of the farm, in 1836, L. M. Moore's second son, Gilbert, went into business, with his father behind him, and in the general financial revulsions of 1837–40 much of the savings of years was lost. Lindley M. Moore resumed his former work of teaching, first in one of the Public Schools of Rochester, and subsequently in Friends Boarding School, at Providence, R. I., and afterwards in Haverford College, Pa. The latter years of his life were passed with his son, Dr. Edward M. Moore, in Rochester, where he died on the 14th of 8th mo., 1871, and was buried in Mt. Hope Cemetery beside his wife who had preceded him a quarter of a century. Some of the incidents of their joint lives as they related to Anne Mott, will appear in the following chapter.

CHAPTER XIV.

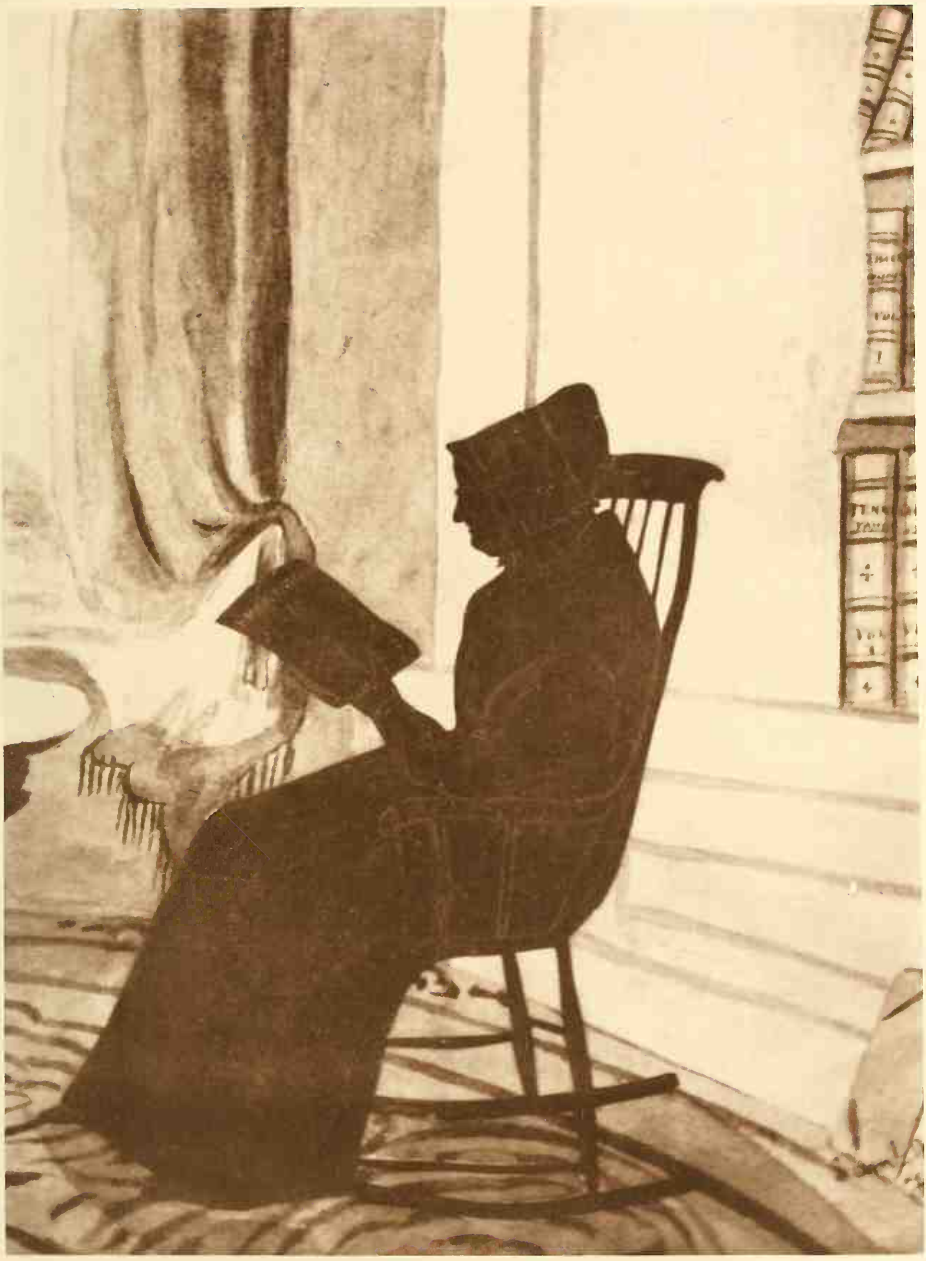
THE LAST TWELVE YEARS OF ANNE MOTT'S LIFE.

Anne Mott remained in Rochester after her husband's death, during the rest of the winter and into the Spring of 1839. She passed her time occasionally with her daughter, Sarah M. Cornell, in Kent St., but usually with her daughter, Abigail L. Moore, in Elizabeth St. She went to New York in time for the May meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society, and for the New York Yearly Meeting of Friends, taking with her as her companion, her granddaughter and namesake, Ann M. Moore. After Yearly Meeting she made some visits among relatives and friends, and returned to Rochester in the summer, and made her home with her daughters there for the following year. She passed most of the time with her daughter Sarah M. Cornell, in Kent Street, during the autumn and winter. To this present writer, this record of her presence in Rochester in the summer of 1840, recalls memories of much interest to him, for he had recently come of age, and was then just leaving home "to seek his fortune" in the Engineering Department of the Erie Canal Enlargement, with headquarters at Lockport, under Chief Engineer Alfred Barret, who from that date until his death, always remained one of his staunchest friends. And it was grandmother who then loaned him the few dollars with which he set out, and it was repaid out of his first earnings on the State Pay Roll. "Thy letter was written apparently in very high spirits," wrote his sister a month or two later. And about the same time his mother wrote, "Thy letter was truly acceptable, and grandmother just said, tell him to write just such another."

Glimpses of Anne Mott's two homes in Rochester occur in a letter of Alice Cornell, the ten year old sister of this present Editor, writing to him at Lockport, under date

"ROCHESTER, 10th mo. 30th, 1840.

"Dear Brother;—I have at last made out to begin a letter to thee * * Grandmother is coming here to live this winter. She is coming as soon as she is well enough. She has been sick some time, and was not so well to-day. Aunt Abby has been sick too, but is well enough to be working this morning, though I do not expect she ought to have been. She says she takes better care of herself than grandmother. If she does I think that grandmother must take very poor care of herself indeed. * * It has seemed rather lonely, especially at Uncle Lindley's, since Aunt Elizabeth and Mary and Cannie have been gone. When I go over there it seems so lonely that I sit down and have nothing to do, unless Ann or Mary are there, and even then, they are generally concerned about their own affairs, which do not interest me at all."



Anne Mott

SILHOUETTE FROM LIFE BY SAMUEL METFORD, 1841.

Anne Mott remained with her daughter in Kent Street during the winter of 1840–1, but in the early Spring of 1841, she arranged to go to New York in time for "the anniversaries" and Yearly Meeting, and took another granddaughter and namesake, Anna M. Cornell, with her. They traveled by canal boat to Rome, and thence took the Railroad to Albany. It must be remembered that sleeping cars were not yet invented, and they wished to travel by rail only during daylight. On this occasion they reached Albany in "time for the evening boat, the Diamond, a large and very comfortable one, which brought us by five o'clock next morning" to New York. Thus wrote Anna Cornell, under N. Y. Post Office stamp, "May 10." And Anne Mott writing under date 10th of 5th mo., 1841, to her daughter in Rochester, says:

"We went to Phebe Hathaway's with our baggage, and have made arrangements with her as proposed—$4 for myself, $2.50 for Anna, and $1 per week when away for rent of room. We shall get matting for the floor, Chairs, Tables, &c."

She adds:

"A son of Samuel Barnes of Purchase, who boards with P. Hathaway, when he came from Rose Street Meeting yesterday was speaking of the excellent sermon he had heard."

Phebe Hathaway (born Haviland) lived No. 35 Orchard Street, next door to Friends Meeting House, and they occupied the back parlor.

A few days later Anna Cornell writes:

"I have just got home from an Evening Meeting. It is after ten o'clock. I am in *our* room, which has a very comfortable, homelike appearance. We have very pretty matting on the floor, a green table cover on the table—the table is one of Solomon Griffin's, that they are glad to have us use. Seven common rush-bottom chairs, (also Solomon's,) but well painted pea green, so that they look very respectable; the old couch and bookcase, wash stand and stand compose the furniture of the room. There are some books and Anti-Slavery papers always on the table, and my work box generally. We have some very pretty Dover shilling calico valances to the bed, and plaid Swiss muslin for window curtains, and a flower pot on the shelf. I went to market the other day and got some lilacs and tulips, and then got a pitcher with the handle off for four cents, that makes a very nice flower pot, as it is a pretty shape and about the right height. * * Yearly Meeting 'closed for the present year' about one o'clock. It was rather interesting tho' I got very tired before I got through all the sittings. Grandmother was on the Epistle Committee as a matter of course. The Committee met in our room this morning. Our room has been a place to go to when anybody was lazy or tired, so that we have not had a very private time of it. * * Everybody is as kind to me as they can be. Uncle Robert is very kind and careful of me. He went way up in the Bowery with me the other day for fear I should get lost or something would happen to me if I went alone. We are on the best possible terms, though he does laugh at me about abolition, &c. It don't hurt me, and it seems to do him good, so

we get along very nicely. * * I was very much disappointed in not going to Purchase, but as there was no way for me to go I had to submit. With love to all I am your sleepy, but affectionate, Anna."

DEATH OF BENJAMIN CORNELL.

On the same large foolscap sheet Anne Mott also writes under date:

"NEW YORK, 24th of 5th mo., '41.

"Two letters have been mailed for our friends at Rochester, and the same number received from them. * * I did not entirely relinquish the hope of seeing Sarah, Abby and E. Bell until I found Huldah Atwater was here without them, & now I am wishing for E^th^ and the dear little girls" (Richard Mott's wife and daughters, who were staying in Rochester.) "I hope they will come soon. * * Anna mentioned her visit to her Uncle Stephen. Since then we have had accounts of the decease of Benjamin Cornell.

When we got here it seemed best to me to go to see Anna's friends at Purchase as soon as we could, and I had made up my mind to spend last week there, but the getting our room in order engaged my attention * * and I was much fatigued, that I listened to the sentiments of others to postpone our visit until after Y. Mg., yet there was a secret reluctance to doing so, lest Anna should be deprived of seeing her Grandfather. Well, on 4th day E. Haviland told me she had just received a letter from M. C." (Mary Cornell) "saying that her father was taken unwell 1st day and continued so. Anna went immediately to give P. Underhill" (daughter of Benjamin Cornell) "the information, and see whether she would go up with her to see him. P. said she could not go that day, but the next they would. On this A. depended, but in the evening P. U. came to say that it was so difficult for her to leave home just at this time that she had given it up, & P. seemed to hope I would go up with Anna, which I should have done had it not then been so late. For to go by the stage on the 5th day and down on 6th day I thought would unfit me for the Mg. on 7th day. He died on 6th day, and was buried on 7th day. We purpose going to spend a few days with them next week. Have not heard from P. U., and do not know whether they went to the funeral.

"As to Anti-Slavery concerns, I Suppose the *Standard* will give you all necessary information. I will therefore write of Y. Mg. On 7th day the number of strangers was not large. * * Jeremiah Hubbard has, so far, acquitted himself nobly. His remarks in the Select Meeting were most excellent, tho' much out of the *common* line, and again yesterday morning he preached *Repentence* and *Regeneration* most acceptably to my feelings, tho' very different from what we often hear. S. Parsons has not been in town yet; his health seems impaired. * * What will they do for Clerk? * * *

"3d day morning. Yesterday R. Mott (Anne Mott's brother) served the Meeting as Clerk, * * The Representatives proposed R. Mott for Clerk, and Henry Hinsdale, Assistant, and they are 'accordingly appointed for the present year.' S. Parsons got in town yesterday, but not able to sit by the table. Some of our lodgers say R. M. goes through the business with more system and ease than S. P.* We have not

* To appreciate this part of the letter it must be remembered that Anne Mott, some years earlier, had herself been usually Clerk of the Women's Yearly Meeting and 'Cousin Sammy Parsons,' as we always called him, and he was her cousin by marriage (being step-son of Aunt Jane Parsons), was then clerk of the Men's Yearly Meeting, although her brother Richard had also been Clerk of the Y. Mg. as early as 1789.

learned how they progress in any particular matter, but I fear it will be just in the old routine, and that *we* shall follow suit. With us, however, the subject of Slavery will not be pushed out of doors without any effort made to retain it. * * How has the gold become dim! * * If this atmosphere of pro-slavery is to prevail in my beloved native city, I shall wish to return where I can breathe a purer air. * * Asa Smith was at E. Haviland's with some Purchase folks. Asa tried to make converts to the total abstinence principle, but without much success. * *

"7th day morning. I intended to have written a little every day, but that Epistle Committee Anna speaks of, so engrossed the intervals of time, that it was out of my power. * * Anna and I shall go to Purchase in a few days * * * A. M. I shall begin another sheet very soon."

Extracts from family letters will give vivid glimpses of Anne Mott and her surroundings during the remainder of the summer and autumn of 1841.

ANNA M. CORNELL TO HER BROTHER AT LOCKPORT.

"35 Orchard St., NEW YORK, July 18, 1841.

"Dear Brother:— * * The first cause of my delay" (in writing) "was my visit to Phil[a], where I staid nine days. * * The second cause was my visit to New Rochelle, where I went the third day following my return * * and spent two days very pleasantly with Cousin Sarah" (Hicks) "and little Mary, (sweet little creature!) who grows more interesting and prettier the older she grows, and Cousin Sarah is a dear, kind cousin. * * I returned to New York expecting to go to Jericho yesterday (7th day). * * It seems an age since I saw Grandmother. I have not seen her since I came back from Phil[a]. I am afraid she thinks I have forsaken her entirely. It is Quarterly Meeting at Westbury this week, so I shall have company third day at any rate. * *

"26 July. * * I did not expect to let this letter lay a week unfinished. * * Oh dear! to-morrow is my birth-day; how old I am getting. Only think of it! I shall be seventeen! * *

"I have not told thee anything about my visit on the Island. I went up second day afternoon with Mary Smith (a cousin of ours, she was a Willis). We went to Jericho and found cousin Tommy Willis (Mary Smith's father) waiting for us. He took us to his house, where I expected to find grandmother, but she had gone to Westbury to make a visit, and I did not see her until the next evening, when she came to cousin William Willis' (they live in the next house, not quite a quarter of a mile off), so I went there and staid all night. * * As I went up second day afternoon, and grandmother came back fourth day, I would only stay two days if I came back with her, and I had such a host of cousins to visit, and as Deborah Smith was going to visit among them until seventh day, and invited me to stay until then and go home with her, I concluded so to do. * * I had a delightful visit. * * I wrote to grandmother Cornell a week ago." * *

ANNA M. CORNELL TO HER MOTHER AT ROCHESTER.

"PEEKSKILL, 8th mo. 19th, 1841.

"Dear Mother: * * Grandmother and myself are anxiously looking for a letter. * * We are, as the date of the letter shows, at Peekskill, at James Brown's. We came up third day afternoon; got

here just dark. We left them all well at uncle Robert's. * * Last week we were at Cowneck and Flushing. We went up to Cowneck seventh day before last, and staid until fourth day morning. I had a pleasant visit. Uncle Sammy took us across the Neck to see where grandfather and grandmother used to live. We spent one very pleasant afternoon at cousin Henry Mott's, and another at cousin Silas Mott's. But it was rather too still and retired, although it is a delightful place. * * If I only had company it would be a lovely place to pass a week or two. * * Alice, and Mary Moore complain that I do not say anything about coming home. * * I do not say much, and try not to think much. * * Grandmother does not seem willing to have me go. * * Grandmother says occasionally, 'and if thee stays here this winter we will do, so and so.' * * When we were at Flushing we staid at Joshua Kimbers'. * * Grandmother spent one afternoon at Sammy Parson's, I went up after tea and made a short visit. * * We took dinner on First day at Walter Farrington's (brother of Silas Cornell's step-mother). * * Aunt Mary was to go to Cowneck with us, but after waiting almost a week for her, uncle R. was afraid to have her cross the bay in a little boat, as we had to, for the steamboat lands at Glencove. And a delightful sail it is across. We found two boats there, one of uncle Sammy's and one of cousin Henry's."

Anne Mott was occasionally troubled with asthma, and during the summer and autumn of 1841, suffered from oppression several times. In the latter part of 8th month her daughter, Sarah M. Cornell, and her granddaughter, S. Alice Cornell, then eleven years old, were in New York, returning from Philadelphia, and Sarah M. Cornell wrote to her son, F. J. M. Cornell, in Rochester under date,

"NEW YORK, 8th mo., ——, 1841.

"* * At nine o'clock 4th day morning we left (Phil[a]) for this City. Found Grandmother and Anna at 46 Market St. They had just returned from Peekskill. They heard I was coming, but did not know that father and Alice were with me. Anna had watched every knock and ring at the door, and was the first one to meet us, and was not a little astonished to see father and Alice. Grandmother is not quite so well as she has been—has a turn of oppression, but seems more comfortable to-day. Alice would be quite willing to go home if Anna would go with us. She has been hurried from one place to another till she is quite tired. We want to know whether Ann or Mary" (Moore) "are coming to N. Y. this winter—what their plans are. Grandmother don't seem at present as if she intended to go to Rochester the coming winter, tho' I believe there is but one sentiment respecting it among her friends, and that is, that she would be more comfortable at Rochester with her children and grandchildren than here among strangers, or rather those who feel no particular interest in her. I want Ann to decide before we leave, that I can make arrangements for Anna. * * I want very much to hear from Rochester. * * Anna is writing to Mary Moore. * * After James and 'the other house' has read this please forward it to Thomas." * *

A fortnight later, Sarah M. Cornell again wrote to her son James at Rochester, under date New York, 9th mo. 12th, 1841. She was at the house of her sister, Mary U. Hicks.

"We have been visiting till Alice is tired of it. Am going to help Sister Mary quilt this week. Am waiting to hear whether Thomas is coming to N. Y. or not. Mother says she is better, but I fear she is not. If she does not get better, I am in hopes she will go to Rochester with me. It will be very trying to me to go and leave her here as her health is now." * *

Anna Cornell writes in the same sheet and same date:

"We are all wondering why * * we have not heard from 'the other house'" (L. M. Moore's) "since Mother has been here. We want to know whether Cousin Ann or Mary are either of them coming to stay with Grandmother this winter, because, if neither of them comes, Mother wants to fit me for the winter before she leaves, and she thinks that she must go home some time next week. * * Tell Mary to write to me —that I am dying to see her; and I think decidedly that if Cousin Ann does not come she had better. May be the change of air will do her good." (Mary died of consumption about three years later.)

Anne Mott seemed to prefer to remain in New York, and continued to make her home at 35 Orchard St., where she was next door to Friends Meeting house, and her granddaughter, Anna M. Cornell, remained her companion during the winter of 1841–2, and went to the private school of Mr. Evans in Market Street. One or two extracts from her letters give glimpses of Anne Mott's home life at that time.

ANNA M. CORNELL IN NEW YORK TO HER BROTHER IN LOCKPORT.

"35 Orchard St., 1st mo. 11, 1842.

"Dear Brother— * * Grandmother and I have a very comfortable, if not a very elegant apartment, with one of the new-fashioned hot-air stoves. * * Then over the matting is a carpet, a kind of reddish ground with green figures. It makes the room look a good deal warmer than the matting did. I have a few plants, but they don't look very well. * * I did want to go home *dreadfully*, both Christmas and New Year's, and I thought a great many times, both days, 'I wonder what they are doing at home now?' I have no intimate friends here—that is, no one of my own age. Still, I am on very good terms with quite a number of girls. When I want sympathy, I go to Cousin Sarah. I really don't know what I should do without her, she is so very, very kind; and Aunt Mary and all the family, even down to little Mary—dear little soul, how I love her! * * Grandmother is at home most of the time. Fifth day afternoon and evening she is out. The Sewing Meeting meets then. But at other times she is generally at home when I am. When I am at school she very often goes out and makes a call, but not often more." * *

ANNA M. CORNELL TO HER BROTHER IN LOCKPORT.

"New York, 3d mo. 5th, 1842.

"Dear Brother:— * * Grandmother has gone in the country—up on the Island, to Westbury—so I am sponging on Uncle Robert's kindness while she is gone. I have not written to Grandmother Cornell since thy last letter. * * Aaron Barnes went with me, or rather I with him, to Dewey's Church last first day evening. * * I have not heard from Mary Moore since Uncle Richard was at Westown. She

and Mary Mott will come here to spend their vacation. * * It seems long without Grandmother, but I don't feel it so much staying at Uncle Robert's. * * They are very kind, as they have always been to me. Dear little Mary grows more and more interesting. * * We have not had breakfast yet, though it is twenty minutes past eight. When I am here I am as lazy as any of them. * * Little Mary is playing round the room, so I can write no more. Anna."

ANNA CORNELL TO HER BROTHER IN LOCKPORT.

"NEW YORK, 4th mo., 3d, 1842.

"Dear Brother: * * I will try to give thee a more clear notion of our proceedings. To begin in the morning, about 6½ o'clock the bell rings for us to get up, which we accordingly do if we happen to be still in bed at that time, but we, that is grandmother and I, are usually ready for breakfast by that time, and until breakfast bell rings at 7, we read, or I sometimes work a sum or two in Algebra. * * We dine at 1 o'clock, and after dinner I generally go out with, or for grandmother, or make a call, or go to uncle Robert's. * * We take tea and water together at 7 o'clock. * * Aaron Barnes is the only one to keep me company if I take water. * * I still stick to it, tho' the water is horrible. * * Aunt E. and the two Mollies (Mary Mott and Mary Moore, on vacation from Westown school), being here, seems to take all my time getting and making clothes. It is very pleasant having them all here. I have been in the country since I began this letter, and had a very pleasant visit, together with a request to turn 'school marm' for the Westbury folks. * * Mary Moore is staying here with grandmother and me. She says 'give him my love,' so here it is. * * Mollie Moore is talking to me so much I can hardly write. Grandmother says we ain't good for anything but to talk and laugh, and we do not a little of both."

After the Spring "Anniversaries" of 1842 and the Yearly Meeting, Anne Mott, with her granddaughter, returned to Rochester. Her grandson, James M. Cornell writes under date Rochester, June 6th, 1842, "grandmother and Anna got here last fifth day. Grandmother has not been well, and has had the blues for some time past, but she has got over them now."

ANNA M. CORNELL TO HER BROTHER IN LOCKPORT.

"ROCHESTER, 6th mo., 6th, 1842.

"Dear Brother: * * Home is home yet, though thirteen months have passed since I saw it before. * * We left Gotham last third day evening in the 7 o'clock boat, DeWitt Clinton. There were but few passengers, and we had a pleasant passage and got up just in time for the morning cars, and came on to Syracuse, where we took the Packet, and fifth day evening we got here. Murray was on the Aqueduct waiting for us, and by the time we were safely moored both he and James had boarded us, and a carriage and cart soon conveyed us and our baggage to No. 9 Kent street, where everything looks so very exceedingly as it used to, that I can hardly believe I have been gone at all."

Anne Mott spent the summer and autumn of 1842 with her daughters in Rochester, and remained during the winter of 1842–3, but in the spring of 1843 she again went to New York to attend the Yearly Meet-

Affectionately L. Murray Moore

Oct. 14. 1845

L. MURRAY MOORE, Jr.

Died at Rochester, 29th December, 1846. Æ 25.

"may thee live a thousand years"

Mary H. -

MARY H. MOORE.

Died at Rochester, 6th December, 1844. Æ. 19 y. 4 m.

Children of Lindley M. and Abigail L. Moore. Photographed from Oil Paintings.

ing, and the meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society, and some of the other "Anniversaries." She took with her as before, her grand-daughter Anna M. Cornell, and they made their home with Stephen Haviland, at No. 5 Orchard street. But they returned to Rochester soon after Yearly Meeting.

From 1843 to the spring of 1847, Anne Mott continued to make her home with her daughters in Rochester, usually also spending the winters there, but always going to New York in the spring for the Anniversaries and for Yearly Meeting. The winter of 1844–5, however, she spent in New York, finding a home at Stephen Haviland's, No. 5 Orchard street. Her grand-daughter, Anna M. Cornell, also joined her here, having travelled round by way of Montreal when she made a visit of two or three weeks with her brother, then in the Engineer Department of the Canadian Board of Works.

During these four years Anne Mott witnessed much sickness in her daughter's house in Elizabeth street, and the death of three of its cherished members. Mary, the youngest daughter had been in failing health for many months, and died of consumption in her mother's house on the 6th of 12th month, 1844, at the age of nineteen years and four months. At the time of her death, her mother and her youngest brother were also failing, and her mother Abigail Lydia Moore, the youngest daughter of Adam and Anne Mott died also of consumption a year and a half later, on the 4th of 9th month, 1846, having just entered her 52d year. Anne Mott was an inmate of her daughter's house at the time of her death, and remained during the winter. And Murray, Lindley Murray Moore, Jr., the youngest surviving son of Lindley M. and Abigail L. Moore, a promising young lawyer died of consumption in his father's house, between three and four months after his mother, on the 29th of 12th mo., 1846, having recently entered his 25th year.

These three deaths within the household had been preceded by the death of a daughter-in-law, Gilbert's wife, Anna Maria Comstock, who, long before her marriage as well as after it, had been a cherished inmate in the house, and was now counted as a daughter. She died in the house of her mother-in-law, on the 6th of 5th month, 1843, having just completed her 24th year, and leaving two surviving children, Walter Comstock, then nearly six years old, and Edward D., not quite two. Four inmates had thus died of consumption in the Elizabeth street house within a period of three years and eight months. The year 1846 closed sadly.

THE SOJOURN IN PROVIDENCE.

In the spring of 1847, a few months after the death of Abigail L. Moore and her son Murray at Rochester, occurred another change of interest in the life of Anne Mott, and this was the removal of her eldest daughter from Rochester to Providence. Silas and Sarah M. Cornell

had consented to take charge as Superintendents of Rhode Island Yearly Meeting Boarding School of Friends at Providence. A similar plan had been proposed many years before this time. I find part of a correspondence as early as 1833 in which Silas Cornell replies to Dr. Samuel Boyd Tobey's suggestion that he should take charge of the Providence School. But the proposition at that time did not take an acceptable shape. Now, in 1847, before accepting the charge which was again offered to him, Silas Cornell stipulated with the Committee, in a letter to Dr. Tobey, a copy of which is now before me, that the whole institution, including "the School, the Housekeeping and the Farming" must "make one harmonious whole, under the Superintendents, who should ever act as representatives of the Committee. The Superintendents should always be made a part of the Committee in their deliberations in relation to the management and government of the institution, and their time should be devoted to its interests in the several departments, but more particularly in the literary, scientific, moral and religious education of the children." He stipulated that his "daughter Sarah Alice should fill such place in the department of teaching as she may be found qualified for." And he also requests that Lindley M. Moore should be engaged as a teacher, and adds: "I think he would be a valuable addition to the school." Dr. Samuel Boyd Tobey, of Providence, again negotiated, on the part of the School Committee, and the agreement was made, and immediately after the adjournment of the New York Yearly Meeting of Friends in the spring of 1847, Silas and Sarah M. Cornell took charge of the school at Providence, and a little later their daughter Sarah Alice joined them there and became an assistant in the school, and, when opportunity offered, occasionally a pupil. In the latter part of her stay she was the teacher of French. Lindley M. Moore also consented to take his place in the teaching department for a time before he took his position in Haverford College. And thus Sarah M. Cornell found herself situated in the Rhode Island Yearly Meeting School at Providence, much as her mother had been in the New York Yearly Meeting School at Nine Partners nearly forty years earlier. And thus the two households of Kent Street and of Elizabeth Street were broken up, and for the time there was no home for Anne Mott at Rochester.

But for the next five years there was a summer home for her in Providence, and the School became so important a feature in the life of Anne Mott that the pen picture of it in the following letter of her young granddaughter will be in place here. Alice Cornell, who was now about seventeen, writes to her brother, F. J. M. C., at Rochester, her first letter from the school, dated

"PROVIDENCE, June 23, 1847.

"My Very Dear Brother:— * * My stay in New York was not as long as I had expected it to be, nor yet as long as I wanted it to be

* * but duty called me here, and therefore I must obey her call. I left N. Y. on seventh day, the 19th, in the boat at 6 o'clock in the afternoon. It was cold, rainy and unpleasant, and quite dismal, and we were obliged to leave the boat at one o'clock and take the cars at Stonington, for the boat does not run to Providence. We arrived here at about 4¼ A. M. Father met me at the depot with *our horse and carriage*, and brought me to this strange home. As it was so early, no one was up. My room was waiting for me, and I went to bed and slept till 10 A. M. Then I got up and got ready for meeting, which is in the house. Thee may be sure I was well stared at, and frightened most out of my senses. Nevertheless, I lived through it. I have not fairly established myself in school yet, though I think I shall by another day. Some of my scholars are larger than I am, and this makes it necessary for me to be very dignified to command respect. The building is huge, and everything seems to be conducted accordingly. The school rooms are large and airy, and very clean. Everything that is needed is here, almost—that is for teaching.

"I had half resolved I would not write to any one until I was fairly established, but I cannot wait any longer. I must write, for it is the only comfort I have. I never was so homesick in all my life as I have been since I came here. I have had a hard crying spell every day. * * Providence is a most beautiful city, more so even than Rochester—to the eye, but not to the heart. * * From the cupola of this house we can see, in clear weather, almost the whole of the little State of Rhode Island. My room looks out on the City, and the Bay specked with sails, and on shady groves and winding avenues—indeed, the view from every part of the house is beautiful. The boys have a fine large garden, and they keep it in good order, but the girls'" (garden) "is overrun with weeds. There is a lovely grove in front of the house. * * But I cannot describe with my pen how it is here. Thee must come and see. * * There is plenty of room for you all, for we have *40 spare beds*, and lodged 80 strangers last week! * * Father seems to be in fine spirits, and I think Mother likes it better than she expected. She does not work at all, but she is in the school a good deal. * * I cannot realize that this is to be my home—that here I am to live perhaps for years. I can never call it home. When I speak that word, visions of a dear little white house, peeping out from among the green trees, comes before me, and in a moment I am there—in every well-known room fancy leads me. * *

"Fifth Day:—It is a bright, beautiful day. * * I begin to hope that I shall in time make myself happy here. We are invited out to tea at Anna Jenkins'. I am half afraid to go. But they live in such a lovely place I trust I shall enjoy it; and there are two girls about my own age and about as diffident, and we shall *soon be acquainted*. * *

"Alice."

This letter gives so vivid a picture of the writer's entrance in the school life of Providence that it is given as written—but its sombre colors should be corrected by the same writer's testimony a few months later. She writes to her brother at Rochester, under date

"PROVIDENCE, February 10, 1848.

"* * * Quarterly Meeting time we had heard of but the realization far exceeded the imagination. The house was filled to overflowing with

Company, and two evenings it was just like a party without music and dancing. The rooms were filled with merry young people, and all seeming to enjoy themselves so much that it made one feel merry to look at them. We teachers, of course, had to act the part of hostesses, though every one seemed to feel very much at home. I enjoyed it very much, fatiguing as it was, for every one seemed so well pleased with the school and I formed many new acquaintances that were pleasant and agreeable. * * Indeed, that Quarterly Meeting will form an era in my life. I have already engaged to spend a part of next vacation with one of my new friends."

This was more like the Providence which a few months' residence revealed. The new Superintendents and their family were popular in the school and in the Yearly Meeting, and except in the constant pressure of care and of the responsibility of the administration of the school, their stay there was happy—and Anne Mott shared in its life and enjoyed its society. She spent the latter part of the summer of 1847 there, with her eldest daughter. But with the coming on of autumn, her desire for the society of New York revived. Her granddaughter, Alice Cornell, writes to her brother in Rochester, under date, "Providence, September 30, 1848. * * Grandmother left about two weeks ago. We could not prevail on her to stay longer. She fears the present weather would not last, for these heavy fogs make it unpleasant on the Sound. She has written once to us, and mentions Mollie Mott having been there and gone on to Philadelphia."

But before passing to the year 1848, mention must be made of another event nearly affecting Anne Mott, which had occurred at Rochester in the spring of 1847, and this was the marriage of her granddaughter, Anna Mott Cornell, who had been her almost constant companion for the preceding six or eight years. During all these years, in their annual stay in Orchard street, they had found Aaron Barnes an inmate with Phebe Hathaway, and the acquaintance thus began in 1840 had ripened into an engagement of marriage in 1847. From a clerkship Aaron had risen to the position of a merchant, and in association with Henry Cromwell under the name of Cromwell & Barnes, now carried on a retail hardware store at 27 Bowery, and a wholesale store in Barclay street. Her parents objected to him because his family were "Hicksites," but the objection was finally overlooked, and they were married in "accordance with Friends' ceremony" in her father's house in Kent street, on the 13th of 4th mo., 1847. On adopting her husband's name in marriage her grandmother, whose namesake she was, requested her not to drop the name of Mott, which her grandmother bore, and she herself was not willing to drop her father's name, and thus she became Anna Mott Cornell Barnes, as she has ever since been called.

Anne Mott remained in Rochester until after her granddaughter's marriage, but went to New York before Yearly Meeting and again made her home at 35 Orchard street, with Phebe Hathaway, and had the com-

Ever thine
Aaron Barnes

Anna M. C. Barnes

FROM DAGUERREOTYPES TAKEN ABOUT 1847.

pany in the house, of "cousin Debby Underhill," one of the most intimate of her cousins. But her granddaughter found a new boarding place with her husband, in the house of Aaron Griffen, at No. 22 Forsyth street. This house was not remote from Orchard street, and during the summer of 1847 there was frequent intercourse between the two houses. Early in July her grandmother told Anna that she wanted her company on a visit to "Uncle Sammy's," at Cowneck. They went by the steamboat to Glencove, where Uncle Sammy's sail-boat met them and brought them to the "old house" where he had been born, and where he had always lived, and where he died 17 years later, in his 91st year. It will be remembered that it was in this house that Adam Mott was also born, and it was here that Anne Mott had spent the first half-dozen years of her married life, and a couple of miles distant on Cowbay she had first kept house under her own roof. It was doubtless to her something of a drawback to the pleasure of the visit that "Sammy," her husband's brother, was Clerk of the Hicksite Yearly Meeting. Aaron Barnes came up on seventh day afternoon and remained till second day morning, and Anne Mott and her granddaughter returned to New York on the fifth day following.

But Anne Mott was not long to be deprived of the constant companionship of this favorite granddaughter. A few days after this return from Cowneck, this present editor chanced to arrive in New York, after an absence of a year and a half in Europe, on the 27th of July, 1847, and going to his sister's residence, 22 Forsyth street, learned that Aaron had that morning had a dangerous hemorrhage from the lungs. He soon improved and a little later went to his mother's house at White Plains, and was able to go about much as usual. But the physicians advised spending the winter in Italy. There was no Colorado then, and in the latter part of autumn they sailed for Europe.

And thus Anne Mott was left in New York during the winter of 1847–8 without the accustomed companionship of her granddaughter. The records of her life for these few months are few, and it may therefore be inferred that she was well and that the current of her life ran smoothly, and that she enjoyed as usual the society of her friends. But she waited anxiously for news from Europe, and her granddaughter wrote often, but could not give the good news of returning health which had been hoped for. The invalid returned without improvement, in the latter part of May, and they went immediately to his mother's house in White Plains.

Sarah M. Cornell writes to her son F. J. M. C. at Rochester, a little later:

"PROVIDENCE, 6th mo. 26th, 1848.

"* * I have been to New York to see Anna and Aaron, attended Yearly Meeting, and when I returned grandmother came with me. She has been very well, but is more feeble than she was last fall, shows the lengthened years she has lived" (she had then nearly completed her

eightieth year), "and yet her judgment seems good and she converses as well as ever. But her memory and her hearing are not as good as when thou saw her last. Her sickness last winter affected both. She, however, loves to read, and enjoys society as well as ever. * * Thy father has been to see A. and A. * * Found Aaron very feeble, * * seems peaceful and calm, and speaks of his death with composure. * * In a letter to me Anna says, 'I do indeed feel grateful dear mother, to the Giver of all good, for my beloved Aaron's freedom from pain.' It is a comfort to Anna to have Alice with her. * * Alice would be glad to go to Rochester and make a good long visit. * * Do write soon to thy mother."

About the same date, Silas Cornell writes to his son F. J. M. C. at Rochester:

"PROVIDENCE, 6th mo. 23d, 1848.

"Dear Son: * * Thy grandmother is here. All attended Yearly Meeting at Newport and had a good time. It closed 6th day noon. In the afternoon we came home, and Alice took the boat for New York and went thence to Purchase, or rather to North Street, where I hope to be at ten to-morrow morning. Aaron is pretty comfortable, but I suppose there is no reasonable hope of his recovery. * * Thy affectionate father, Silas Cornell."

SILAS CORNELL TO HIS SON F. J. M. C. AT ROCHESTER.

"FRIENDS Y. M. B. SCHOOL, PROVIDENCE, 7th mo. 27th, 1848.

"Dear Son—Thy letter of the 16th was duly received. * * Thy mother had then gone to Purchase. Alice wrote to thee from there, and I suppose gave thee some particulars of the peaceful close of our dear Aaron. He was buried on 6th day and they went from there to New York on 3d day with the expectation to get here 5th day morning the 21st, but thy mother was taken with a chill which detained them a day later and they arrived here 6th day morning, grandmother, mother, Anna and Alice. Anna feels most deeply her great bereavement, but she seems as cheerful as we can expect. * * Affectionately,

"Silas Cornell."

And thus it had come about that Anna Barnes was again at liberty to become her Grandmother's companion, and she seems to have accepted the burden of this duty almost as a matter of course. She wrote to her brother, F. J. M. C., who still occupied the old family home at Rochester, under date,

"PROVIDENCE, August 6th, 1848.

" * * If it was not for Grandmother really needing me with her. I would go to Rochester, and ask no greater kindness than the quiet of my own room. * * But I must be amid the bustle of New York unless, indeed, it be decided that Alice be with Grandmother."

Anne Mott spent several weeks with her daughter in Providence, but returned in the early autumn to New York, bringing her granddaughter, A. M. C. Barnes, and they made their home for the winter of 1848–9 with Martha Walters, No. 15 Pike Street. Anna writes to her brother James, at Rochester, under date,

"NEW YORK, Oct. 24, 1848.

"My present position is not the most pleasant, but it is perhaps best. Some one must be with Grandmother, and Alice could not be so little uncomfortable as I. I have a *riotous* school," (she was a short time a teacher in the Hicksite Monthly Meeting School,) "but that is not so much matter if my health is only good. * * I strive earnestly to see only the lights of my present situation. * * Alice is here now, and will remain for several weeks to come, I hope. I cannot bear to let her go back. * * Uncle Lindley * * is at his place at Haverford again. * * When I think of it sometimes, it seems as if I must go to thee and our dear home, but I cannot, so there is no use to think of it. * * Alice has gone in the country to stay a few days. She will be back to-morrow. She and I are going up to Yonkers to stay two or three days with Thomas. * * I have written thee a long letter, do answer it. Address 15 Pike Street. We have very pleasant quarters here, a handsome back room on ground floor. Affectionately,

"A. M. C. Barnes."

Alice remained nearly two months in New York, experiencing a serious illness, which at first was thought to be small pox, to which she had been exposed, and she was most kindly cared for at Uncle Robert's, notwithstanding the supposed danger. But it proved to be a billious fever, which only confined her for a couple of weeks. Writing to her brother James at Rochester, under date New York, November 26, 1848, she says: "Grandmother and Anna have a very pleasant room at 15 Pike, and this week Grandmother has gone to Flushing, and Anna and I are having such nice times alone. Thomas has been down once a week always, and often twice, to see us. * * He has promised to go home with me next 7th day."

Anne Mott remained in New York during the winter of 1848–9, enjoying the society of her friends and making occasional visits, and constant in attendance on Orchard Street Meeting. Her thoughtful tenderness to her granddaughter with her was unfailing. Anna Barnes writes her brother in Rochester:

"NEW YORK, 2d January, 1849.

"* * I have not told thee that I went on with Thomas and Alice, and had a very pleasant visit of two days at home" (in Providence) "with mother. * * Grandmother is as kind as ever she knows how to be, in word and deed both, and for that I am truly thankful, and * * I remember her never varying kindness as one of the blessings still left me. * * I had thought that Alice might come and stay with Grandmother and I would go to Rochester. * * But I find that Grandmother will not be willing to have Alice take my place, so that plan must be given up." * *

And thus the winter of 1848–9 passed in New York, and with the spring plans were formed to go to Providence after the New York Yearly Meeting. S. Alice Cornell writes to her brother at Rochester, under date

"PROVIDENCE, 5th mo. 15th, 1849.

"* * I enjoyed almost every minute of my visit in New York, and in Philadelphia, too, among our cousins * * and left with much regret. * * Grandmother and Anna will soon be here to spend the summer, and we shall enjoy it so much!"

They reached Providence in time to attend the Rhode Island Yearly Meeting, and a little later Anna Barnes writes to her brother at Rochester, under date,

"PROVIDENCE, June 21, 1849.

"* * I believe I wrote the last letter, telling thee of our visit at Philadelphia and Burlington. * * Last week we were at Newport Yearly Meeting—that is, Father and Grandmother and I—all the week, and Alice after 4th day. We had most delightful weather. * * Our cousin Richard F. Mott, of Burlington, was there, and Allie and I had to thank him for many kind attentions."

They remained at Providence and its vicinity through the summer of 1849 and into the early autumn, when Anne Mott again desired to return to New York. Anna Barnes writes to her brother in Rochester, under date,

"PROVIDENCE, Sept. 22, 1849.

"* * We are thinking of returning to New York some time this week or the beginning of next. Our good Grandmother is in a hurry to get back to her beloved city once more. We were planning to go to Boston to-morrow, and if the weather is fine shall probably do so. * *

"P. S.—It is decided that we are to go to New York on fourth day evening. I dread it more than I can tell, but the first few weeks we shall not be in town, but visit in the neighborhood. I shall spend a few days with Thomas, and if all is well mean to visit our cousins at Arnoldton. * * Address 54 Market Street until thee hears further, for we do not know when we shall be in town yet. Affectionately, Anna."

They did not get away so early as above intimated, but remained at Providence until the first week in tenth month, making a stay at the school of four months. There were many attractions at this institution for one so deeply interested as was Anne Mott in all the concerns of the Society of Friends. Many Friends called there, and at "Quarterly Meeting time," as related above, many of the prominent Friends of New England were entertained at the hospitable table of the Boarding School. Sarah M. Cornell writes to her son at Rochester under date,

"PROVIDENCE, 10th mo. 7th, 1849.

"* * Grandmother and Anna left us last third day evening. They are staying at present with Aunt Mary—are yet undecided where their home will be this winter. Anna felt sad at leaving Providence. She said she should miss the society she had here. She has appeared to enjoy herself this summer, and Grandmother, too." * *

ANNA M. C. BARNES TO HER BROTHER AT ROCHESTER.

"NEW YORK, Nov. 2, 1849.

"* * I have been for the past three days getting ready to move. I have our rooms all in order now, and to-morrow or Monday we shall

move. We have two rooms on the first floor, and I think we shall be very comfortable. The parlor is a right pleasant little box. I wish I could spirit thee and Ellen into it sometimes this winter. * * Grandmother always goes to bed about eight, and the evening is but commenced for me, as I seldom can sleep before eleven. * * Grandmother seems to need some one with her more and more, not only because she is more feeble, but her sight is so poor that she cannot read a great deal at a time, and needs some one to read to her. And besides, it is not fit for her to go in the streets alone. * * We are going to No. 5 Orchard Street,* and thee will address me there. Thus far we have been at Aunt Mary's."

At this time Anne Mott was in her eighty-second year. There was no failure in her mental faculties, her interest in all public matters had not abated, and she saw much society among Friends. She was unwell in the middle of winter, but even then wished to hear good reading. "I have just commenced Lamartine's 'Memories of My Youth,'" writes her granddaughter, "* * reading it in English instead of the original, only that I read it aloud for Grandmother's edification;" and a little later she writes, under date,

"NEW YORK, Feb. 14, 1850.

"* * Grandmother is getting very well again. Went to take a little walk yesterday. Will be able to go to meeting Sunday if nothing puts her back and the weather is fine."

Anna Barnes' sister Alice was with her in April, and Anna writes under date,

"NEW YORK, April 22, 1850.

"* * Uncle James" (Anne Mott's eldest son, then living in Philadelphia) "came in town yesterday afternoon, and wants us to go back with him to-morrow—and to our no small surprise Grandmother is quite taken with the plan, and we are going to fix off all in a hurry to-morrow morning. * * I shall be back on the first of the month."

She hurried her return because they were to go into new quarters. They had remained all winter at Stephen Haviland's, but on the first of May they were to remove to renovated rooms in their old home at 35 Orchard Street, next door to the meeting house.

Anna Barnes writes under date,

"NEW YORK, May 7, 1850.

"* * I told thee we were going to No. 35 Orchard Street. We have very pleasant rooms here—better than in the old house, and are about fixed now, although the rest of the establishment is in a rather disorderly state. They are making some alterations that will keep them longer unsettled. I came home from Philadelphia the Monday before the 1st day of May, and got my establishment moved that day. We had a very nice time in Philadelphia. Grandmother and Alice staid a week after I left and had fine times (particulars when we meet). * * It is *not* Yearly Meeting next week."

* The house of Stephen Haviland.

But Yearly Meeting, with its labors and its interest came near the end of the month. A glimpse of its life occurs in the following letter which Anna Barnes writes to her brother:

"NEW YORK, May 29th, 1850.

"* * We are in full way with Yearly Meeting, and it will certainly be far more pleasant for you to come the latter part of the week, only mother is talking of going up to see grandmother Cornell. But in that case she will be in town on Sunday. We are perfectly overrun with the multitude that our proximity to the meeting brings upon us. We have given up one of our rooms for the week, and find ourselves rather incommoded in divers ways. Mother is looking very well, is a good deal occupied on Committees, but is not Assistant Clerk. We shall all leave for Providence the fore part of next week. * * Mother will probably be in town until Friday afternoon, and will return Saturday afternoon, and in that case we shall get off on third day for Providence. * * There are several of our Farmington friends here. John J. Thomas among the number, Jesse P. Haines and Sarah. * * A. M. C. B."

As intimated above, Anne Mott returned to Providence after the close of the New York Yearly Meeting of 1850, with her daughter and granddaughters, and spent the summer with her daughter in Friends Yearly Meeting Boarding School of Rhode Island. This gave her granddaughter Anna M. C. Barnes a summer of leisure, a part of which was spent in visiting friends in eastern New England, in company with her sister.

It was well understood that if Silas and S. M. Cornell should leave Providence and return to Rochester, Anne Mott would wish again to make her home there with her daughter. The Institution was thus an important element in Anne Mott's life, and the question of leaving it was not unfrequently brought up.

S. Alice Cornell writes to Yonkers under date,

"PROVIDENCE, Sept. 16, 1850.

"My Dear Brother and Sister:—Anna and I have returned from our Down East visit, and are ready now to see you. * * The cold weather I fear will make grandmother in a hurry to get back to New York, and we want you to come and make us a visit while they are here. * * Possibly grandmother and Anna may go back by the last of next week, as grandmother wants to make some visits in the country before it gets very cold. I hardly dare to think of their going, for I shall be very lonely without Anna, we have been so long together now. * *

"S. A. C."

Anne Mott remained at Providence until near the middle of 10th month, when she and her granddaughter returned to New York, staying for a time with her daughter Mary U. Hicks, in Market street. Anna Barnes writes to her brother:

"NEW YORK, Oct. 28th, 1850.

"* * We have been ten days in the country since we came from Providence, and shall probably go to Flushing some time this week. Shall only be gone a few days, and after that shall be fixed in New York for the winter, and shall hope to have a visit from you. * *

Jenny could not help coming if she could only appreciate how terribly lonely I am since we came back. * * Uncle and Aunt Mott (James and Lucretia Mott), are here from Phil[a]. I went to Rose street meeting to hear Aunt L. * * A. M. C. B."

Anne Mott and her granddaughter made their home in New York during the winter of 1850–51, at their old quarters, No. 35 Orchard St., next door to Friends Meeting house, where they could share as far as they chose, or as the health of Anne Mott permitted, in the current life of the Society of Friends in New York. Her interest in Society affairs was as active as ever, but her health occasionally failed. Anna Barnes writes to her brother F. J. M. C. in Rochester, under date,

"NEW YORK, Feb'y 22, 1851.

"* * Grandmother has not been well, though she has not given up to keep her room until within the past two weeks. She is very much changed since thee saw her last. I do not feel comfortable to leave her alone, she is so feeble. * * If thee has anything from the 'Cornhill house' (property of Anne Mott's in Rochester), pray report it. Grandmother thinks it very strange that she hears nothing from thee. * * Set grandmother at rest on the subject, report the state of the premises. * * A. M. C. B."

The frequently expressed, and urgent desire of their children to be again re-united in their old home in Rochester had its weight with S. and S. M. Cornell, although their situation at Providence continued as pleasant as its responsibilities and cares would permit. Sarah M. Cornell writes to her son at Rochester under date,

"PROVIDENCE, 2d mo. 24th, 1851.

"* * Thou will be surprised to hear that thy father has told the Committee we will be glad to be relieved when they can find persons to take our places. How soon that will be is quite uncertain. * * I do not wish it to make any difference with thy sister's visit to Rochester, unless we shall decidedly conclude to return home next Autumn. I dare not think much about it, for if I do I should feel as if I could not stay away any longer."

Anna M. C. Barnes writes to her brother in Rochester under date,

"NEW YORK, April 2, 1851.

"* * Grandmother is so much better than she has been, and Aunt Mary" (Hicks) "is so at liberty she could spend most of her time here with her. * * I was up at White Plains last week, and spent the day with Grandmother Cornell and Aunt Mary." (Cornell.) "* * If the weather continues so mild we shall soon be for leaving town. Grandmother has various visits in prospect, and if she is well we shall go to Philadelphia. * * There is nothing more definite about father and mother's leaving. * * Oh, dear, how I do wish I could see and talk to thee of a thousand things that I cannot half write. * * Affectionately, Anna."

SARAH M. CORNELL TO HER SON, F. J. M. C., AT ROCHESTER.

"PROVIDENCE, 5th mo. 21, 1851.

"* * Alice is in New York with Grandmother and Anna. They will return to Providence after the New York Yearly Meeting—then at-

tend Yearly Meeting at Newport; and if we are all well, and they can get ready, they will make their long-promised visit to Rochester, and I hope there will not anything occur to prevent it, for thy sake as well as theirs. * * The Committee do not find those they think suitable to take our places—indeed, I don't think they have looked or inquired much."

ANNA M. C. BARNES TO HER BROTHER, F. J. M. C., IN ROCHESTER.

"PROVIDENCE, July 4th, 1851.

"My Dear Brother:—I am home from a visit to Worcester and Wonsocket yesterday afternoon * * and wind and weather and health permitting shall be with you about the 18th or 19th of the month. * * Grandmother is in New York with Aunt Mary, and if she gets weary of the city Aunt Mary will come on here with her, so if she is well there will be nothing in the way so far as she is concerned. * * Ever thine, Anna."

As foreshadowed in the above letter, Anne Mott remained in New York for the summer of 1851 with her daughter, Mary U. Hicks, and her two granddaughters made their two months' visit west, spending much of the time at Rochester, but making an excursion to Niagara Falls and to Buffalo, where they were with their Uncle Richard and his family, for he was then in business there. They returned about the middle of September, visiting their cousins of the Cornell blood at Kingston and at Arnoldton on their way to New York.

SARAH M. CORNELL TO HER SON, F. J. M. C., AT ROCHESTER.

"PROVIDENCE, 9th mo. 28th, 1851.

"* * Anna made a very short visit at Arnoldton. * * We do not expect to return to Rochester this Autumn. * * Alice says they enjoyed themselves every minute of the time they spent at Rochester, and when they left there were tearful eyes in the depot watching the cars move off, and aching hearts and tearful eyes in the cars. * * I expect to go to New York to-morrow, tho' I have not heard from Anna since she wrote she and Grandmother were going in the country. * * It is quite uncertain when we shall make our home once more at Rochester—*I* hope next spring, but thy father likes being here so well that it is quite uncertain, unless the Committee should become dissatisfied with us and our management. Thou knows thy father does not like to be opposed in his plans, nor to have his judgment called in question. * * We have had much less difficulty with Committee, teachers, scholars and domestics than any Superintendents they have ever had before. * *

"29th.—If the weather does not seem too unpleasant I expect to go to New York this evening, and shall probably stay till the last of next week. I feel the want of rest for mind and body, and shall try to leave the 'stution and its cares behind. * * A letter from Anna says she is still in the country with Grandmother—expect to return Fourth day."

ANNA M. C. BARNES TO HER BROTHER, F. J. M. C., IN ROCHESTER.

"NEW YORK, Oct. 13, 1851.

"My Dear Brother:— * * Ally told thee in her letter that I left her at Arnoldton and came to town. I got in town 5th day morning.

Found Grandmother and Cousin Sarah going up to Flushing to spend the day (Aunt Mary, Elias and the children were all there), so I went along. Had a very pleasant drive up and a nice visit there. * * We got home just at nightfall. The next day I was busy getting ready to leave town again, and seventh day morning we went up to Newcastle (some 35 or 40 miles on the Harlem R. R.), to spend a week with 'Cousin Debby.' There we had a grand time. * * I came down one day the next week to see about our rooms. (I have got them as they were last winter). * * I found a letter from mother saying she would be in town the fore part of the next week, so we came down second day and found she had got in town before us, Ally came down from Arnoldton. * * Uncle Richard and Aunt Elizabeth arrived the same day from Buffalo, whence they had come to see Caroline Smith, who was very ill with consumption, so there was quite a family meeting. I went right to work to get our rooms in habitable condition. Mother and grandmother had a visit together. Mother looks well. * * Uncle Richard was not well when he first got in town, but would not give up till the third day, when he sent for a doctor and could hold out no longer; for several days he grew worse, till we we were terribly alarmed. * * Since last fourth day he has been steadily but slowly mending. Yesterday he was able to sit up nearly half an hour. * * When he was so sick Uncle James came on from Philadelphia and grandmother had all her children with her for a little while. Last third day Mother, Ally and I went up to Yonkers to spend the day with Thomas and Jenny, a glorious day it was, and right well we enjoyed it. * * Mother and Ally were going to Purchase to see grandmother Cornell and Aunt Mary, but they were in town so they did not go up. * * A. M. C. B."

Thus the winter of 1851–2 was passed by Anne Mott in her familiar lodgings at 35 Orchard street, adjoining Friends Meeting house. She was now well on in her 84th year, failing slowly in physical strength, but bright and clear in mind and still enjoying the society of her many friends, and still interested in all society and all public affairs, and daily reading and listening to the reading of the daily newspapers and current literature. "New Year's day passed very quietly," writes her granddaughter, "and I read the *Wide Wide World* to grandmother and enjoyed it myself."

But now events were shaping themselves to bring Anne Mott in the summer of 1852 again to Rochester, with the family of her eldest daughter. They had now been absent in Providence for five years.

S. ALICE CORNELL TO HER BROTHER IN YONKERS.

"PROVIDENCE, March 9th, 1852.

"My Dear Brother and Sister: * * I am as busy as a bee, as usual, getting only a little breathing place now and then, but my labors are almost over, and the joyful days that are coming will be all the more joyful. We are really going *home* after the close of this term, which will be the 14th of April. I can scarcely believe it will be really so, for we have *talked* about going so long, but it is established now as a blessed fact. * * Father and mother are planning to leave here as soon as they can get away, after the term closes, and go to New York, and then visit till Yearly Meeting time, and soon after that go home. Of course I

shall go home with them. * * I am so tired of this kind of life. * * I don't think I shall ever want to engage in the occupation again. My French classes seem to do very well * * and they take a goodly portion of my time. I seldom get through hearing classes till eight o'clock in the evening, and then I am often too tired to be fit for anything else.

"Il me faut t'ecrire quelques mots en francais pour te remercier de m' avoir ecrit dans la meme langue * * Je n' ose pas t' ecrire une longue lettre. * * Avez vous entendu la nouvelle que Marthe Haines va sè marier à un Irlandais? On dit qu'ilest tres savant. Je leur souhait beau coup de bonheur. Son frere m'a dit qu'ils viendrout ici pour voir Madame Shove (sa Soeur) a Fall River. Je serais bien aise de les voir. * * I have scribbled off the above quite rapidly just as it came into my head. * *

"There is a great cry of lamantation on account of our leaving Providence. Many of our friends say we *must not* go away from New England. But we say Rochester is home. * *

"Affectionately your sister, Ally."

As above intimated, Silas and Sarah M. Cornell, after five years' services as Superintendents of Rhode Island Yearly Meeting School at Providence, gave up their charge at the close of the school year in Fourth month, 1852, and prepared to return to Rochester. They reached New York in time for Yearly Meeting there. While the meeting was in session, Anna Barnes wrote to her brother in Yonkers, under date

"NEW YORK, June 1, 1852.

"My Dear Brother:— * * Ally came on 7th day morning. We had large Meetings and a very good sermon and prayer in the afternoon yesterday. Grandmother is not well enough to go to two meetings a day, so I am at home with her, and as I feel myself not quite well, I am quite as well contented. Elizabeth" (Bell) "stays here with me, and Alice at Elias'" (Hicks) "with Father and Mother. * * I expect the Yearly Meeting will close on 4th day P. M. or 5th day morning. Father will have to go up to Purchase to make Grandmother" (Cornell) "a visit, and he has not yet been to see Aunt Phebe, so he will not be off till next week 2d or 3d day. Ally and I will leave for Philadelphia about the same time. * * Affectionately, thy Sister, Anna."

F. J. M. Cornell writes from

"ROCHESTER, June 8th, 1852.

"* * * I am expecting father here in a day or two. I have only just got possession of the old homestead again, and am merely existing there until father comes and makes the designed repairs and additions." * *

The repairs and additions were to be completed before the arrival of Anne Mott and the rest of the family. They arrived before the middle of July. F. J. M. Cornell writes 17th of July:

"We have not got quite settled at the house yet, but expect to be in two or three days."

It had been agreed that, as Anne Mott was now to be at home in the house of her eldest daughter at Rochester, her other surviving daughter,

Mary U. Hicks, who was temporarily up the Hudson, should join her there for the summer. Mary U. Hicks writes to her nephew at Yonkers, under date,

"NEW HAMBURGH, 7th mo. 19, 1852.

"Dear Thomas:—I have received two letters from Anna, the first giving an account of their safe arrival without making any stop at Syracuse, except to get dinner, which was Grandmother's choice, and proved too fatiguing for her, but she was rested and pretty comfortable. The last mentioned she did not seem quite as well, and they were still unsettled and have a great deal to do, and I have concluded to go out this week instead of waiting for them to get in order, and shall probably go up the river fourth day evening in the steamboat and take the cars the next morning. Will that suit Jenny? I shall return to New York to-morrow morning, and expect to have another letter from Anna, and will write you in the afternoon, so that you can get it fourth day morning. Elias is not quite so well for a week past. The children are enjoying the country very much. Mary U. Hicks."

A few days after the date of the above letter, Anne Mott passed her 84th birthday, and on the 31st of 7th mo., 1852, entered her 85th year. But Mary U. Hicks did not go up the River as contemplated when she wrote the above letter, and as a consequence never again saw her mother alive. There was a good deal of Asiatic cholera in the country that summer of 1852, and many cases had occurred at Rochester, and were beginning to cause anxiety to those who had occasion to visit that city. Anne Mott had been somewhat excited over the burning of the steamboat Henry Clay on the Hudson in July, 1852, on the site where the Riverdale passenger station of the Hudson River Railroad now stands, and on Sunday morning, August 1st, she wanted all the news read to her. In the afternoon she had symptoms of cholera, and her grandson, Dr. Edward M. Moore, was called in, and before morning the disease seemed to be broken. But her strength did not return. She could neither eat nor sleep, and, gradually sinking, died on the 5th.

The following letter from her younger granddaughter, Alice Cornell, to her brother in Yonkers, will describe the closing scenes of Anne Mott's life:

"ROCHESTER, August 11th, 1852.

"My Dear Brother and Sister:—You have ere this received intelligence of grandmother's death, and perhaps feel anxious to hear from us. The past two weeks have been anxious ones to us all. The cholera has caused a great deal of alarm in our city, and when it entered our own home it caused us more anxiety than I hope ever to feel again. Grandmother was taken on Sunday the 1st, in the afternoon. The Dr. was called in early in the evening, but the disease was not checked until towards morning. The attack was not a violent one, and had she been a younger person, she would undoubtedly have recovered. But she had not strength enough to resist the disease. It left her quite helpless, and most of the time unconscious, till Thursday morning, at ten o'clock, she died. Aunt Mary arrived on Friday morning. Aunt E. Mott and the girls that evening, and uncle R. on Saturday. The funeral was on Satur-

day afternoon. Uncle R. and family returned home that evening. Aunt Mary and Anna were both taken on Sunday, but it was so slight that they took medicine without sending for the doctor till evening. Aunt M's was soon checked, but Anna's did not yield so easily. On Monday mother was taken, and father slightly threatened. Aunt Mary, mother and Anna were sent to bed; the latter are still there, though to-day very decidedly better. The disease was removed yesterday, but they are very weak, and from the effects of laudanum and morphine, quite inclined to sleep. Father is quite well again and aunt Mary up and about the house. James and I cannot be too thankful that we have been, all the time, quite well. Yesterday and day before were terribly anxious days for me. I hardly knew how anxious I was till a decided change for the better took place in the invalids and I sat down and cried, as I have not cried in a long time before. I was quite alone with them except as the Dr. came in, which he did often, and you may imagine how desolate I felt, but everything is bright to-day and a better night's sleep has restored my nerves to a more quiet state. A letter from Buffalo last evening says Cannie was violently attacked with cholera on Monday. The disease had been checked, but there was still cause for anxiety in the utter prostration which followed. The darling child was quite well when here. * * If all are well Mary will sail for Europe on the 21st of this month with Edward and Maria Davis and Pattie Mott. * * The cholera is abating. * * We hope for the dawning of a brighter day after this dark night of anxiety. Do not feel troubled or anxious about us. We are in the hands of a kind Father and we will trust in Him.

"Affectionately your sister, Alice."

Anna Barnes writes a few days later under date,

"ROCHESTER, Aug. 18th, 1882.

"* * We miss grandmother very much. I miss the care all the time. Aunt Mary had expected to have so many rides with her; and uncle James is coming on next week, and the plan was for all the children to meet here, so that there is disappointment and sadness both. But we all feel that for the past few months she has been passing away."

The remains of Anne Mott lie in the family plot in Mount Hope Cemetery, Rochester, beside those of her husband, and simple stones and inscriptions mark the date of the death and the age of each—Adam Mott, 77, in 1839, and Anne Mott, 84, in 1852.

And in the same plot now lie the remains of their children—Sarah Mott, 81, in 1872, beside her husband, Silas Cornell, 75, in 1864; Richard Mott, 84, in 1888, beside his wife, Elizabeth M. Smith, 51, in 1855; and the grandchildren, Mary S. Mott, 29, in 1860, and Frederick James Mott Cornell, nearly 48, in 1868.

And in the next plot lie the remains of their youngest daughter, Abigail Lydia Moore, who died in 1846, in her 52d year, beside her husband, Lindley Murray Moore, in his 84th year, in 1871; and the grandchildren, Mary Hicks Moore, who died at the age of 19, in 1844; and Lindley Murray Moore, Jr., 25, in 1846; and Gilbert Hicks Moore, 52, in 1868, beside his wife, Anna Maria Comstock, 24 years old when she died in 1843, and several great-grandchildren.

ANCESTRY OF ADAM AND ANNE MOTT.

CHAPTER XV.

THE MOTT ANCESTRY.

Adam and Anne Mott were second and third cousins; that is, Adam was second cousin of Anne's father, both being descended from Adam Mott, of Essex, England, who settled in Hempstead, L. I., soon after 1650.

This Adam Mott, the immigrant, was one of the early white settlers of the town. At the time of his coming the native Indians were still in practical possession of the larger part of Long Island, although the Dutch of New Amsterdam claimed the territory as part of New Netherlands.* But the white settlers in Hempstead were chiefly English, who consented to recognize the Dutch sovereignty. The Dutch governor, William Kieft, had made the first grant of Hempstead to half a dozen Englishmen, in 1644. The town originally extended from Long Island Sound on the north to the Atlantic Ocean on the south, including what is now Hempstead and North Hempstead. The earliest town records begin in 1657.

Soon after the English occupation of the colony (1664), the English governor, Nicolls (March, 1666), confirmed the Dutch Patent of twenty years before in John Hicks, Justice of the Peace, Capt. JOHN SEAMAN (an Ancestor of Anne Mott). Richard Gildersleeve, Robert Jackson, John Karman, John Smith, senior, and John Smith, junior. Between this date and the end of the century, many English families came to Hempstead, among whom were other ancestors of Adam, or of Anne Mott, some of whom are to be noted in the following pages. Almost all of them were followers of George Fox. There were Willits, and Titus, and Willis, and Underhill, and Carpenter and Fry, and others. And to make it more convenient to trace the ancestors coming from these allied families, their names will be printed in small capitals, as "Capt. JOHN SEAMAN" above.

The Mott descent from the Adam Mott, of Essex, England, who became the first Adam Mott of Hempstead, down to Adam and Anne Mott, is shown in the following tabular statement:

* The English claimed sovereignty from Massachusetts to Virginia, and in 1656 the Dutch Government at the Hague recognized the English right to all of Long Island east of Oyster Bay.

Adam Mott, of Essex, England,
settled in Hemstead, L. I., about 1655.
2d wife, married about 1667, Elizabeth Richbell, dau. of John and Ann Richbell.

Richbell[2] married 1696 Elizabeth Thorne. | Adam[2] m. 1731 Phebe Willitts afterwards known as "Grandmother Dodge."

Richard[3] married 1741 Sarah Pearsall. | Adam[3] married 1755 Sarah Willis.

James[4] married 1765 Mary Underhill. | 1785 Adam[4] Mott.

Anne[5] Mott married

THE FIRST ADAM MOTT OF HEMPSTEAD.

According to the records of the Dutch Church of New Amsterdam, ADAM MOTT of Essex, England, was married in New Amsterdam on the 28th of July, 1647, to Jane Hulet of Buckingham, England. The record certifies that neither had been previously married. About a year before this, on the 23d of April, 1646, the Dutch Government of New Netherlands granted to ADAM MOTT 25 morgans of land on Mespath Kill (Newtown Creek.) The Albany records (book G. G., p. 156) mention a deed of 7th January, 1653, of this land with buildings, on the west side of Mespath Kill (Bushwick, L. I.,) "originally granted to Adam Mott." The records preserved at Albany (IV., p. 187–9–190) also mention Adam Mott as witness in court in New Amsterdam on 23d Oct., 1645, and even earlier than this—on the 6th of June and on the 10th of May, 1644. These are the earliest authentic records which I have been able to discover of the first ADAM MOTT of Hempstead.

It is true an Adam Mott, a tailor aged 39, who "bro't testimony from the Justices of the Peace and Minister of Cambridge," had sailed from London in the ship Defence in July, 1635, and came to Boston with his wife Sarah, aged 31, and children John, aged 14; Adam, 12; Jonathan, 9; Elizabeth, 6, and Mary, 4. It has been supposed by Thompson and others that this Adam Mott, or his son Adam, or both of them, came to Hempstead, but there is no evidence of this; and, on the contrary, they and their marriages and children can be traced in Massachusetts and Rhode Island till long after the ADAM of Hempstead was settled there.

J. C. Hotton has a record of the ship Bevis, of Hampton, which sailed for "Newengland by virtue of the Lord Treasurer's warrant," in May, 1638, with 61 souls on board, one of whom was "Adam Mott, taylor, aged 19. But there is no evidence when or where this Adam landed, and as stated above, the only authentic record of the Hempstead ADAM is that above quoted from the Dutch Church records of New Amsterdam and the State records at Albany.

Adam[2], son of ADAM MOTT[1], according to the same church records, was baptized on the 14th of November, 1649, the sponsors being Thomas Hall, Oloff Stevenson Van Cortlandt and Elsie Müytiens (Alice New-

ton, wife of Capt. Bryan Newton.) These were among the most respectable people of the infant city, then numbering hardly one thousand souls.

Jacobus[2] (James), the second son of ADAM MOTT[1], was baptised 5th of October, 1651. The sponsors were Rebecca Cornell—a several times great aunt of this present editor—(who subsequently married George Wolsey), Bryan Nuytens (Newton), and Carel Ver Brugge (Charles Bridges, who married Sarah Cornell, sister of Rebecca and widow of Thomas Willett, and mother of Col. Thomas Willett of Flushing.)

The first entry on the first page of Book A of the Hempstead records, 1657, March 17, certifies that ADAM MOTT was chosen one of the "townsmen" for that year. At that time, and for long afterward, the neck of land in the north part of the town, between Hempstead Harbor on the east and Cow Bay—now Manhasset Bay—on the west, was a common pasture for the cattle of the town, and was hence called Cowneck. It was already enclosed by a fence about three miles long from the "Head of the Harbor,"—now Roslyn—to the head of Cow Bay, now Manhasset. From this fence to the Sound the neck was about five miles in length from north to south, and from two to three miles in width between Hempstead Harbor and Cow Bay, making about eight thousand acres. ADAM MOTT'S descendants have been living on Cowneck for more than two centuries. In 1657, public notice was given that

"All who wished their calves kept by the keeper should give in their number to ADAM MOTT before the 24th of April."

The fence consisted of 526 panels, or "gates," and was maintained by 60 contributors, whose right of pasturage was proportioned to the "gates of fence" which each maintained. ADAM MOTT[1] at that time, by the record, had three oxen, two milch cows, two calves, and twenty acres of allotted meadow.

In the absence of any bell, it was then the custom to call the people to town meeting or to church by beating a drum, and the town expense of Hempstead in 1659 includes six shillings to ADAM MOTT for four days' beating of the drum.

On the 4th of February, 1663–4, an agreement of peaceable intercourse between the Dutch and the English of the neighboring towns was signed on behalf of the English by JOHN UNDERHILL, David Denton and ADAM MOTT; and for the Dutch by Oloff Stevenson Van Cortlandt, J. Becker, and John Laurence.

July 3, 1667, as the gates and bars of the town fence were often left open, seven men were appointed by the town, one being ADAM MOTT, each to keep the gate shut nearest his own house. This would indicate that ADAM MOTT'S residence at that time was somewhere near the line between the present villages of Manhasset and Roslyn.

In 1668, August 4th, ADAM MOTT, senior, is concerned as defendant in a law suit with Rich[d] Lattin of Oyster Bay, and a month later Adam Mott, junior, is defendant in another law suit. This is the first occasion

in which the town records distinguish between ADAM MOTT, Senior, and Adam Mott, Junior. The son was then 19 years old.

The land north of the fence (Cowneck) being held by the town in common, the people were indignant when in the early autumn of 1776, they found an intruder on their common pasturage, making a settlement, and building a house on the west shore of the neck, between where Port Washington and Sands Point are now situated. An indignation meeting was held on the 14th of October, 1676, and a resolution adopted to drive the intruder away, and to tear down his house. A company of twenty or more men actually did tear down the house, but the intruder did not go. On the contrary, he procured the arrest of the leaders in the assault. They were, Thomas Rushmore, NATHANIEL PEARSALL, ADAM MOTT, Abraham Smith and Joseph Langdon. The intruder proved to be John Cornwell, as he spelled the name, who, with his wife Mary Russell "and five small children, had been driven from the settlement in the east (near Portsmouth, R. I.), by the Indians," and came to Hempstead under the protection of the Governor (Andros). Richard Cornhill, John's brother, as it now appeared, although his name was spelled differently, had long lived in the adjoining town of Flushing, on lands at Little Neck, and was a Justice of the Peace. He had endeavored to prevent the destruction of the house, being on the ground at the time, and now was "one of the bench" before whom "the rioters," were tried. ADAM MOTT pleaded that he had only thought to defend his own rights, and did not know that the intruder had any legal authority and on this submission was let off with a fine of five pounds. But NATHANIEL PEARSALL did not make so effective a justification, and was fined twenty pounds and required to give bonds. John Cornwell's patent from the Governor is not dated till the following year (29th September, 1677), but some of his descendents, occupy the land to this day, and another of his descendants, who is at the same time a descendent of ADAM MOTT and also of NATN. PEARSALL is now writing these lines.

In 1682, May 25, a subscription to pay the salary of a minister, the Rev. Jeremy Hobart, containing about 80 names and making up £67. 4s. has the name of John Mott 7s. Cornelius Mott 10s, and ADAM MOTT £1. ADAM was therefore not a Friend. Lawrence Mott, and Loris Mott, as well as this Cornelius Mott are named in the early Hempstead records from 1668 to 1682, but there is no evidence that they belonged to the ADAM MOTT family.

In 1683, October 11, an assessment list comprising about 133 names has several Motts, as follows:

James Mott, 14 acres land, 4 oxen, 13 cows, 2 hogs, 1 horse.
John Mott, 2 oxen, 15 cows, 3 hogs, 2 horses.
Joseph Mott, 6 cows, 1 horse.

Of the 31 names last in the list it is said, "These underwritten not having brought in their valuations, are guessed at." The list comprises "Mr. Adam Mott, Jr., £100, Mr. ADAM MOTT, Senior, £390." Not more than two or three names on the list are taxed on a higher amount than ADAM MOTT, Senior. For some reason the two Adams are the only names in the list to which are prefixed the title "Mr."

ADAM MOTT, Senior, in his will now on record in the Surrogate's office, New York, dated 12th March, 1681–2 describes himself as "about sixty years old or thereabout," and "lying now very weak," but he apparently recovered his health. In 1684 he was appointed one of a delegation of ten persons to go to New York to procure a new patent from Gov. Dongan. On 24th March, 1685, Governor Dongan confirmed the patent. and an assessment was laid on the people of Hempstead to defray the expenses (£177) attending the application and grant, ADAM MOTT being one of those assessed. Col. Thos. Dongan appears as the owner of 200 acres.

This is the last mention of ADAM MOTT, Senior, in the town records. His will was first offered for probate in 1689, the witnesses being Joseph Sutton, Sr., Joseph Sutton, Jr., and William Coats. Two of the witnesses swore to it on the 10th of May, 1689, before Thomas Hicks, Daniel Whitehead and John Cornwell. An inventory of the "movable estate" was made 5th April, 1690, by Jonathan Smith, Senior, and Jonathan Smith, Junior, who found £182, 9s. 6d. and as no executors were named in the will, letters testamentary were issued to the widow ELIZABETH MOTT by Gov. Jacob Leisler, dated 12th May, 1690 "in the second year of his majesty's reign." Whether in consequence of the disputed authority of Gov. Leisler, or for other reasons, the will was again proved, and letters of administration granted by the new Governor Major Richard Ingoldsby, at Fort William Henry, 30th October, 1691, to ELIZABETH MOTT, the widow, and Adam Mott, the eldest son of the deceased by his first wife, Jane Hulet.

ADAM MOTT[1] was twice married. There is no record of the death of Jane Hulet. He afterward married—probably about 1667—ELIZABETH RICHBELL, daughter of JOHN RICHBELL, original patentee of Mamaroneck, in Westchester County. RICHBELL had lived in Oyster Bay, and had thus been a neighbor of ADAM MOTT before going to Mamaroneck in 1662. ELIZABETH RICHBELL gave her first son her family name of Richbell. Her second son she called ADAM, after his father, notwithstanding that his eldest son by his first wife, Jane Hulet, was also called Adam, and was still living, so that there were two half brothers in Adam Mott's family each bearing at the same time their father's name of Adam; and in his will he was obliged to distinguish between them as "my eldest son Adam" and "my younger son ADAM." The will divides much land, and arranges for the division of his "four proprietorships" in the undivided lands of Hempstead, half to each family

of children. "To my dear wife ELIZABETH MOTT, and all the children I have by her, I give and bequeath my house and lot on Mad Nan's neck (Little Neck), and with all the rest of said estate, except as mentioned in my will aforesaid, movables and immovables, with all and every part thereof, to stand and remain to my wife and children, only my house and orchard and home lot at Hempstead, and the Mill hollow in particular, I do give to my younger son ADAM." This younger son ADAM appears to have been a favorite of his parents and a forehanded man. His grandmother, ANN RICHBELL, widow of JOHN RICHBELL, in her will, dated at Mamaroneck April, 1700, directs that all her other legatees shall receive their portions before her "grandson ADAM MOTT," as she explains, "because their necessities are greater."

JOHN RICHBELL[1], the father of ADAM MOTT'S[1] second wife, wrote himself "gentleman," and his widow was distinguished as Madam RICHBELL. ADAM MOTT[1] counted himself yeoman—nothing more. It is evident that he was diligent in business and frugal in his habits, and that he accumulated a moderate competence. He had the respect of his fellow townsmen, and was occasionally put forward to represent their interests, but he did not push himself forward. Yet, as in the case of John Cornwell, he was willing to defend his rights when he thought them invaded. There is a tradition that he had a musket which could kill an Indian at the distance of a mile, and in his time there were many Indians in Hempstead, and they claimed some rights there and were sometimes troublesome, but there is no tradition that the capabilities of his "musquet" in this direction had ever been tested. Nor is there any tradition what manner of man he was in outward appearance. And although many of his descendants have been Friends, there is no reason to believe that he ever belonged to the society. He was born some years before George Fox.

The list of ADAM MOTT'S[1] children is in some doubt—at least in respect to the order in which some of the names should be placed. We have in the Dutch records the date of baptism of the two eldest. His will names some of them in the following order: "My eldest son Adam," "My son Jeames," "My daughter Grace," "My son John," "My son Joseph," "My son Gershom," "My son Henry's three children." These are all the children of the first marriage named, and seem to indicate that Henry was already dead. Of the children of the second marriage, he only names "My younger son ADAM." A copy of the above will, endorsed "A copy of Grandfather MOTT'S[1] will, taken the 18th day of ye 11th mo., 1764, by ADAM MOTT[3]," gives on a blank page a list of his children, as follows; Adam, James, Grace, John, Joseph, Henry, RICHBELL[2], William, ADAM[2], Mary Anne, Gershom, Elizabeth. The ADAM[3] who makes the list is known to be the son of "the younger son ADAM[2]." It was made nearly eighty years after the death of the maker of the will, and is evidently in part incorrect, possibly did not even pretend to be

correct in the order of the names. I do not find any evidence of a daughter Elizabeth, except the name in this list, and also in the list given by Thompson (Hist. L. I., p. 57, II.,) and Thompson's list is certainly in part incorrect. Perhaps an Elizabeth died unmarried before her father. But Thompson gives the date of William's birth 20th January, 1674, with the descent from William to Doctor Valentine Mott, the celebrated surgeon of New York, and probably this is correct. William's full brother, the younger son ADAM[2], in his will dated 5th September, 1738, provides that if all his own children shall die without issue, his estate shall be equally divided to the children of his brothers RICHBELL, William and Charles. There is a tradition that the "younger son ADAM" was 58 or 60 years old when he married PHEBE WILLITS on "the 5th of 11th mo., 1731." This would bring his birth about 1672. The Hempstead records make John Mott testify in a law suit on the 25th of November, 1661, that he was then 23 years old, which would bring his birth about 1659. He was Lieutenant Mott.

From the foregoing data I have made the following list of the children of the first ADAM MOTT, of Hempstead, with an approximation to the date of the birth of each.

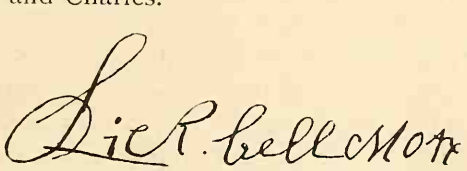
CHILDREN OF ADAM MOTT[1] BY JANE HULET:

1. Adam, eldest son, baptized 14th November, 1649.
2. James, " 5th October, 1651.
3. Grace, probably born about . . . 1653.
4. Elizabeth, " " " . . . 1655.
5. Henry, " " " . . . 1657.
6. John, " " " . . . 1659.
7. Joseph, " " " . . . 1661, died 1735.
8. Gershom, " " " . . . 1663.

CHILDREN OF ELIZABETH RICHBELL:

9. RICHBELL, probably born about, . . 1668.
10. Maryanne, " " " . . 1670.
11. The yonger son ADAM, " " . . 1672.
12. William, born 20th Jamuary, . . 1674.
13. Charles, probably born about, . . . 1676.

From this point I have only endeavored to trace the descendants of my own Ancestors, RICHBELL, and the younger son ADAM, with some notes of William and Charles.



From assignment on back of parchment deed of 1708.

RICHBELL MOTT[2] AND HIS DESCENDANTS.

RICHBELL MOTT the first born of the second wife, married in 1696, ELIZABETH THORNE, of Flushing. The marriage license in the New York record is dated the 14th October, 1696, and the name is written Rigebell Mott. He settled at Mad Nan's Neck (Little Neck), perhaps on the land mentioned in his father's will, and was a man of standing and force. His grandmother, ANN RICHBELL, in her will dated April, 1700, makes "MR. RICHBELL MOTT" one of her executors, the other two being Col. Caleb Heathcote and Lieut. John Horton. In 1708, in the division of the lower part of Cowneck, RICHBELL MOTT[2] received a deed of a tract of land on the Sound on the west side of the entrance to Hempstead Harbor. The land is still in the family, the old Mott Homestead standing on its shore. The deed purports to convey about 260 acres, but the tract was probably much larger. It is signed by the fourteen proprietors on the 17th of Septemher, 1708: "in the tenth year of the reign of our sovereign lady, Anne Queen," etc. The signers are John Sands, W. Nicoll, Timothy Halstead, Wm. Groat, Abell Smith, Jonathan Whitehead, Thomas Hicks, Jonath. Burgess, THOMAS PEARSALL, David Burgess, Saml. Clowes, Samuel Sands, Richard Cornwell, Joshua Cornwell. The consideration named in the Deed is £269. The original parchment Deed is now before me in perfect preservation. The land is bounded easterly by the bay near Hempstead Harbor, "westerly by a highway near Hall's swamp" (probably the road between Port Washington and Sands Point), northerly by land set off to Captain John Sands, and southerly by Samuel Sands, according to the survey made by Samuel Clowes. There has been a tradition that this land was conveyed to RICHBELL MOTT in acknowledment of some public service. However that may be, on the 2d of April, 1715, RICHBELL MOTT, describing himself of Mad Nan's Neck, conveys the same property to "ADAM MOTT my brother," for the same consideration of £269.

The town records, 1713–15, etc., mention Richbell Mott as serving the town as Surveyor of Highways, Fence Viewer, etc., for the district including Mad Nan's Neck. In 1709 it is recorded that he bought of Henry Bayliss a half interest in the grist mill on the creek running into Matthew Gerritson's bay west side.

RICHBELL MOTT'S will is dated 22d September, 1734, when he was 66 years old, and proved 3d December, 1734 (N. Y. Surrogate's office, L. 12, p. 248). He describes himself of Hempstead, and "in great weakness of body," and wishes his "loving wife ELIZABETH," to remain on the home farm on Mad Nan's Neck for three years, during which their younger son RICHARD shall help her, with the two negro slaves, and the Irish boy David, to putting in and cutting "two crops of winter grain," and to the first of May following, after which she shall remove to his plantation on Great Neck, which she shall have during her widowhood, and the executors

shall then sell the home farm, etc., to pay the cash bequests. The will names two sons, Edmond and RICHARD, and six daughters, Elizabeth, Mary, Ann, Jemmima, Kedzie and Deborah, and three sons-in-law, Adam Mott, of Staten Island, Joseph Mott, of Cowneck, and "Jonathan Townsend, Esq., of Oyster Bay," the two last named being executors.

The widow ELIZABETH (THORNE) MOTT left a will dated 7th March, 1739, and proved 16th April, 1739. She describes herself widow of RICHBELL MOTT, and "sick and weak of body," and names the same children, and indicates marriages as follows :—daughter Jemmima Wood (wife of Stephen), daughter Kedzie Jackson, grandson Daniel Kissam, granddaughter Mary Treadwell, and granddaughter Elizabeth Mott, daughter of Adam Mott. Adam Mott was Clerk of Richmond Co. (Staten Island), from 28th November, 1728 to 1738, and was member of the Provincial Assembly from the same County from June, 1737, to October, 1738. Probably he was the son-in-law of RICHBELL and ELIZABETH MOTT above named. I have not been able to determine which daughter married the sons-in-law thus indicated. Of the sons, Edmond and RICHARD I find as follows:

Edmond Mott born probably about 1700, died in or before 1744, eldest son of RICHBELL and ELIZABETH (THORNE) MOTT, lived in Cowneck, and by his wife, Catherine Sands, daughter of Capt. John Sands and Sybil Ray, had

1. Margaret, to whom her grandmother, Elizabeth (Thorne) Mott, in 1739, left £10, but she is not mentioned in her own father's will in 1744, and probably was not living.
2. Richbell Mott, born 3d August, 1728, died 9th May, 1758, married 1749, Deborah Dodge born 15th April, 1728, They had
   I. Margaret, born 21st September, 1749, married Hon. Melancthon Smith.
   II. Phebe, born 21st August, 1751.

   The will of this second Richbell Mott, dated 28th April, 1758, proved 9th June, 1758 (N. Y. Surrogate's office, L. 21, p. 47), describes himself of Hempstead and after providing for his "true and loving wife Deborah," divides the remainder of his property between his two daughters Margaret and Phebe as they respectively come to to the age of 18 years, but if they both die without issue, the property to be equally divided between the testator's two brothers, Edward Mott and John Mott.
3. Edmond Mott, apparently never married.
4. John Mott, died in or before 1781, and apparently never married.

   His will, dated 28th of 2d month, 1773, proved 16th March, 1781, describes himself of Cowneck, and appoints as executors his kinsmen Richard Sands and ADAM MOTT, of Cowneck, and witnesses, John Willis, Stephen Mott and Elizabeth Mott. He says, "my brother Edmond Mott has been, and is at this time in a delirious

and unsettled condition of mind." If he recovered he was to have all of the estate. After his death, if anything is in the hands of the executors not disposed of, it is to go "unto my niece Margaret Smith, wife of Melancthon Smith."

The Melancthon Smith here named was of Dutchess County, and of the City of New York, and was a prominent man in the American

REAR ADMIRAL MELANCTHON SMITH, U. S. N.,
Great-Grandson of the Second Richbell Mott.

Revolution, and subsequently in the State of New York. He married Margaret Mott under a license dated 17th March, 1772. He was a member from Dutchess of the first provincial Congress of

New York, of 22d of May, 1775, and a delegate to the Continental Congress of 1785–6–7 and 8, was Boundary Commissioner of New York, in 1790, and member of State Assembly from the City of New York in 1792, and in the same year was one of the first Canal Commissioners of the State, to consider means of connecting the headwaters of the Hudson with Lake Erie and Champlain. This was under the Act of 30th March, 1792. He was a member of the Constitutional Convention of New York in 1788, Representing Dutchess County, but resided in the City of New York. He was a strenuous opponent of the general policy of Alex. Hamilton. He died 29th July, 1798, leaving—

1st. Richbell Mott Smith, who died at the age of 20, on the coast of Japan, 23d of October, 1800.

2d. Col. M. Smith, married 1st Cornelia, daughter of Dr. Gardiner Jones, of New York; 2d, Anna Green, daughter of Israel Green, of Dutchess County,

3d. Sidney, U. S. A.

4th. Phebe, married John Bleeker.

Rear Admiral Melancthon Smith, U. S. N., born 1810, grandson of Hon. Melancthon and Margaret (Mott) Smith, and son of Col. Melancton Smith, entered the U. S. service 1st March, 1826, ended his last cruise in February, 1865, was made Rear Admiral 1st July, 1870, and is on the retired list, now living in South Oyster Bay, Long Island, New York. As he is the only Admiral I have yet met among the descendants of the first Adam Mott, of Hempstead, his portrait is here reproduced from a photograph received from the Admiral's sister, Mrs. Martin.

RICHARD MOTT, born probably about 1710, died of yellow fever 15th of 8th mo., 1743, "in unity with Friends;" married 26th of 1st mo., 1741, SARAH PEARSALL, born 6th of 11th mo., 1714, died at the house of her son, John Alsop, in Hudson, N. Y., 9th, mo., 1800, daughter of THOMAS and SARAH (UNDERHILL) PEARSALL of Hempstead. The Westbury record of the marriage says: "RICHARD MOTT, late of Hempstead, now of the City of New York." His will, dated 10th of 8th mo., 1743, five days before his death, describes him of Hempstead, and "being very much indisposed in body." He gives to his wife £100 in addition to one-third of all of his property, and the remaining two-thirds to his son JAMES (then but little more than one year old), and in case of his son's death without issue, then to the three sons of his brother Edmond, viz.: Richbell, Edmond and John.

As the infant son JAMES here mentioned (the father of Anne Mott) subsequently grew up in the house of a stepfather, a few words of his mother and her second marriage will be appropriate

here. The widow, SARAH (PEARSALL) MOTT, was a great-granddaughter of Capt. JOHN UNDERHILL, her mother, SARAH (UNDERHILL) PEARSALL, being a daughter of Capt. JOHN'S son, JOHN UNDERHILL, Jr., and MARY, daughter of MATTHEW and MARY PRYOR. Nearly four years after the death of her first husband, on the 3d of 4th mo., 1747, according to the Westbury records, Richard Alsop, Jr., of Newtown, Queens County, married SARAH MOTT, widow of RICHARD MOTT, of Hempstead. A few years later, a certificate of Newtown Mo. Mg. to Westbury, dated 3d of 7th mo., 1754, says: "Whereas our friends, Richard Alsop and wife have removed from us, and settled within the verge of your meeting," &c. The new home was in the town of Oyster Bay. SARAH ALSOP stood high in the esteem of Friends, and was for some time Clerk of the Women's Mo. Mg. of Westbury.

Children of Richard Alsop of Oyster Bay and SARAH ALSOP, his wife:

1. Sarah, born 3d of 11th mo., 1747; married 7th of 5th mo., 1767, William Loines, son of William and Ann Loines, of Hempstead. JAMES MOTT, then himself married, was one of the many witnesses to this marriage of his half-sister. PHEBE DODGE another, &c., &c.
2. Phebe, born 2d of 10th mo., 1749.
3. John, born 27th of 2d mo., 1753; married first, about 1780, Mary ———, and had Robert, born 1783; Thomas Jenkins, born 1787; Sarah, born 1792; Hannah, and Mary; and married, second, Avis (Slocum–Folger) Barnard, born 1759, died 1819; daughter of John and Martha Slocum, and widow, first of Sylvanus Folger, second of Matthew Barnard. She brought with her her daughter, Martha Barnard, born about 1790, died 1827, who became as an own daughter to her stepfather, John Alsop. John Alsop went to Providence, R. I., and then, before 1777, to Mamaroneck, N. Y., whence, in 1783, he went to Hudson, N. Y., then just founded and he being one of the original proprietors; and on the incorporation of the city in 1785, he was made Chamberlain. He subsequently removed across the river to Athens, where he lived many years, and thence, in 1827, he removed to his son's house in Scipio, where he died some years later.
4. Hannah, born 7th of 2d mo., 1755; died 18th of 9th mo., 1757.
5. Hannah, born 18th of 12th mo., 1757; married, first, ——— Carpenter; married, second, 15th of 6th mo., 1785, Job Webb, son of John Webb, of Pennsylvania.

JAMES MOTT, born 8th of 8th mo., 1742; died, 7th of 5th mo., 1823; only son of RICHARD and SARAH (Pearsall) Mott; married, 5th of 9th mo., 1765, MARY UNDERHILL, born 31st of 1st mo., 1745, died —— of ——, 1776, daughter of SAMUEL and ANN (Carpenter) Underhill, "both of Oyster Bay," according to Westbury records. Tradition points out the place of James Mott's birth, in the house

still standing in what is now the village of Roslyn (then called the Head of the Harbor), on the east side of the road which leads northerly to the west shore of the harbor, and near the corner of the cross-road leading to the east. The house has now long been occupied by Dr. Bogart, and the south part of it has been added within the present century.

JAMES MOTT was not yet five years old when his mother married Richard Alsop, and he went to live with a stepfather in Newtown; and he was not six when his first half-sister Sarah was born. He was in his twelfth year when the family removed to Oyster Bay, in the vicinity of his mother's cousin, SAMUEL UNDERHILL, then living at Cedar Swamp, back of what is now Glen Cove. SAMUEL UNDERHILL, born 8th September, 1708, died 1780, was a great-grandson of Capt. JOHN UNDERHILL, whose place, Killingworth, was in the neighborhood. SAMUEL had married, 8th of 10th mo., 1737, Ann Carpenter, born 24th of 7th mo., 1716, died 1803, daughter of JOSEPH CARPENTER, of "Moscheto Cove," now Glen Cove, and MARY WILLET, born 21st February, 1710, his wife. This MARY WILLET was daughter of ANDREW WILLET, twelfth child of Capt. THOMAS WILLET of Plymouth, successors of Capt. Miles Standish in command of the Plymouth Militia, and also first English Mayor of the City of New York (1665–7.) ANDREW WILLET, born 5th October, 1655, died 6th April, 1712; married, 1682, ANN CODDINGTON, daughter of Gov. WILLIAM CODDINGTON, of Rhode Island.

JAMES MOTT found his wife in his second cousin, Mary Underhill, daughter of SAMUEL and ANN (Carpenter) Underhill, and they were married, as above stated, in 1765. There is a well-authenticated tradition that he had been previously engaged to a young lady named Lawrence, who died after the engagement. MARY'S younger brother, Thomas, told in later years that when James Mott first came after her she thought he was in pursuit of a fine horse which her father had for sale!

Following the example of his own father, James Mott, went early into business in the City of New York. At one time he was associated with Robert Bowne (Bowne & Mott), in Pearl or Water Street, a little below what was then Beekman slip, and is now the foot of Fulton Street, but there was no Fulton street there at that time. In after years, he sometimes told of his early reputation as a judge of liquor when he bought and sold it by the cask. But he was one of the earliest and most earnest advocates of temperance, and if he sold liquor by the cask in his business life, his latter years were a long period of diligent expiation of the error. It was another of the traditions preserved by his brother-in-law, Thomas Underhill, who in these pre-revolutionary days was apprenticed to a silversmith in the neighborhood, that JAMES MOTT lived in a two-story brick house on

the north side of Beekman Street, between Pearl and Cliff Streets, well up toward Cliff Street. This was then a street of pleasant residences. The lot was roomy enough to make a roadway by the side of the house. Here were born his four children, in the years immediately preceding the American Revolution. Some memories of these days, as well as of the house in which he was born, were preserved by his eldest son, Richard, who was in his 10th year at the time of the declaration of independence. In some of the previous rebel disturbances in the city, the Captain of the British ship-of-war Asia, then lying in the river, threatened to bombard the city, and James Mott sent his children by a cartman into the country for safety—the safe place being on the Bowery road, near the present site of Hester Street. A little later, his wife being in failing health, he sold out his New York interests and removed to Mamaroneck. He had not been in business a dozen years, and he was but 33 years old, but he had acquired a competence. He bought of his wife's brother, Samuel Underhill, for £2,100, the farm, with the "old red mill," on the point of the town of Mamaroneck which runs out nearly in front of the Village of New Rochelle, and here he lived, and he and his sons after him operated the mill for many years. His wife died soon after his settlement in Mamaroneck, and being in easy circumstances, he devoted the remainder of a long life to the promotion of education, temperance, the suppression of war, slavery and vice, and to the general interests of the Society of Friends, of which he was a zealous but liberal member. He was an unusually handsome man—tall, erect, of great dignity and grace of manner—and a model Quaker gentleman. Some particulars of his later life are given elsewhere in the account of his daughter Anne and her husband, Adam Mott. But it may be mentioned here that the records of the New York Yearly Meeting, and its subordinate meetings, show his early activity in Society affairs. He assisted in the organization of the Meeting for Sufferings when the Yearly Meeting was held in Westbury in 1782, &c., &c.

Children of James and Mary (Underhill) Mott;

I. Richard Mott, born in New York 10th of 1st month, 1767, died at Mamaroneck 29th of 7th month, 1856, in his 90th year, married 17th of 1st month, 1787, Abigail Field, born 20th of 10th month, 1766, died at Burlington, New Jersey, 8th of 8th month, 1851, daughter of Uriah and Mary Field, of Purchase. Richard was, like his father, a handsome man, tall, erect, and of unusual grace and dignity of manner, and active in affairs of the Society of Friends. He and his wife were already Clerks of their respective Monthly Meetings at Purchase, in 1790, and he was Clerk of New York Yearly Meeting as early as 1798. He became an esteemed

I am with sincere affection
Thy Friend Richd Mott

FROM A DAGUERREOTYPE TAKEN ABOUT 1845.

minister in the Society, an easy and graceful speaker. They had a daughter Maria, born 1799, died 1817, and two sons who died in infancy, each named William, one born 16th of 8th month, 1790, the other 3d of 2d month, 1796.

Their son Robert F. Mott, born at Mamaroneck 22d of 5th month, 1794, died there 8th of 7th month, 1826, married Hannah B. Smith, born 21st of 3d month, 1793, died 17th of of 12th month, 1866, Daughter of Richard S. and Hannah Smith, of Burlington, and left

Richard F. Mott, now of Burlington, New Jersey, born in New York City 10th of 5th month, 1825, married 16th of 10th month, 1856, Susan Thomas, born in Burlington, 15th of 12th month, 1830, died there 5th of 10th month, 1876, daughter of Robert and Amelia Thomas, of Burlington, and had (*a*) Robert Thomas, born 19th of 10th month, 1857, died 17th of 8th month, 1858, (*b*) Amelia Smith, born 17th of 7th month, 1859, married 15th of 9th month, 1882, Francis B. Gummere, son of Samuel J. and Elizabeth H. Gummere, of Haverford, Pennsylvania, and have *Richard Mott*, born 3d of 8th month, 1883 and *Samuel J.* born 16th of 8th month, 1885, (*c*) Richard, born 3d of 9th month, 1861, (*d*) Anna Burling, born 14th of 3d month, 1865, died 3d of 9th month, 1866, (*e*) William Elton, born 24th of 1st month, 1868.

II. ANNE MOTT, born in New York, 31st of 7th month, 1768, died of Asiatic cholera, at the house of her son-in-law, Silas Cornell, at Rochester, 5th of 8th month, 1852, in her 85th year, married at Mamaroneck 19th of 5th month, 1785, in her 17th year, Adam Mott, of Cowneck, born in "the old place," 11th of 10th month, 1762, died at Rochester in the house of his son-in-law, Lindley M. Moore, 10th of 1st month, 1839, in his 77th year, son of Adam and Sarah (Willis) Mott, and grandson of the "younger son Adam."

The children of Adam and Anne Mott will be given in the account of Adam Mott, the husband.

III. Robert Mott, born in New York, 1771, died 21st of 3d month, 1805, of consumption, married July, 1795, Lydia Philadelphia Stansbury, born in Philadelphia 23d February, 1775, died ———, 1862, youngest daughter of Joseph and Sarah Stansbury. He was a paymaster in the British Army in Philadelphia, during the American Revolutionary War.

Some further account of them is given in Chapter III of "Adam and Anne Mott."

Robert and Lydia P. Mott had—

1. Edward, born ———, died 1st month 1st, 1814.
2. Arthur, born 6th of 2d month, 1799, died at Toledo 30th of 10th month, 1869.

3. Alfred, born ———, died ———, 1816,
4. Jeannette, born 6th month, 1803, died 14th of 2d month, 1812, Æ 8 years 8 months.

IV. Samuel Mott, born in New York, 20th of 9th month, 1773, died 8th of 10th month, 1843, married at Newport, Rhode Island, 31st of 7th month, 1794, Elizabeth Barnard, born about 1775, died ———, daughter of Matthew Barnard, who after her mother's death married about 1783, Avis Slocum, daughter of John and Martha Slocum, and widow of Sylvanus Folger, and after Matthew Barnard's death, Avis Slocum married third time, John Alsop, half-brother of James Mott, bringing her daughter, Martha Barnard, who became like an own daughter to her step-father. Samuel and Elizabeth (Barnard) Mott had—

1. Matthew Barnard, born 1795, died 1817.
2. Avis, born 1797, died 1831, married James Everingham, died 1835, and had five children.
3. Andrew Underhill, born 17th of 2d month, 1799, died ———.
4. Charles, born 1801.
5. Martha, born 1803, married Henry Haydock, and had Henry R., Elizabeth B., Edward M. and Samuel M.
6. Samuel, born 1804.
7. Elizabeth, born 1807, married William R. Brewster.
8. Matilda, born 1809, died 1852, married Stephen Cahoone and had Anson and Stephen.

"THE YOUNGER SON ADAM^2"

AND HIS DESCENDANTS.

"The younger son Adam^2, born about 1672, died early in 1739, married in the 'meeting house at Westbury, according to the good order used among' Friends, this 5th day of 11th month, 1731–2, Phebe Willits, born 14th of 2d month, 1699, died at Cowneck 7th of 9th month, 1782, daughter of Richard and Abigail (Powell) Willits, of Jericho. This Richard Willits was the fourth of the five children of Richard and Mary (Washburne) Willits the immigrants, and was born 1st month, 1660. His mother, Mary Willits, was long a minister among Friends, and his daughter Phebe, when in 1731, she married Adam Mott, the younger son, had already been a minister for several years.

The land on the shore of the Sound, on the western side of the entrance to Hempstead Harbor, which the younger son Adam bought of his brother Richbell for £269, on the 2d of April, 1715, became his home, and has remained in the family until this day. He built the earlier part of the low-beamed, two-story, shingled house still standing a few hundred yards from the shore, and there his children were born and

there he died, leaving a well stocked farm of nearly six hundred acres of land. His will, dated 3d September, 1738, proved 28th February, 1739 (New York Surrogate's office, L. 13, p. 165), leaves a competence to his widow, and a handsome dowry for a farmer's daughter to his eldest child Elizabeth, and a large farm with a farmer's outfit to each of his two sons. The will is in part quoted elsewhere, in the account of his grandson ADAM MOTT who married ANNE MOTT a great-granddaughter of his brother Richbell.

About three years after the death of the "younger son Adam," his widow Phebe married the second time, the 28th of 11th month, 1741, Tristram Dodge, whence she has always been known among her descendants as grandmother Dodge. Tristram was already a widower with one son, Joseph Dodge, but she had no children after her second marriage. Grandmother Dodge traveled much as a minister, and in 1752 and 3, visited England and Wales. She was the mother of Adam Mott's three children, and she brought them up in "the old place," with their stepfather until Stephen, the youngest came of age in 1757, when, under their father's will, in case she married again, she left it, and it came to her son Adam, with the eastern half of the great farm, and the western part was set off to Stephen. The survey by their father-in-law, Samuel Willis is still extant, and is here copied in *fac simile*. On the portion assigned to him Stephen built his house, a quarter of a mile westerly from "the old place" of his brother Adam, on the sheltered slope of the hill, and here he lived and died, and here his grand-children are still living.

CHILDREN OF THE "YOUNGER SON ADAM" AND PHEBE (WILLITS) MOTT.

1. Elizabeth, born 31st of 5th month, 1733, "the third day of the week," died 13th of 9th month, 1783, married 5th of 3d month, 1755, John Willis, a minister among Friends, born 8th of 2d month, 1734, died 4th of 3d month, 1789, son of Samuel and Mary (Fry) Willis, of Jericho, Long Island.
2. ADAM[3], born 10th of 10th month, 1734, "the third day of the week," died 18th of 12th month, 1790, married first 5th of 3d month, 1755, Sarah Willis born 14th of 7th month 1736, died of consumption 10th of 1st month, 1783, daughter of Samuel and Mary (Fry) Willis—Adam's wife being thus a sister of Elizabeth's husband, and the two marriages taking place at the same time and place—married second, 5th of 1st month, 1785, Abigail Batty, born 1733, died 10th of 12th month, 1807, daughter of David Batty of "South Hempstead," married at Westbury.
3. Stephen[3], born 1st of 2d month, 1736, "the fifth day of the week," died 11th of 11th month, 1813, of pleurisy, married 6th of 10th month, 1762, Amy Willis, born 27th of 3d month, 1738, died 10th of 11th

month, 1822, daughter of Samuel and Mary (Fry) Willis, "near Jericho in the town of Oysterbay." The daughter and the two sons of Adam and Phebe (Willits) Mott, had thus married the son, and two daughters of Saml. and Mary (Fry) Willis, and of course all their children were double first cousins.

CHILDREN OF JOHN AND ELIZABETH (MOTT) WILLIS.

1. Adam, born 7th mo., 1757, died 1758.
2. Samuel, born 7th of 3d mo., 1759, died 1838; married Rachel Pearsall, born ———, died 31st of 5th mo., 1855, daughter of Thomas, and had,
   - I. Henry, born 2d of 5th mo., 1786; married Phebe Post.
   - II. Phebe, born 14th of 10th mo., 1787; married James Post.
   - III. John, born 2d of 1st mo., 1790; married Mary Kirby.
   - IV. Amey, born 12th of 9th mo., 1797; married Townsend Rushmore.
3. Phebe, born 5th of 4th mo., 1761, died 29th of 12th mo., 1851; married, 5th of 5th mo., 1784, Joshua Powell, born 15th of 11th mo., 1754, died 6th of 5th mo., 1817, son of Joshua Powell, of Bethpage, and had,
   - I. Edmund, born 17th of 2d mo., 1785, died 29th of 10th mo., 1844, unmarried.
   - II. Elizabeth, born 18th of 8th mo., 1786, died 31st of 10th mo., 1836, unmarried.
   - III. Mary, born 2d of 7th mo., 1788, died 12th of 9th mo., 1884, in her 97th year; married, 21st of 2d mo., 1810, Samuel Titus, born 27th of 3d mo., 1788, died 30th of 8th mo., 1823, and had,
     1. Stephen Titus, born, 27th of 3d mo., 1813; married Sarah Satterthwaite, born 15th of 1st mo., 1820, and had three children, who died young.
     2. Elizabeth T., born 26th of 11th mo., 1811, who died an infant, 9th of 2d mo., 1813.
     3. Elizabeth P., born 14th of 10th mo., 1815, died 29th of 12th mo., 1884; married, 29th of 4th mo., 1835, William Willitts, born 1st of 11th mo., 1808, and had,
        - (*a.*) Mary T. Willitts, born 22d of 3d mo., 1837; married, 16th of 6th mo., 1859, Isaac H. Cocks, born 31st of 8th mo., 1836, and had,
          1. William W., born 1861.
          2. Elizabeth H., born 1865.
          3. Frederick H., born 1872.
        - (*b.*) Annie, born 1st of 12th mo., 1839, died, unmarried, 11th of 7th mo., 1856.

(*c.*) William, born 29th of 11th mo., 1843; married S. Phebe Taber, born 4th of 11th mo., 1847, and had,
(1.) Samuel T., born 1872.
(2.) Stephen, born 1878.
(3.) Robert, born 1881.

4. Samuel J., born 25th of 11th mo., 1820, died, unmarried, 18th of 7th mo., 1854.

IV. John, born 29th of 5th mo., 1790, married Sarah R. Johnson.

V. Phebe, born 12th of 12th mo., 1796, died unmarried.

CHILDREN OF ADAM[3] AND SARAH[4] (WILLIS) MOTT.

1. Elizabeth[4], born at the old place, Cowneck, 19th of 7th mo., 1756, died there 10th of 4th mo., 1782, of cancer in the breast, unmarried. The record speaks of her edifying frame of mind—"for some time before, and at the time of her departure, often dropping many heavenly expressions."

2. Lydia[4], born at Cowneck 24th of 11th mo., 1759, died there 17th of 5th mo., 1791; married Solomon Underhill, died 1827. Lived near Cow Bay, on a farm given to her by her father (150 acres), and had,
(*a.*) Isaac, married ——— Rhinelander; settled at New Rochelle.
(*b.*) Samuel, married Elizabeth Bowne, of Flushing.
(*c.*) Henry, died unmarried; disowned by Friends.
(*d.*) Sarah, married William Waring, of New York.
(*e.*) Elizabeth, died of consumption about 16 years old.
After the death of Lydia, Solomon Underhill married a second time.

3. ADAM[4], born at "the old place," Cowneck, 11th of 10th mo., 1762, died at Rochester, N. Y., at the house of his son-in-law, Lindley M. Moore, 10th of 1st mo., 1839; married, at Mamaroneck, 10th of 5th mo., 1785, ANNE MOTT, born in Beekman Street, New York, 31st of 7th mo., 1768, died at Rochester, at the house of her son-in-law, Silas Cornell, 5th of 8th mo., 1852, of Asiatic cholera, having just entered her 85th year, daughter of JAMES and MARY (Underhill) Mott.

The descendants of Adam and Anne Mott will be grouped together at the end of this volume, after some account has been given of their ancestors other than the Motts.

4. Samuel[4], born at Cowneck, at "the old place," which he afterward inherited, 29th of 9th mo., 1773, died there 16th of 5th mo., 1864; married, 9th mo., 1796, Catharine Appleby, born 17th of 9th mo., 1775, died 8th of 4th mo., 1862, daughter of ———.
In her younger days she was considered remarkably handsome.

CHILDREN OF SAMUEL AND CATHARINE (APPLEBY) MOTT.

1. Adam, born 29th of 5th mo., 1797, died 25th of 9th mo., 1804.
2. Leonard, born 11th of 5th mo., 1799, died —— of —— mo., 1866; married Hannah C. Willis, daughter of Cornell Willis, of Cowneck, and had,
   (*a.*) Edward, married Deborah, daughter of John Burtis, of Cowneck, and had,
      1. Elizabeth.
   (*b.*) Sarah, married Willet, son of William Hicks, of New York, and had,
      1. Caroline.
      2. Leonard.
   (*c.*) Samuel, died, aged 20, unmarried.
   (*d.*) Catharine, unmarried.
   (*e.*) Anna, married Edward, son of William Hicks, of New York, and had,
      1. William.
   (*f.*) Samuel, married Anna, daughter of Benjamin Nostrand, of Sands Point; no issue.
3. Thomas, born 25th of 6th month, 1801, died 28th of 6th month, 1860, aged 59, unmarried.
4. Sarah, born 19th of 9th month, 1804, died 8th of 7th month, 1831; married, 31st of 10th month, 1822, Benjamin, son of Cornwall and Elizabeth Willis, and had,
   (*a.*) Samuel.
   (*b.*) Epenetus.
5. Silas, born 4th of 4th month, 1807, died 30th of 9th month, 1881; married, 1840, Mary Willis, born 1817, died 14th of 9th month, 1881, daughter of Walter Willis, and had,
   (*a.*) Catharine Emily, born 15th of 11th month, 1841, died 29th of 5th month, 1878.
   (*b.*) Thomas, born 24th of 7th month, 1845; married, 1st of 12th month, 1869, Martha Willits, born 7th of 5th month, 1841, youngest daughter of Edward and Martha (Whitson) Willits, and has,
      1. Martha W., born 5th of 4th month, 1873.
      2. Caroline, born 18th of 8th month, 1875.

DESCENDANTS OF STEPHEN AND AMY (WILLIS) MOTT.

1. Daniel, born 10th of 10th month, 1763, died at Albany 22d of 1st month, 1837; married, 5th of 5th month, 1786, Amey, the black-eyed daughter of John Searing, and had,
   (*a.*) Phebe, born 8th of 6th month, 1787, died 4th of 7th month, 1788.
   (*b.*) Stephen, born 6th of 8th month, 1789.

Silas Mott

1861.

(*c.*) Mary, born 30th of 8th month, 1791.
(*d.*) John, born 27th of 8th month, 1793.
(*e.*) Jane, born 17th of 10th month, 1796.
(*f*) Joseph, born 9th of 11th month, 1798.
(*g.*) Isaac, born 20th of 4th month, 1801, died 18th of 9th month, 1842.
(*h.*) Abigail, born 12th of 5th month, 1803.
(*i.*) Phebe, born 12th of 5th month, 1805.
(*j.*) Lydia, born 24th of 10th month, 1807.

2. Phebe, born 10th of 6th month, 1766, died 26th of 10th month, 1776, in her 11th year.
3. Mary, born 19th of 9th month, 1768, died 15th of 3d month, 1792, unmarried.
4. Jane, born 5th of 2d month, 1771, died 23d of 5th month, 1794, unmarried.
5. Abigail, born 12th of 9th month, 1773, died 14th of 6th month, 1795, unmarried.
6. Stephen, born 29th of 11th month, 1779, died 25th of 2d month, 1781.
7. Henry, born 17th of 7th month, 1782, died 17th of 8th month, 1851, at Cowneck; married, 29th of 8th month, 1811, Temperance Hicks, born 25th of 4th month, 1785, died 23d of 10th month, 1842, and had,

(*a.*) Adam, born 14th of 6th month, 1813, died 5th month, 1881; married, first, 24th of 5th month, 1837, Mary Powell, born 1814, died 22d of 7th month. 1877, daughter of John and Sarah (Johnson) Powell, and granddaughter of Joshua and Phebe (Willis) Powell, and had,

I. Lucretia A., born 6th of 3d month, 1838; married, 19th of 9th month, 1861, John H. Burtis, son of John Burtis, of Cowneck, and had,

(1.) Elizabeth M. Burtis, born 8th of 10th month, 1862; married 18th of 10th month, 1882, James Clifton Monfort, and has,

(*a.*) Burtis H., born 4th of 12th month, 1883.

II. Elizabeth B., born 3d of 12th month, 1843, died 13th of 12th month, 1843.

III. Henry B., born 14th of 8th month, 1849, died 10th of 12th month, 1849.

Adam Mott (son of Henry), married, second, Margaret Finucane, and had,

IV. George, born 30th of 6th month, 1880.

(*b.*) Benjamin, born 9th of 12th month, 1814, married 12th of 10th month, 1842, Eliza A. Secor, and has no children.

(*c.*) Elizabeth, born 3d of 7th month, 1820, died 1886, married 10th of 6th month, 1842, Henry H. Barrow, of New York, born 1802,

died 4th of 6th month, 1863. He had a son Henry by a previous marriage, and several grand-children, but Elizabeth had no children. Her step-son,

Henry Barrow, married Mary Jenkins and had,

Edward Barrow,
Henry "
Nellie "
Caroline "
Elizabeth, "
Anna "

ELIZABETH (RICHBELL) MOTT'S SONS.

The Mott ancestry as above given, it will be remembered, includes only the descendants of Richbell Mott[2] and of the "younger son Adam[2]," the two elder sons of the first Adam Mott, of Hempstead, by his second wife, Elizabeth Richbell. Richbell, it will be remembered, being the ancestor of Anne Mott, and "the younger son Adam[2]," being the ancestors of Adam Mott.[4]

No attempt is here made to follow the children of the half-blood born of Jane Hulet, the first wife of the first Adam Mott, of Hempstead.

But it may be of interest to the descendants of Elizabeth Richbell to add here a brief notice of her two younger sons the full brothers of Richbell and of the "younger son Adam." The full brothers were, first, William, the ancestor of Dr. Valentine Mott, the celebrated surgeon, of New York, and, second, Charles, who remained a farmer in the town of Hempstead, and lived near the "Head of the Harbor."

From his Signature on Marriage Certificate of his brother Adam, 1731.

William Mott[2], third son of the second marriage (to Elizabeth Richbell) of the first Adam Mott, of Hempstead, was born at Hempstead 20th of January, 1674, and died 30th of June, 1740. He married Hannah Seaman (who died 24th June, 1759), daughter of John Seaman[2], eldest son of Capt. John Seaman, of Hempstead. He settled in Great Neck, where he was prominent, and early became a member of the Society of Friends. Thomas Story, writing under date 1702, the 16th of 6th month, says:

"We went to Great Neck, to the house of William Mott, a young man lately convinced by the ministry of Thos. Thompson, where we had a large meeting, there being many of other people with us, and all very sedate."

On the 4th of 12th month, 1702, William Mott did propose to the Monthly Meeting that it was his desire to have a meeting settled at his

CORRECTION.

Since these pages were printed, I am informed that the authority on which it is stated in the text (p. 220), that William Mott[2] married Hannah Seaman, is an error. Mr. John H. Jones, of Cold Spring Harbour, a descendant in the 5th generation of this William Mott[2] and Hannah, his wife, has sent me a copy of their marriage certificate. It is dated "the 12th day of the second month, called April, 1705," and declares that "William Mott of Great Neck, in Queens County, in Nassau Island, and Province of New York, and Hannah Ferris, daughter of John Ferris, of Westchester, in said Province, having intentions of marriage," &c., * * "for the full accomplishment of the matter, according to their first-mentioned intention, at a meeting at the public meeting house in Flushing, where they took one another, in the presence of God, and in the presence of his people, according to the practice of the holy people of God in the Scriptures of truth, they there promised, in the presence of God and us, his people, to live faithfully together as husband and wife, as long as they shall live." * * *

Mr. John H. Jones, my informant, is the eldest son of Mary Esther Mott, daughter of James Willis Mott,[5] and his wife, Abigail Jones, daughter of Walter Jones (p. 222), of Cold Spring Harbour. Mary Esther Mott married, 13th May, 1847, Samuel A. Jones, of Cold Spring Harbour, L. I., who was son of an elder John H. Jones, grandson of Major Thomas Jones, the founder of the distinguished Jones family, of Long Island.

house. The records of the Monthly Meeting relate that on the 27th of 9th month, 1703, it was concluded that, "the meeting that used to be kept once a month, is for the time to come to be kept on the last 6th day of every month, at William Mott's." In 1719, on the 28th of 9th month it was "concluded that it is needful that a meeting house be built at Cowneck," and William Mott was one of the committee to determine the plan and dimensions.

The name of William Mott often occurs in the town records (between 1705 and 1715) as charged with local office, such as surveyor of highway, on Mad Nan's Neck, etc., sometimes substituting his brother Richbell Mott.

The will of William Mott, dated 22d of 2d month, called April, 1740, describes him "of Great Neck, Hempstead," and gives to his son William Mott "all housings and land in the whole bounds of Hempstead," he paying all debts and legacies. He gives ten shillings to his son-in-law Philip Pell, and his three grandchildren, Philip, Hannah and Martha Pell, "having given their mother a sufficient fortune in her lifetime." He gives to his daughter Martha a side-saddle, "but if she dye and don't come to her understanding and reason," then his son William to have it all. If Martha comes to reason she is to have £250. He makes his wife and his son William executors.

CHILDREN OF WILLIAM[2] AND HANNAH (SEAMAN) MOTT, OF GREAT NECK.

1. Elizabeth Mott[3], died 25th of 12th month, 1721.
2. William Mott[3], born 6th August, 1709, died 25th March, 1786; married Elizabeth Valentine (who died 1780), and had twelve children—ten sons and two daughters—of whom but five left issue.

Signature on Marriage Certificate of his Cousin Stephen Mott, 1762.

The will of this William Mott[3], of Great Neck, is recorded in New York Surrogate's office (Lib. XXXIX., p. 308, new Nos.) It is dated 1st of 12th month, 1782, about the close of the Revolutionary War, and he describes himself as "far advanced in age, and in a low state of body, though of sound mind and memory." A local record, under date 1782, November 9, only a few days before the date of the will, relates that William Mott of Great Neck, and his father William Mott, aged 73, were robbed and beaten. But he lived between three and four years longer.

The will names six sons—William, Samuel, John, Richard, Joseph and Benjamin—to whom he gives all his farm at Great Neck, and all his undivided rights, but requires them to pay to his son, Henry Mott, and to his daughter, Elizabeth Underhill, wife of

David Underhill, and to his daughter, Hannah Mott, an equal portion with his six sons. This would indicate that these eight children were still living, but that Henry had removed from Great Neck. And, in fact, Henry was married a year or two after the date of the will, and his eldest son, Valentine Mott, the celebrated surgeon, was born at Glen Cove the year following his marriage, and a few months before his grandfather's death. The will gives the executors power to sell the real estate in case the elder sons wish it sold before the younger sons are 21. The executors named in the will are his son-in-law, David Underhill, and his sons William, Daniel, John and Henry Mott. The will was proved 13th September, 1786.

3. Hannah Mott[3], married, 5th of 3d month, 1731, Philip Pell, of the manor of Pelham, and had,
   I. Philip Pell.
   II. Hannah Pell.
   III. Martha Pell.
4. Martha Mott[3], youngest daughter of William Mott[2], of Great Neck. I have learned nothing further of Martha than is contained in her father's will quoted above, and her mother's will, dated 14th of 4th month, 1756, and proved 25th April, 1760 (New York Surrogate's office, Lib. XXII, p. 8), which says; "in case my daughter Martha * * * dye a *femme sole*," her share shall go to the testatrix' son William.

The will of Hannah (Seaman) Mott, widow of the first William, also leaves £5 each to her two granddaughters, Hannah Stevenson, wife of Daniel Stevenson, and Martha Alyn, wife of John Alyn, Jr. She leaves her negro woman Bett to her daughter Martha. The testatrix describes herself as "far advanced in years." She makes her executors her son William, her cousin, Adam Mott of Cowneck, and her friend, Nathaniel Pearsall of Cowneck.

CHILDREN OF WILLIAM[3] AND ELIZABETH (VALENTINE) MOTT, OF GREAT NECK.

I. William Mott[4], born 8th January, 1743, married 2d December, 1789, Mary Willis, daughter of William Willis. She lived to an advanced age, and died 5th August, 1842. They had
   (*a.*) William Willis Mott[5], born 28th February, 1791, died by accident in early life.
   (*b.*) James Willis Mott[5], born 18th July, 1793, married, first, Abigail daughter of Walter Jones; married, second, Lydia, daughter of Obadiah Townsend.
   (*c.*) Robert Willis Mott[5], born 10th October, 1796, married Harriet Cogswell, daughter of Dr. James Cogswell, of New York, by whom he had,
   I. Harriet, who married Wm. H. Onderdonk.

II. Elizabeth Mott[4], married David Underhill.

III. Samuel Mott[4], born 1751, died 1st April, 1791, married Sarah Franklin, by whom he had,

(*a.*) William Mott[5], born 11th January, 1785.

(*b.*) Walter Mott[5], born 4th December, 1786.

(*c.*) Samuel Mott[5], born 7th February, 1789.

(*d.*) Sarah Mott[5], born 25th September, 1791.

IV. John Mott[4], born 1755, died without issue, 11th November, 1823.

V. Henry Mott[4]. M. D., born 31st May, 1757, died 1840, married 1784, Jane Wall, daughter of Samuel Wall, she died in 1840. Dr. Henry Mott long practiced medicine in New York, and was much esteemed. His will, dated "10th of 9th month (September), 1833, describes himself of New York, physician, and in good health. He leaves to his "dearly beloved wife, Jane Mott, for her natural life," his house with its furniture, plate, etc., situated No. 545 Broadway, with the stable, etc., 94 Mercer street, together with carriages, horses, etc., and after her death this property to go to their three daughters. He leaves to his son, Valentine Mott, M. D., certain shares of stock, and his books, but adds that so much has been given in his education, etc., that the remainder of the property is all to go to his three daughters, Esther W. Mott, Eliza Mott, and Maria M. Hobby, wife of Sette M. Hobby. The will first appoints as executors, his wife Jane Mott, his son Valentine Mott, and his nephew Benjamin A. Mott, as well as his daughters Esther W. Mott and Eliza Mott, but subsequent codicils revoke the appointment of the others and make sole executors and trustees under the will, his three daughters. Esther W. Mott, Eliza Mott, and Maria Mott Hobby. The will was proved 17th April, 1840 (New York Surrogate's office, Lib. 82 of Wills, p. 218).

Dr. Henry and Jane (Wall) Mott, had,

1. Valentine Mott[5], M. D., the celebrated surgeon of New York, born at Glen Cove, 20th August, 1785, died in New York 26th of April, 1865. He graduated M. D. in Columbia College, in 1806, then studied in London and in Edinburgh, and in 1809 was appointed to the chair of Surgery in Columbia College. He lectured and taught during a large part of his life, and published several works. Sir Astley Cooper, of London, said that Dr. Valentine Mott had "performed more of the great operations than any man living or that ever did live."

Dr. Valentine Mott had inherited the Quakerism of his great-grandfather, the first William Mott, of Hempstead, and his earlier portraits show him in the plain Quaker coat. But he subsequently abandoned Quakerism, and lost all interest in religion. But in his old age a strong religious feeling re-

Valentine Mott

vived and he became an attendant on the Episcopal Church, and was received into the Church by baptism on Good Friday, 1856, and was confirmed in May, 1864, and became a communicant in the Church of the Transfiguration. "I have lived,"—he wrote—"to be changed from a skeptic to a full believer in the Divinity of my Saviour."

2. Esther W. Mott[5].
3. Eliza Mott[5].
4. Maria Mott, married S. M. Hobby.

VI. Hannah Mott[4].
VII. Richard Mott[4].
VIII. Joseph Mott[4].
IX. Benjamin Mott.

CHARLES MOTT.

Charles Mott[2], the youngest son of the first Adam Mott of Hempstead, and the fourth son of his second wife, Elizabeth Richbell, was born about 1676, and died in 1740. He made his home in Cowneck, in the town of Hempstead, near the head of the harbor, now Roslyn. In 1709, he bought of John Robinson the mill at the head of the harbor. The town had authorized Robinson, in 1698, to set up a grist and fulling mill on the stream at the head of the harbor, on the same conditions on which Major Jackson and Hope Willis had been granted a like privilege in the same year to set up similar mills on Jerusalem River. The conditions were that he should grind the grain brought to him for one-twelfth of the grain. And the erection of fulling mills indicates how many looms in farmers' houses were weaving homespun cloth, which needed to be fulled. But in 1701, Robinson having forfeited his grant by default, a committee, consisting of William Willis, Richard Valentine and Samuel Denton, Jr., was appointed to agree with him on the same condition that the stream at Cowneck was granted to Nathaniel Pearsall and Isaac Smith. After this the mill was built.

Charles Mott is named in the town records of 1714 as Surveyor of Highways for Cowneck. His will is recorded in New York Surrogate's office (XIV., 217), dated 10th of February, 1740. He describes himself of Hempstead, "yeoman," "weak of body," and gives the farm and homestead where he then dwelt, "near Hempstead Harbor," to his son Amos, together with the "Negro boy Jack and one feather bed," requiring Amos to pay his mother four pounds a year "so long as she remains my widow." He gives to his daughter, Elizabeth Hunter, the negro girl Peggy, and to his son Gershom the negro girl Abigail. He requires his executors to sell his lands at New Hempstead, in Orange County, and from the proceeds to pay £50 to his grandson, Joseph Starkins, son of his daughter, Mary Ann Carroll, and also £60 to the heirs of his daugh-

ter, Elizabeth Hunter—if a boy, at the age of 21, and if a daughter, at the age of 18. He gives to his son, John Mott, his large Bible, and to his grandson, Joseph Mott, 20 shillings in full, and names his five sons in the following order: Gershom, Benjamin, John, Adam and Amos, and his two daughters, Mary Ann Carroll and Elizabeth Hunter, dividing among them equally all the remainder of his estate. The will was proved on the 11th of March, 1741, before Lieut.-Gov. George Clark. March being then the first month in the year, his death must have occurred between that date and the 10th of the preceding month, when the will is dated. The executors named in the will are: "My son, Amos Mott, and my kinsman, William Mott, son of William Mott of Hempstead, deceased." His brother, William Mott[2], had died the 30th of the preceding June (1740), as above mentioned.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE CODDINGTON ANCESTRY.

Anne Mott was a namesake of her mother's mother, ANN CARPENTER, who in 1737 married SAMUEL UNDERHILL, as has already been several times mentioned in the account of Anne Mott's life. Anne or Ann seems to have long been a family name, and is often spelled indifferently either with or without the final e.

Anne Mott's grandmother, ANN (CARPENTER) UNDERHILL, was granddaughter and namesake of ANN CODDINGTON, daughter of WILLIAM CODDINGTON, first Governor of Rhode Island. And ANN CODDINGTON the daughter, bore the name of her mother ANN BRINLEY, the Governor's third wife, who herself bore the name of her own mother ANNE WASE, as is shown on the tabular statement below.

This inheritance of the name of Anne through half a dozen generations, is noticeable, and the descent from WILLIAM and ANN BRINLEY CODDINGTON gives an interest in Governor Coddington and his family to all of the descendants of Anne Mott.

Governor CODDINGTON'S daughter ANNE, above mentioned, who became the grandmother of ANN (CARPENTER) UNDERHILL, had married when she was in her 19th year, in 1682, ANDREW WILLET, then 27 years old, and one of the younger sons of Captain THOMAS WILLET, of Plymouth, Mass., and of New York. This descent of Anne Mott from the first mayor of New York will call for some account of Capt. THOMAS WILLET, and of his branch of the Willet family. Some of Anne Mott's descendants will be interested to know that Mayor Willet's father and grandfather were both beneficed clergymen of the Church in England.

Descent of Anne Mott from the Coddingtons and the Willets:

Rev. Andrew Willet, D.D. — Thomas and Anne (Wase) Brinley.

Capt. Thomas Willet, of Plymouth. — WILLIAM CODDINGTON m. 1650 Anne Brinley.

Andrew Willet, married 1682 Anne Coddington.

Anne Willet m. 1707 Joseph Carpenter, She died 1708 and he married 1710, her sister Mary Willet, and she had

Ann Carpenter married 1737, Samuel Underhill.

Mary Underhill married 1765, James Mott.

Anne Mott, born 1768, died 1852.

WILLIAM CODDINGTON was born in Boston, Lincoln County, England, in 1601. He was a man of fortune and position. In his own words, he was "one of those Lincolnshire gentlemen, so called, that denied the

1657 Willm Coddington

FIRST GOVERNOR OF RHODE ISLAND.
Photographed from portrait in Redwood Library, Newport.

royal loan, and suffered for it in the time of Charles I." This probably referred to the forced subsides of 1626. He went to Boston in New England in 1630, the year in which the New Boston was founded, as one of the Magistrates appointed by the Crown. He had sailed from South-

ampton in the ship Arabella for Salem and thence to Boston, and was "Assistant," or Councellor to the Governor when John Winthrop was first made Governor of Massachusetts Bay in 1630. He went into business and continued to exercise his judicial functions, although he made a visit to England in 1631–2. He was active in the local government, and continuously "Assistant" until 1636 when Winthrop succeeded Vane as Governor and Coddington was dropped, but the freemen on the following day testified their approval of his course, by sending him and Vane as their deputies to General Court. When Anne Hutchenson was tried during the Antinomian Controversy, Coddington undertook her defence against Winthrop and his party.

In 1633 he was one of a committee to oversee the building of a bridge over Muddy River, and another bridge over Stony River. From the year 1634 he was treasurer. In 1635 he was appointed on the Military Committee, and in 1636 (May 5) was appointed to hold certain Courts, maintaining his rank as Judge. On the 26th of October, 1636, his accounts as Treasurer for two years were allowed, the Colony owing him £25 14s. 6d.

Thus far William Coddington seems to have been in general accord with the prevailing sentiment of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, but he was in advance of his neighbors. Roger Williams had arrived in Boston the year after Coddington (Feb. 5, 1631)—"A Godly Minister"—as Gov. Winthrop then called him, but Roger Williams was also in advance of his neighbors, and did not believe that the Civil Powers could define orthodoxy, and for this, and similar offences on 9th Oct., 1635, the General Court sentenced him to banishment—"for his new and dangerous opinions."—In this controversy Coddington had been with Williams, and soon after decided to follow him to his new settlement. On March 24, 1637, Coddington and his friends received a deed from Cononicus and Miantonomi, Chief Sachems of Narragansett of the Island of Aquidneck, &c., for forty fathoms of white beads. And they also gave to Miantonomi to give to the Indian inhabitants as a farther inducement—"to remove themselves off the Island before next winter"—"ten coats and twenty hoes." Aquidneck is Rhode Island, the Island, not the State.

Coddington was a man of too much importance in Boston to be willingly spared, and much effort was made to detain him, but he preferred to go with Williams and on the 7th of March, 1638 in Portsmouth, R. I., he and eighteen others signed the following compact.

"We whose names are underwritten do solemnly, in the presence of Jehovah, incorporate ourselves into a Body Politick, and as he shall help, will submit our persons, lives and estates, unto our Lord Jesus Christ, the King of Kings and Lord of Lords, and to all those perfect and most

absolute laws of his given us in his holy word of truth, to be guided and judged thereby."*

On the same day on which this compact was signed this "Body Politick," chose William Coddington as Judge, the rest, "covenanting to yield all due honor unto him, according to the laws of God," &c. Coddington in turn covenanted, "to do justice and judgment impartially, according to the laws of God, and to maintain the fundamental rights and privileges of the Body Politick, which shall hereafter be ratified according unto God, the Lord helping me so to do."

Thus was created a new Government, which rapidly increased in population. The following month, May 20, 1638, a house lot of six acres was granted to William Coddington, and similar lots were granted to most of the other signers and settlers. The following year, 28th April, 1639, Coddington and eight others organized the first settlement of Newport, signing the following agreement:

"It is agreed by us whose hands are underwritten, to propagate a plantation in the midst of the Island, or elsewhere, and to engage ourselves to bear equal charges answerable to our strength and estates in common; and that our determination shall be by major voices of Judge and Elders, the Judge to have a double voice."

Coddington signs this agreement as Judge, and he remained also Judge of the first colony.

In 1640 (March 6,) he had 750 acres of land recorded.

In 1640 Newport became the seat of the Government, and Coddington was chosen Governor, and was annually re-elected until 1647, and in 1648–49 he was President of the four united towns of the Colony.

In 1644, August 5, writing to Governor Winthrop, touching on a variety of topics Coddington mentions the burning of a large corn barn the preceding winter, which had cost £150, besides farm house, twelve oxen, eight cows, and six other beasts, "the fire breaking forth in the night; neither bedding nor household stuff, nor so much as my servants' wearing cloth, nothing but the shirts on their backs were saved," &c. He adds, however, that he still has considerable surplus, so that he has enough.

This radical experiment of William Coddington, Roger Williams and their associates to found a State, on a Government deriving its powers from nothing higher than "the consent of the governed," is of a good deal of interest as we look on it, two and a half centuries later. But this was in the year of our Lord 1638, almost a century and a half before the signers of the American Declaration of Independence, on the 4th day of July, 1776, pledged "their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor," in defence of the same principle, and maintained their pledge

*Among the eighteen signers was John Clarke the first Baptist Minister of Newport, and William Dyer, the Clerk, who was the husband of Mary Dyer, who was hanged in Boston for being a Quaker in June, 1660.

through seven years of war. In William Coddington's time this theory of government was an innovation which subjected the new settlement to some inconvenience. The other colonies had the usual forms of established governments, made legitimate by Royal charters and would not recognize the political equality of this new government founded on nothing better than the consent of the governed. After four years of successful administration at home, but without equal recognition by their neighbors, the people of Rhode Island decided that in order to put themselves on an equality with the other colonies, they would also procure a Royal Charter from England. In 1642 Roger Williams was appointed agent of the Colony to go to England and endeavor to get a Charter. But he could not go by way of Boston. He had been banished from Massachusetts in 1636. Hence he went to the more tolerant Dutch of New Amsterdam, in the autumn of 1642, and after spending the winter there, sailed thence for Europe, in June, 1643. On his arrival in England he did not find the times propitious. The King and the parliament were at war, and Oliver Cromwell, a member of parliament and now made a colonel of cavalry, had just organized his regiment of Ironsides which led the way half a dozen years later to his Protectorate. But Williams finally obtained a Charter, dated 14th of March 1644, which went into operation in 1647 and was in force until 1663. He also obtained a Safe Conduct for himself through Massachusetts and landed in Boston on the 17th of Sept., 1644, and proceeded thence to Providence. He was met in state by his neighbors in fourteen canoes.

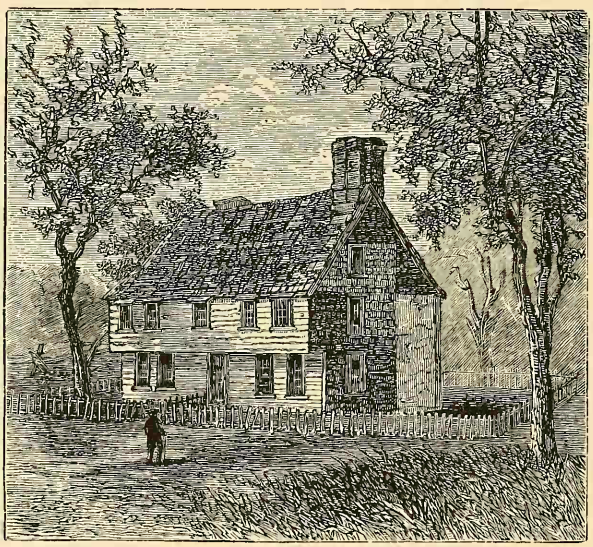
It will be remembered that Roger Williams had founded Providence, in 1636, and that William Coddington following him, had settled on the Island of Aquidneck, (Rhode Island) in 1637, to which other settlements were added. This new charter covered the whole colony. In 1649 Wm. Coddington sailed for England. The King had been beheaded and Oliver Cromwell was then in power. When Coddington returned in 1651 he brought a commission making him Governor of the Island of Aquidneck, as distinct from the whole colony. This was thought by the people to be in violation of the preceding charter. The local records of the times indicate occasional dissensions, the jealousies and differences of opinion which are usual in human societies, and although Coddington seems to have been always, in wealth and position, the most prominent man in the community, he and his neighbors were not always in accord. He does not seem to have considered himself as invading the rights of the other colonists, but acquiescing in popular sentiment, on the 14th of August, 1652, made acknowledgement that he had no more right in the Island of Rhode Island than his associates, but only his proportion as agreed. A little later, Cromwell being now fully established as Protector, Coddington, accepting "the powers that be," made on 11th March, 1656, this declaration in the General Assembly of Commissioners, of which he was a member from 1656 to 1663.

"I, William Coddington do freely submit to the authority of his Highness in this Colony, as it is now united, and that with all my heart."

In 1665 Coddington having openly joined the Quakers attempted to bring about peace with the local government. But he continued to serve the Colony, was Deputy in 1666, Assistant, or Councillor to the Governor in 1666–67, and after some years of rest was made Deputy Governor in 1673–74, and Governor in 1674–75–76 and 78. The Governor at this time was chosen annually.

William Coddington died at Newport, R. I., on the 1st of November, 1678 in his 78th year, and was succeeded as Governor by Walter Clark. He was buried in the Coddington burial place which he bequeathed to the Society of Friends, in Farewell street, Newport. In 1836 the freemen of Newport repaired his monument at the head of his grave.

Governor Coddington's house was on the north side of Marlborough street opposite Duke street.



GOV. WM. CODDINGTON'S HOUSE.

William Coddington was three times married, but left no descendants except by his third wife ANNE BRINLEY.

He married first in 1625 Mary Mosely, daughter of Richard Mosely, and had two children, Michael and Samuel, both of whom died in infancy.

He married second, about 1631, Mary ———, and had three children all of whom died young.

He married third at the age of 49, about 1650, ANNE BRINLEY then 22 years old, daughter of THOMAS and ANNA (WASE) BRINLEY, who was born in 1628, and died 9th May, 1708, and her great-granddaughter ANN (CARPENTER) UNDERHILL was the grandmother of Anne Mott.

CHILDREN OF WILLIAM AND ANNE CODDINGTON.

WILLIAM and ANNE BRINLEY CODDINGTON had eight children as follows:

I. William, born 18th January, 1651, died 5th February, 1689 unmarried. He was Deputy 1679–80, Assistant to the Governor 1681–82 and 83, and Governor 1683–84 and 85.

II. Major Nathaniel, born 23d May, 1653, died January, 1724, married Susanna Hutcheson, and had many descendants, several of whom attained to prominence (See Austin's Dict. of R. I.)

III. Mary, born 16th of May, 1654, died March, 1693, married 1st December, 1674, Peleg Sanford and had several descendants.

IV. Thomas, born, 5th November, 1655, died, 4th March, 1694, married first, Priscella Jefferay; married second, Mary Howard and had four children.

V. John, born, 24th November, 1656, died, 1st June, 1680.

VI. Noah, died, 12th December, 1658.

VII. Anne, died, 26th June, 1660.

VIII. ANNE, born 20th July, 1663, died, 4th December, 1751, married, 30th May, 1682, Andrew Willett,* born, 5th October, 1655, died 6th April, 1712, son of Capt. Thomas and Mary (Brown) Willett, and had 5 children, viz:

1. Anne, born, 26th September, 1689, died, 9th February, 1709, married at the age of 18, JOSEPH CARPENTER son of JOSEPH and ANN (SIMPKINS) CARPENTER. She died without issue, in her 20th year, and her husband JOSEPH CARPENTER married subsequently her sister.
2. MARY, born, 21st September, 1690, died, married, 1710, JOSEPH CARPENTER, and had several children, the 2d of whom was ANN CARPENTER who married SAMUEL UNDERHILL and became the grandmother of Anne Mott, and made her home for the last 20 years of her life, after being left a widow, with Anne Mott's father, James Mott, her son-in-law.
3. Francis, born, 25th June, 1693, died, 6th October, 1716, married, Mary Taylor, no issue.
4. Thomas, born, 13th May, 1696, died, 1725.
5. Martha, born 6th March, 1698, married Simon Pease and had seven children.

ANNE CODDINGTON'S LETTER.

Among the papers which once belonged to Anne Mott, and have come into my hands, is a manuscript copy of "a letter or epistle of advice from Anne Coddington, wife of William Coddington, of Rhode Island,

* Further mention of Andrew Willett will be made in a subsequent page in speaking of the Willett family.

addressed to her children," and dated 18th of 7th month, 1682. It will be of interest therefore to inquire who these children were, then living.

At the date of this letter she had five children living, as follows:

I. Her eldest son, William, then in his 32d year, was a bachelor, held the office of Assistant, and the following year was made Governor.

II. Major Nathaniel (although he did not get the rank of Major of the Island until twenty-one years later, in 1703), was now thirty years old and had already married Susanna Hutchinson, daughter of Edward, and granddaughter of the celebrated Anna Hutchinson, who was banished for holding the doctrine which the elder James Mott, a century or more later so strenuously insisted on, that the voice of God in each human heart was the "infallible guide." This Nathaniel was elected Deputy in 1683, and seems to have been a prominent man until his death, in 1724.

III. Mary, who eight years before, in 1674, at the age of twenty, had become the second wife of Peleg Sanford, also a prominent man in the Colony, and, when his mother-in-law wrote this letter to her children, was Governor of Rhode Island.

IV. Thomas, now also living in Newport, with his wife Priscilla Jefferay, and

V. ANNE, now in her twentieth year, and since six weeks the wife of ANDREW WILLETT, the youngest son of Captain THOMAS WILLETT, of Plymouth, but who, in 1665, eighteen years before this date, had been the first Mayor of the City of New York.

At the date of this letter to her children, our several times great-grandmother, Anne Coddington, was 54 years old, and had been four years a widow. She seems to overlook the bachelorhood of William, who never married, for speaks of them as "all married."

It is evident that at the writing of this letter Anne Coddington was a zealous member of the Society of Friends and I believe she was a minister.

"A few words more to you my children: Since it hath pleased God to alter your conditions, and that you are all married. Husbands, love your wives as ye ought to do, and live in the fear of the Lord with them. Let there be no discontent, or division between you, but bear with the infirmities of your wives, knowing they are the weaker vessels. Win them by your good example and by meekness. Let no rash words proceed out of your mouths to provoke them; but let all be done in the love and fear of the Lord, instructing them according to the means that God has given you, and cherish them as Christ doth the Church, whereof marriage is a type.

"Wives, love your husbands, and honor them as you ought to do, that you may be like unto Sarah, whose daughters you are if ye do well, and see that you be of meek and quiet spirit. * * * Follow not the fashions of this world, for they must pass away, for all that is in the world is the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life, all which is not of the Father.

"And as for your children, bring them up in the fear of the Lord. Let no unsavory words proceed from them in their youth, and let them, from the breast be taught the fear of the Lord. Use not rigor towards them, but in the power, and life of the Lamb speak to them and reprove them. Bring them not up in the pride and fashions of this world, but so they may bear the Lord's yoke in their youth, and list them into the service, and give the Lord the strength of their days. * * And once again my children, I beseech you all to serve and fear the living God. * * Let none of you blame me in your hearts for pressing it, as it is the fear of the Lord that keeps clean. * * * And you my children love one another. * * * I do not accuse you, neither do I thus press it, as if you had been faulty, for my soul praises the Lord for the love and unity that has been amongst you.

"Frequent the meeting of Friends, and I charge you, in the fear of the living God, stand manfully for the truth, and do not be ashamed to confess Christ here, though you may suffer reproach, for he is worthy for whom you suffer.

"So the Lord of Heaven and Earth redeem you from your vain conversations and bless you with all Heavenly blessings in Christ Jesus; and bless you with the dew from Heaven above, and with the fatness of the Earth beneath, and in the arms of his power shall I leave you, to be a Father unto you. My love in the Lord is unto you all.

"Your loving mother, Anne Coddington.

"18th of 7th mo, 1682."

I think that Grandmother Coddington writes a very good letter.

CHAPTER XVII.

CAPTAIN THOMAS WILLETT, THE FIRST MAYOR OF NEW YORK.

A paper read before the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, in New York, 13th June, 1890, by THOMAS C. CORNELL.

With some notes of the Willitts.

When Captain Thomas Willett was made Mayor of New York in 1665, it must be remembered that an English fleet had recently captured the city from the Dutch, and that even the name, New York, had hardly yet replaced the name of New Amsterdam. Let us recall the situation.

A few months before this date, in the summer of 1664, the Dutch Gov. Stuyvesant still ruled with an imperious will, in the Dutch Colony of New Netherlands, and the Burgomasters Paulus, Leendertsen Van der Grist and Cornelis Steenwyck, with sundry subordinate officials, whose names, and the names of whose offices have an equally unfamiliar sound to English ears, were the local magistrates of the Dutch City of New Amsterdam.

Governor Stuyvesant, and the Burgomasters and the Dutch people had known that an English invasion was threatened. Whether with, or without just reason, the English had always claimed that the Dutch settlement was an invasion on English territory. It may be remembered that Sir Walter Raleigh's expedition of 1583 had landed on New Foundland and had taken possession of that territory, in the name of Queen Elizabeth, although a score of French and English vessels were then fishing on the coast, and that the expedition of the following year, 1584, had landed on a more southern territory, which he also claimed for England, and to which Queen Elizabeth gave the name of Virginia ; and Virginia, as they then understood it, extended from latitude 34 degrees to 45 north ; that is from North Carolina to Maine as we now name the territory. The English made permanent settlement in Virginia in 1607. The Puritans, who founded Plymouth in 1620, in the compact made in the Mayflower, proposed to settle in the "Northern part of Virginia." If Plymouth was in the "Northern part of Virginia," it could be claimed that New Amsterdam and the New Netherlands were invasions on Virginia, and hence arose frequent dissensions between the Dutch and English Colonists. At length, early in 1664, King Charles II. determined to settle these controversies on the—

"good old plan
That they should take who have the power,
And they should keep, who can."

The King made a royal grant of the whole Dutch Colony to his brother, the Duke of York. The Duke immediately borrowed of the King four frigates, carrying together 94 guns, and 450 men, and sent Col. Richard Nicolls to take possession of the new territory.

This little history is not recalled to support the English claim, but to show the situation of the question when Thomas Willett was made Mayor. In July, 1664, Captain Willet learned in Boston, that a fleet was expected from Portsmouth, to compel the surrender of New Amsterdam, and he immediately sent the news to his friend, Gov. Stuyvesant. There was subsequently a little doubt about the object of this expedition, but early in August the fleet had reached Boston, and before the end of August it was in the harbor of New Amsterdam demanding the surrender of the Dutch city and of the whole Dutch colony. The fleet was greatly stronger than the city. Against the four English frigates with 94 guns, and 450 men and ample ammunition, the fort of New Amsterdam could only oppose a hundred soldiers and 25 guns, and hardly amunition for one day's firing. After considerable negotiation, on the 8th of September, 1664, without a shot on either side, Governor Stuyvesant wisely yielded to superior force, and surrendered the City and the Colony to the English. All private rights were respected. The Burgomasters and other officials were to hold their offices, and continue to discharge their duties until their year should be out, and for some months the English Governor ruled over a Dutch city and over Dutch officials. Governor Stuyvesant had always been too arbitrary in his rule to be popular even among his own countrymen. Governor Nicolls showed that he could conciliate as well as rule, and the people accepted the change without discontent. But the new English Governor found the situation a little unsatisfactory to himself. He said that Burgomasters, and Schouts and Schepens were not known nor customary in any of his Majesty's dominions. And so when June came around, in 1665, Governor Nicolls had determined to give the city, which had now become New York, a new charter, with a Mayor and a Board of Aldermen, after the custom of England. Who then should the first Mayor be?

In view of all that I have been able to learn, Governor Nicolls could hardly have named a man more acceptable, both to the English and to the Dutch, than Captain Thomas Willett, whom he did name. Who then was Captain Thomas Willett?

The first Mayor of the City of New York, whoever he may have been, must be a legitimate subject of inquiry before the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society.

It ought to be explained here, however, that these inquiries have not been so much prompted by the desire to know more of the first Mayor of New York, as by a desire, which often prompts genealogical and

biographical researches, to know something more of our own ancestors. Such inquiries have been one of the recreations of my brief leisure for many years past.

Captain Thomas Willett was one of my mother's great-grandfathers, and the little now to be related of him, has been picked up in the pursuit of family history. This explanation is made as an excuse or justification for the personal character, and reference to my own family which the narrative may sometimes assume.

One of the first problems one meets in the beginnings of this search after the Willett ancestry, is to discriminate between different families of the same, or of very similar names.

Three different English families, having the somewhat similar names of Willett or Willetts, or Willitts, all of them sometimes spelled in various ways, were more or less prominent in New Netherlands or New York, before or soon after the close of the Dutch dynasty. I find myself related to all three of these families, and it must be confessed that at first it was not easy to discriminate between them; and considering the carelessness in spelling names which prevailed in the early days, it is possible that they all had a common origin in England.

Richard and Mary Willits, immigrants, were among the first settlers in what is now called Jericho, in Oyster Bay, on Long Island. They were ancesters of my mother's father,† and they were among the earliest converts to the preaching of George Fox. The descendants of this family are very numerous and the name is spelled in different ways; but it is

† Adam Mott was descended from the Willits through grandmother Dodge—PHEBE WILLITS, born 14th of 2d month, 1699, daughter of RICHARD and ABIGAIL WILLITS. Grandmother Dodge's grandmother, Mary (Washburn) Willits, wife and widow of the immigrant RICHARD WILLITS, of Jericho, was also a minister. The records of 1713 give the death of "widow MARY WILLITS, of Jericho, aged near 85 years, an ancient worthy minister in the Church of Christ. She received the blessed truth in early days and bore a public testimony in meetings, and continued faithful till the end of her days." This RICHARD WILLITS and MARY his wife, were both, of course, immigrants, and were among the earliest settlers of Jericho, or Lusum, or Springfield, or the Farms, as it was variously called, one of the hamlets of the town of Oysterbay. There was less persecution of Friends in Oysterbay than in some of the neighboring towns, and a meeting was settled there in 1659, and prospered. A half year's meeting existed there as early as 1671, and George Fox himself, preached there in 1672. A rock is still shown in the woods, on which he stood to address "a multitude too large for any house to hold." In 1691 Oysterbay meeting included all Friends in Long Island and New York, and as such, sent representatives to the general meeting at Newport.

As early as 1678, "MARY WILLETS, widow of RICHARD," "a mother in Israel," had opened her house in Jericho for meetings and for the entertainment of travelling Friends. She and her daughter-in-iaw Abigail (grandmother Dodge's mother, who was also left a widow early in 1703) suffered much in the distraint of their goods for conscience sake. In 1703 a constable came to their houses, demanded 10s. for the priest that should be sent from England to Hempstead, and on their refusal to pay took from MARY ten and a half yards of linen, worth 31s. 6d., and then going into Abigail's chamber, took nine and a half bushels of wheat worth 38s. In 1705 another constable took from MARY and from ABIGAIL'S chamber, what wheat he pleased, for John Thomas, the priest, how much they neither knew,

believed that it is always spelled with the final *s*. Whenever now I meet the name with the final *s*, it is at once assumed to be that of one of the descendants of Richard and Mary Willitts, of Jericho. It seems to have been more often spelled Willitts, but Willetts is also very common, and in the older records the several children of one family are sometimes spelled indifferently Willitts, and Willetts, and with either one or two *t*'s. But no relationship has thus far been found between Captain Thomas Willett, and this family of Willitts.

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both being absent at meeting. In 1705 the Collector demanded of ABIGAIL 21s. 6d. for the priest's worship house, and going in the yard took five wethers, worth 50s., and on a demand from MARY of 12s. took from her two pairs of new shoes and two platters, worth 25s. Again a constable, on a demand for money for the priest, John Thomas, went into Mary's inner room and got her keys and opened her chest and took what money he chose, and then going to Abigail's did the like. In 1707, when MARY was counting out the money to pay a tax bill, the collector pulled out a bill for "the priest's worship house," and seized what money he pleased, and then went to Abigail's house and searched for money and took, she knew not how much. These are samples of innumerable similar cases.

CHILDREN OF RICHARD AND MARY WILLETS, OF JERICHO OR LUSUM.

1. Thomas, born 3d month, 1650.
2. Hope, born 7th month, 1652.
3. John, born 5th month, 1655; married Margaret Hallock, daughter of John and Abigail, of Brookline.
4. RICHARD, born 10th month, 25th, 1660.
5. Mary, born 2d month, 1663; married Thomas Powell, of Bethpage, 6th of 9th month, 1691.

RICHARD, the fourth child of RICHARD and MARY WILLETS, lived with his widowed mother till he was twenty-five years old, and on the 25th of 1st month, 1686, married, at Flushing, Abigail, daughter of John Bowne, "and we continued to live together," as his relation appears in the Westbury record, "until the 24th of 11th month following, when she bare me a daughter, and I called her Hannah, and we enjoyed each other in great love until the 16th of 4th month, 1688, and the Lord took her to himself, and I, RICHARD WILLITS, was left a sorrowful man, with my motherless babe."

Two years later, "on the 15th of 3d month, May, 1690," RICHARD WILLETS married a second wife, Abigail Powell, at Huntington, Long Island, daughter of Thomas Powell, of that place, born 4th month, 1669.

*CHILDREN OF RICHARD WILLETS, "HUSBANDMAN," OF JERICHO,

by his first wife, Abigail Bowne, daughter of John Bowne:

1. Hannah, born 11th month, 24th, 1687;

by his second wife, Abigail Powell, daughter of Thomas Powell:

2. Abigail, born 12th month, 23d, 1691.
3. Mary, born 1st month, 16th, 1693.
4. Martha, born 11th month, 24th, 1695.
5. Jacob, born 4th month, 6th, 1697.
6. PHEBE, born 2d month, 14th, 1699.
7. Elizabeth, born 4th month, 27th, 1701.

RICHARD WILLETS, died 3d month, 14th, 1703. His widow survived him more than 56 years, and died 9th month, 2d, 1757, aged 89 years and 4 months. The record says, "Died, Abigail Willets, in her ninetieth year, having seen her granddaughter's grandchild. She had lived a widow upwards of fifty years, in good esteem, and with a sober and religious character among Friends, and died in good unity."

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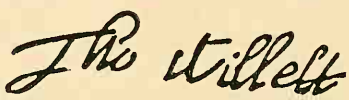
* In one of the records of this Richard Willitts and his seven children, the name is twice written Willetts and twice written Willets, and five times written Willits, but always with the final *s*, which seems to be distinctive of this family.

Captain Thomas Willett, of Plymouth, Mass., and the first Mayor of the city of New York, and all the members of his family write the name without the final *s*, and without the second *i*. It is Willett. Captain Thomas Willett, was an ancestor of my mother's mother.

But more than 20 years before Captain Thomas Willett was Mayor of New York, while he was still building up a prosperous business at Plymouth, and a good trade with the Dutch of New Amsterdam, another Thomas Willett also came to New Amsterdam, and called himself of Bristol, England. We cannot count on accuracy in the record of English names in the Dutch Colony. The Dutch Church records, written and now extant in the Dutch language, several times name him Thomas Welert; and under this name is recorded the baptism of his two sons; William in 1644, and Thomas in 1645; but his name is written Thomas Willett, in the previous record of his marriage, on the 1st of September, 1643, to Sara Cornell, the several times great aunt of this speaker. Their younger son Thomas, who became the distinguished Colonel Thomas Willett, of Flushing, in signatures still extant, writes his name Willett, just as did Captain Thomas Willett, the Mayor. Colonel Thomas Willett, as already intimated, was a first cousin of my father's great-grandfather, the first Richard Cornell, of Scarsdale, Westchester County. There is strong presumption that Colonel Thomas Willett, of Flushing, and Captain Thomas Willett, of Plymouth, and first Mayor of New York, were from the same family in England, and were perhaps cousins.

Both of these gentlemen were prominent in New York in their day. Each, in his time, was a member of the Governor's Council; Captain Thomas Willett, from 1665 to 1672, and Colonel Thomas Willett, from 1690 to 1697. They have often been confounded with one another, and Colonel Thomas, of Flushing, the younger of the two, has sometimes been called the son of Captain Thomas, the first Mayor of New York, while in fact no one is now able to trace with certainty, any connection between them.

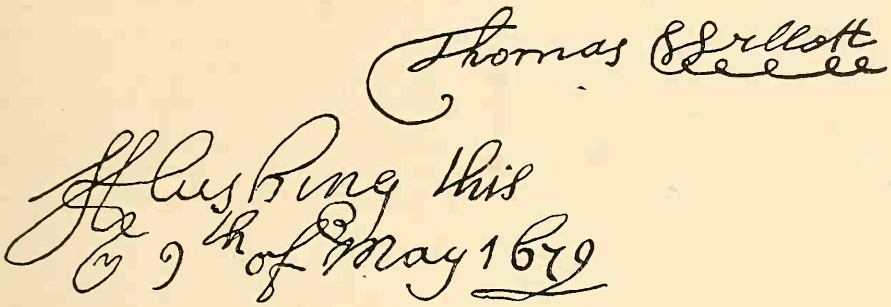
Autograph of Captain Thomas Willett, first Mayor of New York.



from Collection of Dr. O'Callaghan.

PHEBE WILLETS, the 6th child of above RICHARD and ABIGAIL WILLETTS, became a Minister among Friends, when about 24 years of age, and on the 5th day of 11th month, 1731, married ADAM MOTT[2], the "younger son ADAM" of the first ADAM MOTT, of Hempstead, by whom she had three children: Elizabeth, born 5th month, 31st, 1733; ADAM, born 10th of 10th month, 1734, and Stephen, born 3d month, 1736. ADAM MOTT[2] died 1739, and on the 28th of 11th month, 1741, the widow, Phebe Willitts Mott, married Tristram Dodge, and thus she became, to all the descendants of our Adam Mott[4], Grandmother Dodge. A fuller account of Grandmother Dodge is given in the first chapter of this volume and also in the chapter of the "Mott Ancestry," page 215.

Autograph of Colonel Thomas Willett, of Flushing.



[From a letter to Sir Edmund Andros, in the Albany records.]

Autograph of Abigail Willitts.

her signature to the marriage certificate of her daughter Phebe, in 1731.

The first of the Willett family in America, in order of time, appears to have been Captain Thomas Willett, of Plymouth, and afterwards first Mayor of New York. He arrived in the Puritan Colony of Plymouth in 1632, in the ship Lion, with other immigrants from Leyden. He has been supposed to have been a son of the Rev. Andrew Willett, D.D., Prebendary of Ely Cathedral, and was not himself active in the Puritan cause, but he seems to have been always on the best terms with the Puritans. He had made considerable stay in Leyden and had made friends among the Puritans there, and had acquired the Dutch language.

Among his friends at Leyden, was the family of John Brown, an English gentleman of wealth and leisure who was in sympathy with the Puritans.

When Thomas Willett arrived in Plymouth, about 1632, he was nearly 22 years old, and sought to establish himself in business. He made a venture on an attempt to found a trading house on the Penobscot—where furs abounded—and long after this date he appears to have retained business relations with the coast of what we now call Maine.

In 1649, and in 1656 we find him leasing the trade of the Kennebeck for terms of years at £35 per annum, payable in "money, moose, or beaver." In those days "*beaver*" was as good as any money. But trade on the Kennebeck did not prove sufficient to keep him there in 1633, and he returned to Plymouth and there established himself as a successful merchant, and an honored citizen.

About the time of Willett's return from the Penobscot, his Leyden friend, John Brown, with his family, followed him to America, and settled near Plymouth, and the old intimacy with his family was revived and

Thomas Willett married there, on the 6th of July, 1636, Mary Brown, eldest daughter of his Leyden friends, John and Dorothy Brown*. She was five years older than her husband, but she bore him thirteen children. All the traditions agree that she was "an excellent and virtuous woman." Two years after her marriage it is recorded that she received a legacy of "40 shillings for a ring, out of affection for her," from her father's friend, William Paddie. This ring is noted here because a younger William Paddie, long had business and family relations with Thomas Willett, and will be referred to again.

Thomas Willett's business house in Plymouth prospered, and he built up a profitable carrying trade through the Sound, as well as across the ocean, and became rich. He early obtained the confidence of his neighbors. In 1637 he was on a committee to consider, and take necessary action to protect the trade of beaver, "now likely to go to decay;" and he was charged with responsible duties in the military defense of the Colony. These were the days of continued danger from the Indians. The bloody struggle with the Indians known as King Philip's war, did not break out until after Thomas Willett's death. The early settlers were always in fear of Indian attacks, and the militia was always in training for defence. The Pilgrims of the Mayflower, as is well known, engaged the celebrated "Miles Standish, the Puritan Captain," to train their militia, and in later years, Thomas Willett succeeded to the office of Miles Standish, in command of the Plymouth militia. This office gave Thomas Willett the title of Captain. He was also a member of the Plymouth Council of War, and he had charge of a portion of the public store of powder and of shot. Captain Thomas Willett was a Magistrate in Plymouth, and was "Assistant" to the Governor from 1651 until he was sent for by Colonel Nicolls, in 1664, to advise with him in administration of affairs in New York. The office of Assistant, correspondent somewhat with that of State Senator in our days.

We find record of Captain Thomas Willett, specially in his trade with New Amsterdam and the English towns. He acquired in a remarkable degree the confidence of the Dutch, and also of the Indians, as well as of the English. When Governor Stuyvesant first arrived in New Amsterdam, in 1647, to succeed Governor Kieft, a spirit of intercolonial courtesy induced Governor Bradford, of Plymouth, to write to Stuyvesant, under date of April 3d, 1647, congratulating him on his safe arrival, and in the letter he commended to the Dutch Governor, Thomas Willett and William Paddie as men whom he could trust. Stuyvesant accepted the recommendation, finding it in accord with the sentiment of New Amsterdam; and soon after appointed Captain Willett to represent the Dutch in a boundary commission between New Netherlands and Hart-

* In recognition of the social position of John Brown, on the tombstone of his daughter Mary, who died in 1669, the inscription calls her the daughter of the Worshipful John Brown, Esquire.

ford. The English settlers were already in a large majority on Long Island, and had made settlement under the Dutch in what is now the town of Westchester, in Westchester County, as early as 1642, and the colonial government at Hartford was asserting territorial jurisdiction as far as the Hudson River. Stuyvesant was forced to exert himself to the utmost in defence of the Dutch claims, and he was perhaps wise in employing Englishmen as his agents. The treaty was finally signed at Hartford, on the 19th of September, 1650, by Symon Bradstreet and Thomas Prence for the English, and Thomas Willett and George Baxter, for the Dutch. Stuyvesant's arbitrary methods had made him unpopular among his own people and some of the discontented Dutch complained of him to the home Government for thus employing Englishmen to represent Dutch interests; but with all the light we now have it does not seem possible for him in this negotiation to have done better, and it is interesting to note that after a hearing on both sides, the treaty was finally approved at the Hague on the 22d of February, 1656. This treaty recognized the right of the English under the Government of Hartford to all of Long Island east of Oyster Bay, and made the boundary on the north side of the Sound near the present line between Connecticut and New York.

Captain Willett continued to be occasionally employed by the Dutch in similar confidential capacities, but this did not prevent him from vigilantly guarding his own interests. In October, 1645, his claim against the Council of New Netherlands for damages suffered in a voyage to Rhode Island was settled by arbitration. The same year the Dutch records show that he had a mortgage on the house of Cornelius Teunissen, in New Amsterdam. In July, 1647, charges were made before the council of New Netherlands against the Dutch Collector, or Fiscal Van Dyke; one of the charges being that he had accepted from George Woolsey, who represented Captain Willett, a beaver as an inducement not to inspect one of Captain Willett's vessels. The charge was not sustained, but is quoted to show the relations between Willett and Woolsey. This George Woolsey was a young Englishman who had been long in New Amsterdam, and was held in high esteem there, and may I be permitted here to add that in this same year 1647, George Woolsey married in New Amsterdam, one of my several times great aunts, Rebecca Cornell, some of whose descendants have become prominent in American affairs, one of them being Theodore Dwight Woolsey, who was President of Yale college as late as 1871.

Captain Willett had, of course, a business house in New Amsterdam, and an occasional residence there, for the records sometimes name him as of Plymouth, and sometimes as of New Amsterdam. He is one of the 320 taxpayers named in the New Amsterdam tax list of 1655, where his tax is the equivalent of $25 of our money. Governor Stuyvesant's was $60. Oloff Stevensen Van Cortlandt's $40, Carel Ver Brugge $14.

But Captain Willett maintained his residence at Plymouth, and was Magistrate there, and was trusted by his fellow colonists. In 1654 (June 20), he was requested to accompany the Commander-in-Chief from Massachusetts, on a visit to Manhattan, "to be assistant unto them in advice and counsel." The facility he had acquired in the use of the Dutch language may have had something to do with the desire of the English Colonists to secure his services in their negotiations with the Dutch; but more than this was the general confidence in his fairness and in his wisdom. In this respect the Dutch and the Indians, as well as his fellow Englishmen seemed alike to trust him.

A bill of sale appears in the Dutch records of 1651 of the "Frigate Palomne" to Thomas Willett, of New Amsterdam, merchant.

The same year his name appears jointly with Jacob Schermerhorn and Oloff Stevensen Van Cortlandt as bondsmen for other parties, and in 1655 he was bondsman for Edmund Scarborough, for £5,000. In the summer of the same year he loaned the West India Company 1,500 guilders, payable in merchandise or beaver. About the same time he appears as purchaser of the ship "Abraham's Sacrifice," and he claimed damages of the Council for the expense of recovering his ship "New Netherlands," confiscated and sent to Holland, as he said, by Governor Stuyvesant, and the claim was sent to Holland for adjustment, the Governor claiming that the confiscation was for the benefit of the home government.

The miscellaneous cargoes brought to New Amsterdam by Captain Willett, raised so many questions of import duties, that in May, 1657, he petitioned the Council for leave to pay gross duties on a cargo of provisions, and the "Fiscal" was instructed to compound as well as he could with Thomas Willett as, "'tis better to have half an egg than an empty shell," said the Council. The following year the Council ordered Mr. Willett's vessel to be admitted on condition of his giving, as near as possible, an account of their cargos. About the same time a commission was issued to Councilor de la Montagne and Thomas Willett to settle some disputes in Middleburgh or Newton, in which Thomas Stephenson was a party, and as my father was one of Thomas Stephenson's descendants, I am happy to be able to say that the commission declared in his favor!

On the 30th of September, 1660, the Council ordered that three or four negroes should be delivered to Thomas Willett, on account of provisions furnished by him last year. It is a curious illustration of public opinion at that time, that while there seems to have been no doubt about the justice of negro slavery, Thomas Willett was yet a staunch friend of the Indians and was fully trusted by them. In 1661 (March 4), Captain Willett was deputed by Plymouth to negotiate with Wamsutta, the Indian Chief, about an exchange of lands; and the land was accordingly bought of him that year. In 1662, at Governor Stuyvesant's request,

Captain Willett accompanied him on a State visit to Albany, to aid in negotiating a treaty of peace between the Kennebeck and Mohawk Indians; and the record is made that the fort at New Amsterdam burned 16 pounds of powder in the parting salute to the distinguished company.

While Captain Willett was aiding Governor Stuyvesant in his Indian affairs, he was wanted for similar service in Plymouth. When Massasoit, the friend of the whites, died in 1661, he was succeeded by his eldest son, Wamsutta; but Plymouth Colony was not so sure of the good faith and good will of Wamsutta (they sometimes called him Alexander), and sent for him, and when he delayed his coming Colonel Winslow was sent to bring him. Wamsutta came with Winslow without hesitation, and when asked why he had delayed, said frankly, as Rev. John Cotton writes to Increase Mather, "that he had waited for Captain Willett to return from the Dutch that he might advise with him." No trouble came from Wamsutta, but he died soon after, and his younger brother whom the English named King Philip, was made chief in Wamsutta's place. King Philip's War followed about a dozen years later; but that was after Captain Willett's death.

Early in 1664, provisions being scarce in New Amsterdam, and war with the English threatened, Stuyvesant and his Council made an agreement with Captain Willett on the 31st of May, for supplies.

"He undertook to provide the Colony on account of the honorable West India Company, if he can, a quantity of pork and beef equal to 600 lbs., the beef at four and the pork at five stivers the pound, payable in negroes at such price as may be agreed on; in case of not agreeing, in beaver, or in goods at beaver price, and in case the goods cannot be obtained here, they shall be ordered from father land, and must be delivered at one hundred advance."

This agreement is of interest in showing the want of current money and how business was done by barter, and also as showing the good terms on which Captain Willett stood with the Dutch Colony on the eve of the English invasion. This agreement, it will be noted, was made on the 31st of May, and on the 8th of July following, a little more than one month later, the Dutch minutes record that Governor Stuyvesant received information from Captain Thomas Willett, of news at Boston of the sailing from Portsmouth of a British fleet for the reduction of New Netherlands, with "one Nicles" as Governor.

A few weeks later, as already stated, Governor Stuyvesant yielded to superior force and on the 8th of September, surrendered the Dutch City and Colony to the English, and Governor Richard Nicolls assumed rule. Under Colonel Nicoll the local government and the Burgomaster's Court, went on as usual, with hardly an intermission from the change of government.

Captain Willett's business relations with New Amsterdam had been so constant and so intimate that he had often been drawn into litigation

before this Court of the Burgomasters, and it may be of interest here to recall, translated from the old Dutch records, one or two examples, both as an illustration of the business life of Captain Willett, and also as showing the character of the Dutch Court, over which, under another name, Captain Willet was soon after called upon to preside.

Two years before the English occupation, on Tuesday, the 4th of September, 1663, before a Court consisting of seven members, of very Dutch names,* and after several other cases had been disposed of Thomas Willett brings suit against Renier Rycken, attorney for Daniel Van Donck, and seeks to recover £71, 10s., for goods which he had shipped with Abraham Cromby, who had since died without settling for the goods, but leaving a quantity of tobacco with Daniel Van Donck; and now Willett asks the Burgomaster Court to order Renier Rycken as attorney for Van Donck to pay Cromby's debt out of this tobacco. The case seems a little complicated, but the Burgomasters and Schepens strike at the pith of it, and Renier Rycken admits that he has the tobacco, and the Court orders payment to Willett out of the tobacco, provided he gives security to the satisfaction of the Court that his claim is just, and the Court refers to a commission the question how much tobacco must go to make up the £71, 10s. This commission consisted of three citizens: Isaac Bedloe, Hendrich Obe and Joris Wolsy. In the Dutch name Joris Wolsy we recognize the Englishman George Woolsey, the three times great-grandfather of the late President Woolsey of Yale College. A week later, on Tuesday, the 11th of September, 1663, Willett again comes in Court with the report of the commission reducing the tobacco to silver, and asks the Court to approve the report and order payment. The Court says that as it now appears that only Thomas Willett and Balthazer de Haart have made claim on the tobacco it be allowed to them in proportion, on their giving security for the correctness of the debt to the satisfaction of the Court, and giving receipt in due form for the payment. This appears to have been done.

On the 23d of October, Thomas Willett comes into Court and asks preference for his claim against the "Heer Burgomaster Paulus Leendertsen Van der Grist and Govert Loockermans," as curators of the estate of Tomas Janzen Minguel, for 372 guilders in beavers, and says that Minguel had placed with him as security for the payment a mortgage of Jan Rutgersen Moreau of 28 Ap., 1660, on his house and lot, and Thomas Willett claims preference over other creditors. The Court having heard the parties, decides that, as Thomas Willett has no legal transfer of the mortgage he has no preference, and he must come in with the other creditors. But Thomas Willett did not accept this decision of the Bur-

* Pieter Tonnemam (Schout) Oloff Sevenson Van Cortlandt (Burgomaster) Paulus Leendertsen Van der Grist (Burgomaster) and Jacob Backer, Jan Vinge, Jacobus Kip and Jacques Cosseau (Schepens).

gomaster Court, and gave them notice the same day that he appealed to the Governor and Council.

On the 7th of June, 1664, Adrian Van Laar claims before the Burgomaster's Court that Thomas Willett shall pay the debts of his deceased son, John Willett. Thomas Willett replies that he has nothing to do with his son's debts. To this it is answered that Willett has some hogsheads of tobacco that belongs to his son. Willett replies that this tobacco has been placed in the hands of the Heer Burgomaster Cornelis Steenwyck for the benefit of John Willett's creditors. The Court therefore decides that the plaintiff must look for his pay along with the other creditors, to the effects of John Willett, deceased.

Many other similar cases occur in the records of the Burgomaster's Court; but they need not be further quoted.

All these functions the Burgomaster Court continued to exercise for three-quarters of a year after the English occupation, and it may be said that it was with the general acceptance of the Governor and of the people, both English and Dutch. But Governor Nicolls determined to change the city, at least in name, a little more into conformity with English precedents. On the 12th of June he issued his proclamation giving a new charter to the city. As this charter made Thomas Willett the first Mayor of New York, it will be of interest here to quote the material parts of it:

GOVERNOR NICOLLS' CHARTER OF NEW YORK.

"*Whereas*, Upon mature deliberation, and on advice, I have found it necessary to discharge the form of government late in practice with this His Majesty's town of New York, under the name and style of Scout, Burgomaster and Schepens, which are not known or customary in any of His Majesty's dominions," etc., "know all men by these presents that I, Richard Nicolls, Deputy Governor to His Royal Highness, the Duke of York, by vertue of his royal letters patent, bearing date 12th of March, in the 19th year of His Majesty's reign, do order, constitute, and declare that the inhabitants of New York, New Harlem, and others His Majesty's subjects, inhabitants of the island called and known by the name of Manhattan Island, are, and shall be accounted, nominated and established as one body politique and corporate under the government of a Mayor, Aldermen and Sheriff, and I do for the present, constitute and appoint, for one whole year, commencing from the date hereof and ending on the 12th of June, 1666, Mr. Thomas Willett to be Mayor, Mr. Thomas Delvall, Mr. Oloff Stuyvesant (Oloff Stevensen Van Cortlandt), 'Mr. John Brugges' (Johannes Van Burgh), Mr. Cornelius Van Ruyven and Mr. John Lawrence, to be Aldermen; and Mr. Allard Anthony to be Sheriff, giving and granting to them, the said Mayor and Aldermen, or any four of them, whereof the said Mayor or his deputy shall be always one, and upon equal division of voices have always the casting and decisive vote, full power and authority to rule and

govern as well the inhabitants of the country, as any strangers, according to the general laws of this government, and such peculiar laws as are or shall be thought convenient and necessary for the good and welfare of this His Majesty's corporation, etc.

"Given under my hand and seal at Fort James, in New York, this 12th day of June, 1665.

Richard Nicolls. [L. S.]

It should be noted how judiciously Gov. Nicolls had made up the new Board of Aldermen. Three out of the five Aldermen were selected from the Dutch; two of the three—Van Cortlandt and Van Brugh—were already in the Burgomaster's Court, which was now to become the Mayor's Court, and Van Cortlandt had a dozen times been Burgomaster himself; and the two English Aldermen—De La Valle and Lawrence—had long been residents in New Amsterdam, and were familiar with the Dutch language; and Captain Thomas Willett, the new Mayor, as we know, was also familiar with the language, and was highly esteemed in the Dutch colony. There was no change in the language nor in the modes of procedure when the Burgomaster's Court became the Mayor's Court. We must imagine Captain Thomas Willett presiding over a Dutch court, where the debates were in the Dutch language, and the record of which was also in Dutch, and I have only been able to read it, and here to repeat it, because it has, in quite recent times, been translated into English by the indefatigable Dr. O'Callaghan.

The Governor undertook to give a certain stately formality and dramatic effect to the promulgation of the new charter. On the 13th of June, the day after the date of the new charter, the Burgomaster's Court was in session. A number of cases were disposed of, the particulars of which are given in the old Dutch record, and then the record goes on, translating it into English, and says:

"When the Honorable Heer Governor Nicolls appears in the Assembly, who delivered to the Court the following writings, after he had them read by the clerk of Secretary Nicolls."

Here follows the whole proclamation and charter, of which this was the official publication.

The next day was the formal installation of the new Mayor and Aldermen.

The old record goes on under the date of Wednesday, 14th day of June, 1665, giving the roll of the members of the old Burgomaster's Court present; the Heeren Allard Anthony, Oloff Stevensen Van Cortlandt, Timotheus Gabie, Johannes Van Brugh, Johannes de Peister, Jacobus Kip, and Jacques Cosseau. The Honorable Heer Governor appeared in Court, and with him Mr. Thomas Willett, Mr. tomas de la Valle, Mr. Cornelis Van Ruyven and Mr. John Lawrence. It will be noted that the Governor only brings in with him three of the five new Aldermen. The reason is obvious. The other two, Van Cortlandt and Van Brugh, were

already sitting there as members of the Burgomaster's Court. After the Governor had formally introduced the new Board, Ex-Burgomaster Van Cortlandt represented to the Heer Governor Nicolls that when he had yesterday changed the Magistracy of the City, discharging a portion of them from office, he maintained that it was contrary to the 16th article of the surrender of the city, to which the Heer Governor replied that this article is not infringed in the least, and after debate, the Governor installs the new officers, and they all take the oath of office, viz: Thomas Willett, Mayor; Thomas de la Valle, Oloff Stevensen Van Cortlandt, Johannes Van Brugh, Cornelis Van Ruyven, and John Lawrence, Aldermen; and Allard Anthony, Sheriff. "After the taking of the oath and the customary ringing of the bell three times the aforesaid qualified persons were made known, and presented to the commonalty of the city, in order that they may hold them in due respect."

On Thursday, the 15th day of June, 1665, the new Board of Aldermen commenced the work for which they were appointed, and continued it with diligence; meeting ten times within the next thirty days. The new Mayor pushed several improvements. He wanted placards published regarding the observance of the Sabbath. He wanted the excise laws revised, and the excise money collected and great economy practiced in every respect. He wanted the Church yard put in order and fenced, for now it was so open "that hogs were rooting in it." He wanted the city fortified with palisades on the North River side; and during all this work they were endeavoring to settle the litigations of the people.

The duties of the Mayor's Court, like the Burgomaster's Court which it succeeded, covered a wide range. It will be interesting in the light of its developments of to-day, to recapitulate its vigorous germs.

It was not only a Common Council looking after streets and city improvements in general.

It was also a Court to maintain good order, to suppress drunkenness and fights, and in this respect it is represented by the Police Courts of these later days.

It was also its duty to regulate the sales of beer and wine and strong drinks, and to fix license fees, and to collect them, and was thus a Board of Excise.

It was a Court also for hearing the settlement of all business and money questions, and in this respect it is now represented by the New York Court of Common Pleas.

But the Mayor's Court continued to be held under that name for a hundred and fifty-six years from this first installation of Thomas Willett in 1665, to the time of Dewitt Clinton, in the first quarter of the present century. Captain Thomas Willett was the first Mayor who presided over the New York Mayor's Court, and Dewitt Clinton was the last. We are interested in this Court on the present occasion because of its relation to Captain Thomas Willett, and it may be of interest here to quote what is

said of him and of his Court by so eminent a modern jurist as Chief Justice Charles P. Daly, who is in one sense a successor of Captain Thomas Willett, for Judge Daly long presided over the New York Court of Common Pleas, which now represents one of the functions of the Mayor's Court under Thomas Willett, and of the Court of the Burgomasters which preceded it.

"The Change," says Judge Daly, "from the Burgomaster's Court to the Mayor's Court, was more formal than real. It was merely changing the Burgomaster into a Mayor, the Schepen into an Alderman, and the Schout into a Sheriff. In bringing about this change, Nicolls evinced his usual good sense and judgment. Willett, who was sent for from Plymouth for the purpose of making him Mayor, was an Englishman, but thoroughly conversant with the Dutch language. He had been employed by Stuyvesant in important negotiations, had long been engaged in trade with New Amsterdam, and was well acquainted with the people and with their usages and customs. It was ordered that jury trials should be held on the first Tuesday of every month, but juries found but little favor with the Dutch; the great majority of suitors preferring to have the case summarily disposed of by the judges, in the manner to which they had been accustomed, and trial by jury did not come into general use in the Court until many years afterwards."

"Willett," says Judge Daly, "bore a high character for firmness and integrity and was an able and efficient magistrate. He adhered to the practice and form of procedure that had been established by his Dutch predecessors. During the whole period of Nicoll's and Lovelace's government justice was administered according to Dutch law."*

After the coming in of the English, it was directed that the records should be kept in English and in Dutch; but as a matter of fact, Dr. O'Callaghan, who makes the translation, says that the proceedings and records were chiefly in Dutch for many years. And it will be of interest to quote here Judge Daly's comparison of the English with the Dutch methods:

"These (Dutch) Court records," says Judge Daly, "supply a full account of the whole course of its proceedings, and furnish an interesting exposition of the habits and manners of the people. Upon perusing them, it is impossible not to be struck with the comprehensive knowledge they display of the principles of jurisprudence, and with the directness and simplicity with which legal investigations were conducted. In fact, as a means of ascertaining truth, and of doing substantial justice, their mode of proceeding was infinitely superior to the more technical and artificial system introduced by their English successors. Generally, the matter was disposed of upon the first hearing of the parties, without resorting to the oath or the examination of witnesses. If it was intricate, or it was difficult to get at the truth, it was the constant practice to refer the cause to arbitrators, who were always instructed to bring about a reconciliation between the parties if they could."†

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* Daly's History of the New York Court of Common Pleas, E. D. Smith's Reports, Vol. I. p. xl.

† E. D. Smith's Reports, Vol. 1, page xxix.

This was the Court over which Captain Thomas Willett presided as first Mayor of New York. Time will not admit of quoting details; but it may be noted that the charter of Governor Nicolls directed that in any action of the Court the Mayor or his deputy must be present. And the old record states in the proceedings of the 27th of June, 1665, that the Mayor gave notice he intended to go to Albany on the first opportunity, and he desired the Court to accept in his absence Mr. Thomas De la Valle as his deputy. And in the meetings of the 4th and on the 11th of July following De la Valle presides, but the Mayor is again in his place on the 18th of July.

Mayor Willet continues to serve to the end of his term, with few periods of temporary absence; and he presides at the meeting of the 12th of June, 1666, which completes his year of service, and a full Board is present, the name of Captain De la Valle coming next after the Mayor at the head of the Aldermen. The next day, the 13th of July, the Court again sits, but these two names are transposed—Captain Thomas De la Valle is now Mayor and Captain Thomas Willett is now Alderman.

This was following good Dutch precedent. Oloff Stevensen Van Cortlandt, who was half a dozen times Burgomaster, was in the intervals of his terms of service as Burgomaster a member of the Board as Schepen, and I will venture to say here that I do not think that the New York Board of Aldermen of to-day has gained by abandoning this old Dutch precedent of bringing the ex-Mayors into the Board.

Captain Willett served his year as Alderman, and in fact a little more than a year, for Captain De la Valle held over as Mayor until the 16th of July, 1667, more than thirteen months; but at the meeting of 31st of July, 1667, Thomas Willett is again Mayor, and Captain Thomas De la Valle is again Alderman.*

Captain Thomas Willett's second term as Mayor also overruns the year, and on the 16th of August, 1668, he is succeeded as Mayor by Cornelis Steenwyck, ex-Burgomaster. Captain Willett's services were now needed in other directions, and he did not serve again in the Mayor's Court.

Thomas Willett was, from the first coming of the English government to New Amsterdam, a member of the Governor's Council, a body always an essential part of the Colonial government, whose members had the title of "The Honorable," and whose concurrence was necessary to

* During the year of Captain Willett's service as Alderman, two great calamities befell London. In 1666—September 2-5—the Great Fire almost destroyed the city. And in 1667, in the latter part of June, the victorious Dutch fleet in the Thames before London, in part at least avenged the capture of New Amsterdam by the English three years before. John Evelyn's Diary records, under date 28th of June, 1667: "I went to Chatham, and thence to view, not only what mischefe the Dutch had done, but how triumphantly their whole fleet lay within the very mouth of the Thames, all from the North fore-land, Margate even to the buoy of the Nore—a dreadful spectacle as ever Englishman saw, and a dishonor never to be wiped off!"

give validity to most of the Governor's official acts. It may be noticed that Gov. Nicolls' charter recites that it is granted "on advice." Captain Willett remained in the Governor's Council, continuing a resident of New York, and rendering many services to the colony, until 1672, when he returned to Plymouth, and settled on his farm at Rehoboth or Swansea.

In August, 1673, a Dutch squadron of twenty-three ships recaptured New York, and undertook to re-establish the Dutch administration. The new government seized the property of Thomas Willett, partly imported merchandize and partly furs and peltries ready for exportation, and Captain Willett came on to defend his business interests. In September the Governor Colve and Council denied his petition to have his property released on his giving security. But his European goods were needed to supply the city, and on the 23d of October, there being present in the Council, Governor Colve and Councillor Steenwyck, leave was granted to Burgomaster Egidius Luycks to purchase the attached English goods of Captain Willett, on condition that the purchase money should be attached instead of the goods. But the peltries were not included in this permission, and Captain Willett endeavored to save them. At a Council held on the 25th of October, 1673, there being present Governor Anthony Colve, Councillor Cornelis Steenwyck, Burgomaster Johannes Burgh and Burgomaster Egidius Luyck, information was brought that "the Burgher Watch, about midnight between the 19th and 20th of this month, seized ten packages of beavers belonging to Captain Willett, having been put in a canoe with the intention, as Captain Willet himself acknowledges, to export them without entering them, in direct contravention of the laws and placards to that end enacted," "whereupon Captain Willet, having been repeatedly summoned before the Council, and asked what could be brought forward in defence, answered that he has in no wise tried to smuggle the beavers to defraud the public revenue, but only to save them from the general seizure imposed on all his goods, requesting that they, for reasons and motives more fully set forth in his petition and other communications, may be restored to him," etc. "All which being considered by the Governor General and Council, they declare said seized and not entered beavers and peltries confiscate and forfeit, agreeably to published placards, but he is excused this time, for reasons, from further fines and penalties. Dated Fort William Henry, 25th October, 1673." (Council Minutes Albany II, 617.) At a subsequent meeting of the Council, on 27th October, "the petition of Thomas Willett being read," it was ordered that one-half the confiscated beavers, etc., shall be restored to him. This order is signed "A. Colve."

The re-occupation of New York by the Dutch was limited to a few months. The peace between England and Holland, signed on the 7th of March, 1674, restored New York to England, and the restoration was

officially announced at the "Stadt Huyse," New York, by Governor Colve, on the 11th of July, but Governor Andros did not arrive from England to take command until the 10th of November, 1674. Captain Thomas Willet died at his home in Rehoboth, on the 4th of August, 1674. But his heirs promptly recovered their confiscated goods from the new administration. On the 1st of October, 1674, "John Saffin, of Boston, Curator of the estate of Thomas Willet, deceased, late of Swansey, in Plymouth Colony," gave a receipt for a lot of peltries lately seized by the government, now released. (Albany Records, XXIII, 465.) And on the 2d of November, Saffin (who was Captain Willet's son-in-law) warned Governor Andros, of New York, not to sell the house late of Thomas Willet. And thus the injury done by Governor Colve was, in part at least, repaired. Before finally dismissing Governor Colve, however, let it be mentioned to his credit, that during his administration, on the 12th of April, 1674, an order was made against running at large of hogs, horses and cows. (XXIII, p. 235.)

Thomas Willet was buried at Rehoboth or Swansea (now in the town of Seeconck), Massachusetts, where a plain monument marks the place where his ashes repose. His first wife had died before him on the 8th of January, 1669.*

Thomas Willet's will is dated 26th of April, 1671, and it was proved on the 25th of November, 1674.

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* After the death of his first wife Mary Brown, Captain Willet married second, on 19th of September, 1671, Joanna Boyce, widow of Peter Prudden. She survived Captain Willet and subsequently became the third wife of John Bishop of Boston.

Captain Thomas and Mary (Brown) Willet had thirteen children, as follows :

I. Mary, born 10th November, 1637, died 24th June, 1712 ; married first, 22d September, 1658, Rev. Samuel Hooker ; married second, on 10th August, 1703, Rev. Thomas Buckingham.
II. Martha, born 6th August, 1639, 11th December, 1578, married Judge John Saffin.
III. John, born 21st August, 1641.
IV. Sarah, born 4th May, 1643, died June 4th, 1665 ; married Rev. John Elliott, son of the "Indian Apostle" of the same name.
V. Rebecca, born 2d December, 1644.
VI. Thomas, born 1st October, 1646.
VII. Esther, born 10th July, 1648 ; married Rev. Josiah Flint, of Dorchester, progenitor of Oliver Wendell Holmes.
VIII. James, born 23d November, 1649 ; married Eliza Hunt, of Rehoboth, Mass.
IX. Hezekiah, born 1651, died 6th July, 1651.
X. Hezekiah, born 17th November, 1653 ; married Anna Brown, and killed by Indians 1676, in King Philip's war.
XI. David, born 1st November, 1654.
XII. ANDREW, born 5th October, 1655, died 1712.
XIII. Samuel, born 27th October, 1658. Sheriff of Queens County, had thirteen children, ancestor of Marinus Willet.

The twelfth child, ANDREW, born 5th October, 1655, died 6th April, 1712, married at Kings Town, Rhode Island, on the 30th of May, 1682, Ann Coddington (born 26th July, 1663, died

He says he is blessed with several children and a liberal estate, consisting of goods, cattle, lands, houses, vessels for the sea, and accounts due him, and the will speaks of his negroes. The property is divided among his children and his grandchildren with much detail, which need not be quoted.

Captain Willett's son Andrew married in 1682, eight years after his father's death, Ann Coddington, daughter of William Coddington, the first Governor of Rhode Island.

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after 1740), daughter of Governor WILLIAM and ANN (BRINLEY) CODDINGTON, and had five children, as follows :

I. Anne, born 26th September, 1689, died 9th February, 1709; married 1707, JOSEPH CARPENTER, born 16th October, 1685, died 3d May, 1776, son of JOSEPH aud ANN (SIMPKINS) CARPENTER, of Oyster Bay, but had no children. After her death JOSEPH CARPENTER married her sister.

II. MARY, born 21st February, 1690; married, 1711, above JOSEPH CARPENTER, and had,
1. Willett, born 8th June, 1714.
2. ANN, born 24th September, 1716, died 1803; married 23d October, 1737, SAMUEL UNDERHILL, great-grandson of Captain JOHN UNDERHILL and his first wife HELENA. SAMUEL UNDERHILL was born 8th September, 1708, died 1780, and his third child, MARY, born 31st January, 1745, married, 1765, JAMES MOTT, the father of ANNE MOTT.
3. Phebe, born 28th August, 1718.
4. Joseph, born 15th July, 1720.
5. Andrew, born 1st December, 1722.
6. Thomas Carpenter, born 15th April, 1726.
7. Frances, born 8th November, 1728.
8. James, born 5th March, 1731.
9. Willett, born 5th January, 1736.

III. Francis, born 25th June, 1693, died 6th October, 1716; married Mary Taylor, died 17th April, 1769, and left no issue.

IV. Thomas, born 13th May, 1696, died 1725.

V. Martha, married Simon Pease.

ANDREW WILLET was a merchant at Kings Town, Rhode Island, and lived on his farm on "Boston Neck, R. I." He furnished fifteen hundred clapboards for the Court House in Newport, for which his account was adjusted on the 27th of June, 1691. He was Deputy from Kings Town in 1696–1698–1703–04, and Town Clerk 1700–1703. In 1703, July 12, he and others were appointed to lay out highways.

He died March, 1712, and he, and subsequently his wife, were buried on the home farm.

His will was proved April, 1712. His executors were his wife Ann, and his son Francis, who at his father's death was but 19 years old. He gives to his daughter, Mary Carpenter, £5, she having had her portion. He divided his farm between his two sons, Francis and Thomas, and on the death of Thomas, in 1725, unmarried, all the property on "Boston Neck" came to Francis, who seems to have been a prominent man in the Colony. Francis Willett was Deputy most of the time from 1723 to 1739, and was Speaker of the House of Deputies from 1736 to 1739. In 1747 he was one of the members of the Redwood Library, which was incorporated that year, and from the walls of which was obtained, in 1889, the portrait of Francis Willet's grandfather, WILLIAM CODDINGTON, given on another page of this volume.

Francis Willet's will was proved in 1776. He makes his kinsman, Francis Carpenter, his Executor, and gives him the home farm, and makes him residuary legatee. It will be noted that Francis Carpenter is brother of ANN (CARPENTER) UNDERHILL, and consequently grand-uncle of Anne Mott.

One of the grandchildren of this Andrew Willett and Ann Coddington, was Ann (Carpenter) Underhill, grandmother of my mother's mother.

The preparation of this paper, as already stated, has grown out of the interest I have taken in my mother's ancestry.

The Rev. Evelyn Bartow writes that he has recently visited the Cemetery where Thomas Willett, the first Mayor of New York, and his wife Mary are buried. He quotes the inscriptions as follows:

1674
Here lyes ye Body
of ye Worfl Thomas
Willett Esq., who died
August ye 4th in ye 64th
year of his age. Anno.

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who was the
First Mayor
of New York
and twice did
sustain ye place.

The grave stone of Mary Willet bears the inscription (on the head stone)

1669
Here lyeth ye body of
the Vertuous Mrs. Mary
Willet wife to thomas
Willet Esqr. who died
January ye 8 about ye 65th
year of her age. Anno.

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on the foot stone

Daughter to
ye Worfl. John
Brown Esqr.
Deceased.

(N. Y. Gen. Rec. XX., 44.)

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE CARPENTER ANCESTRY.

Anne Mott's grandmother, ANN CARPENTER (born 24th September, 1716), who married SAMUEL UNDERHILL, of Oysterbay, in 1737, was the daughter of JOSEPH CARPENTER and MARY WILLET, his second wife, of "Moscheto Cove," now Glen Cove, on the east side of Hempstead Harbour, in the town of Oysterbay, Queens County, N. Y., where his grandfather had settled soon after 1664.

More than one family bearing the name of Carpenter emigrated from the old to the New England before 1640. The earliest ancestor I find of this JOSEPH CARPENTER, of Moscheto Cove, was RICHARD CARPENTER, of Amesbury, England, where he was born in 1575, and where he was buried, 21st of September, 1625 (see Parish Register of Amesbury Parish, Salisbury, Wilts, John Selwyn, minister, quoted by Usher, p. 28.)

Amesbury is an ancient town of Wiltshire, England, seven miles north of Salisbury, and 78 miles southwest from London. Stonehenge is about two miles west of Amesbury. Joseph Addison, the poet, was born in the neighborhood of Amesbury, in 1672, almost a hundred years after the birth of RICHARD CARPENTER.

Of this RICHARD CARPENTER, of Amesbury, who was born in 1575, we know but little, except that he was of a respectable family, and had a house on the street known as Frog lane, and that his eldest son WILLIAM, who was his father's heir, and inherited this house, was the immigrant and the founder of our branch of the Carpenter family in America. This WILLIAM CARPENTER settled in Providence, Rhode Island.

Another William Carpenter came from Amesbury in 1638, and went to Weymouth, Massachusetts, and thence to Rehoboth, and was probably an uncle of the William Carpenter who settled at Providence or Pawtuxet. A still earlier Carpenter was Mary, sister of Alice Carpenter, wife of Governor Bradford, of Massachusetts. This Mary Carpenter never married. She was born in Amesbury in 1596, and died in Plymouth in 1689, at the age of 91, the record says, "a Godly old maid."

This WILLIAM CARPENTER, of Providence, our ancestor, was born in Amesbury, Wilts, about 1605, and married, while yet in England, ELIZABETH ARNOLD, born at Cheselbourne, Dorset, England, 23d November, 1611, eldest daughter of WILLIAM ARNOLD and his wife CHRISTIAN PEAK, and sister of Benedict Arnold, Governor of Rhode Island, 1663–1678. Soon after his marriage, WILLIAM CARPENTER brought his young wife with him to New England. He was in sympathy with Roger Williams, and was one of the first settlers of Providence, where he had land granted to him in 1637, and he was one of the twelve whom Roger Wil-

liams (8th of March, 1658), made joint proprietors with himself in the land that he had in the preceding spring (24th of March, 1638), obtained by deed from the Indian Chiefs Canonicus and Miantonomi. WILLIAM CARPENTER was the last survivor of these thirteen original proprietors.

In 1639 he was one of the twelve founders of the first Baptist Church, and in 1640 he was one of the 39 signers of the compact for good government. He had removed to Pawtuxet, and in 1642 he, with the other settlers of Pawtuxet, separated themselves from Rhode Island and subjected themselves to Massachusetts, a separation which continued for sixteen years, until 1658. But from 1658 WILLIAM CARPENTER was Commissioner in Rhode Island until 1663. In 1660 he was one of a Committee to receive contributions to pay expenses of Roger Williams and John Clark, in England, as Agents of the Colony. He was Deputy to the Assembly of Rhode Island, 1664–65–75–76 and 79, and Assistant, an office nearly equivalent to our State Senator, continuously from 1665 to 1672 inclusive.

In 1671, December 14th, he deeded to his sister Fridswith Vincent as a gift,

"My dwelling house with what land belongeth to me adjoining to the said house, the which said house is standing in the town of Amesbury, in Wiltshire, and in a street commonly called Frog lane, my sister being inhabitant of said town, the which said house did, in the original, belong to my father, RICHARD CARPENTER, now deceased, but fell to my right, as I was the son and heir unto my aforesaid father," etc.

In 1675, February, he had placed on the town record a writing, specifying, he says, "what rights and of whom I bought them, and also to whom I give them, that is to say, for five shares I have the deeds in my hands, and are all in the Town Records," and he goes on and specifies more particularly the shares and parcels to each child, or grandchild.

In January, 1676, his house was attacked by "about three hundred Indians." This was during King Philip's war, and the house was set on fire, but the flames were extinguished by the defenders. But two of his household were killed, and he lost two hundred sheep and fifty cattle. This was near the end of the war, Philip being killed in 1676.

In 1676, April 4th, the Assembly voted that "desiring to have the advice and concurrence of the most judicious inhabitants, if it may be had for the good of the whole, do desire at the next sitting the company and counsel of" WILLIAM CARPENTER, and fifteen others are named.

In 1683, April 25th, he made a confirmatory deed to the representatives of the thirteen original proprietors of the Pawtuxet land, he being the last survivor and owning three shares—his own thirteenth, and two shares which he had purchased.

His will is dated February 10th, 1679, and proved 1st of October, 1685. The will gives 20s. to eldest son JOSEPH, and like amount to daughters

Lydia Smith and Priscella Vincent. He gives land to his sons Silas and Benjamin who are Executors, and to Timothy and Ephraim and he also names William. He gives to wife Elizabeth all movable estate, and charges his sons Silas and Benjamin to care well for their mother. The codicil, added March 13th, 1983, says as his son JOSEPH[2] (who had settled in Oysterbay, Long Island), had died, he gave to grandson JOSEPH[3] son of JOSEPH[2] the legacy intended for his father. This grandson JOSEPH[3] CARPENTER is the grandfather of Anne Mott's grandmother ANN (CARPENTER) UNDERHILL.

CHILDREN OF WILLIAM AND ELIZABETH (ARNOLD) CARPENTER.

1. JOSEPH[2], born 1635, died 1685; married in Rhode Island, ANNE daughter of FRANCIS WICKES or WEEKS.*
2. Lydia, born 1638; married Benjamin Smith.
3. Ephraim, born 1640, removed to Long Island 1676. No male descendants.
4. Priscilla, born 1643; married William Vincent.
5. William, born 1645, killed by Indians, 29th January, 1676.
6. Timothy, born 1648, died 19th August, 1726, at Providence; married Hannah Burton.
7. Silas, born 1650, died 25th December, 1695, at Providence; married Sarah Arnold.
8. Benjamin, born 1653, died 23d March, 1710–11, at Pawtuxet; married Mary Tillinghast.

The descendants of Timothy[2], Silas[2] and Benjamin[2], who are not very numerous, remain principally in Rhode Island or vicinity.

The descendants of JOSEPH[2] CARPENTER, are very numerous from Nova Scotia to California. Their early homes were in Queens County, thence to Westchester, Orange and Ulster, New York. One of their descendants, David H. Carpenter, of 70 Clarkson street, New York, writes that he has the names of five hundred families from these four counties alone. We are only interested here in JOSEPH[3], and in some of his descendants.

JOSEPH[2] and ANN (WICKES) CARPENTER removed from Rhode Island to Oysterbay, at least as early as 1667. He was one of the early settlers of the town. The records show his petition for a grant of land on both sides of "Moscheto Cove," for the purpose of building a Saw Mill and a Fulling Mill. The petition is dated 6th April, 1667, and Governor Nicolls' grant of the land petitioned for, is dated 5th November of the same year, and JOSEPH CARPENTER probably erected and operated the first Saw Mill on Long Island. The Fulling Mill was in operation

*Austin's Genealogical Dictionary of Rhode Island, p. 36, gives JOSEPH CARPENTER a first wife, Hannah Carpenter, daughter of William Carpenter, of Rehoboth, and makes Anne Wickes a second wife.

in 1677, and probably much earlier. (N. Y. Gen. Rec. XIII, 200.) This call for a Fulling Mill signifies the raising of sheep, the carding and the spinning of the wool, and the weaving of the cloth in the neighboring farm houses and hamlets. In 1675, Joseph Carpenter was making arrangements to build a Corn Mill, and a new Saw Mill "where the old Mill stood.

As noted above, this JOSEPH[2] CARPENTER died before his father, and his eldest son, JOSEPH[3], inherited his father's portion under the codicil of the will of his grandfather, the immigrant William[1] Carpenter.

CHILDREN OF JOSEPH[2] AND ANN (WICKES) CARPENTER.

1. Mary[3]; married William Thornecraft.
2. JOSEPH[3], born 1666, died 1690; married ANNE SIMPKINS.
3. William,—was a blacksmith.
4. Nathaniel.
5. Benjamin.
6. John.
7. Dorothy.

JOSEPH CARPENTER[3], eldest son of above Joseph[2] and ANN (WICKES) CARPENTER, was but 17 years old at the time of his father's death, in 1683. The business of his father seems to have descended to him, and after he became of age he called himself proprietor of one-fifth of the Moscheto Cove patent. Before he was of age he married ANN SIMPKINS, in Oysterbay, and was carrying on the Mills, etc.

THE CHILDREN OF JOSEPH[3] AND ANN (SIMPKINS) CARPENTER WERE

Joseph[4], born 16th of 10th month, 1685.
Thomas, born 9th of 9th month, 1689.

JOSEPH CARPENTER[3] died about 1690; probably met his death by accident in the breaking up of the mill dam.

JOSEPH CARPENTER[4] married first, in 1707, at the age of 22, Anne Willet, then 18 years old, daughter of Andrew and Mary (Coddington) Willet. The first wife lived hardly a year after her marriage, and after her death, JOSEPH CARPENTER, in 1711, married her sister, MARY WILLET, then about 21 years old, and he being now 26. They continued to live in Oysterbay, and children were born to them as follows:

CHILDREN OF JOSEPH CARPENTER[4] AND MARY WILLET HIS WIFE.

1. Willet Carpenter, born 8th of June, 1714.
2. ANN Carpenter, born 24th of September, 1716, died 1803; married, 23d of October, 1737, SAMUEL UNDERHILL, born 8th of September, 1708, died 1780, great-grandson of Captain JOHN

UNDERHILL, by his first wife, Helena; and SAMUEL and ANN CARPENTER UNDERHILL were the parents of Anne Mott's mother, MARY (UNDERHILL) MOTT.

3. Phebe Carpenter, born 28th of August, 1718.
4. Joseph Carpenter, born 15th of July, 1720.
5. Andrew Carpenter, born 1st of December, 1722; probably named after his father's grandfather, Rev. Andrew Willett, D.D.
6. Thomas Carpenter, born 15th of April, 1726.
7. Francis Carpenter, born 8th of November, 1728.
8. James Carpenter, born 5th of March, 1731.
9. Willet Carpenter, born 5th of January, 1736.

The Carpenter descent, down to Anne Mott's grandmother, ANN (CARPENTER) UNDERHILL, may be tabulated as follows:

1. RICHARD CARPENTER, of Amesbury, Wiltshire, England, born in Amesbury, 1575, and died there, 1625. His eldest son was,
2. WILLIAM CARPENTER[1], the immigrant, born in Amesbury, 1605; married, in England, Elizabeth Arnold; came to Providence, Rhode Island, 1637, and died there 1685. His eldest son was,
3. JOSEPH CARPENTER[2], born 1635, perhaps in England, but if so, came an infant to Providence, Rhode Island, with his parents, and there married Anne Wickes, and about 1665, removed to Oysterbay, Long Island, and died there, 1685. His eldest son was,
4. JOSEPH CARPENTER[3], born in 1666; lived and died in Oysterbay, and there married ANNE SIMPKINS. Their eldest son was,
5. JOSEPH CARPENTER[4], born in Oysterbay, 1685; married, 1711, Mary Willett, second wife. Their eldest daughter was,
6. ANN CARPENTER, born 1716, died 1803; married, 1737, SAMUEL UNDERHILL, of Oysterbay, great-grandson of Captain JOHN UNDERHILL and his first wife, HELENA.

   SAMUEL and ANN (CARPENTER) UNDERHILL were the parents of MARY (UNDERHILL) MOTT, the mother of Anne Mott.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE UNDERHILL ANCESTRY.

The maiden name of Anne Mott's mother was MARY UNDERHILL, and Mary Underhill was daughter of SAMUEL UNDERHILL, and ANN CARPENTER, as has been several times stated in these pages. And SAMUEL UNDERHILL was great-grandson of Captain JOHN UNDERHILL, a soldier from his youth, and a successful commander of the small armies of the very early days of New England and the New Netherlands.

And Anne Mott's father also inherited Underhill blood from his mother's mother, SARAH UNDERHILL, who married THOMAS PEARSALL, and was the daughter of JOHN UNDERHILL, Junior, the eldest son of Captain JOHN and HELENA UNDERHILL, his first wife, the Holland lady.

And it is from this Holland lady, our grandmother HELENA UNDERHILL, that we who are descended from Adam and Anne Mott, derive, as far as I can learn, the solitary strain of Dutch blood which flows in our veins.

The descent from the immigrants, Captain JOHN and HELENA UNDERHILL, is shown in the following tabular statement :

Captain John and Helena Underhill, 1595—1672.

John Underhill, Jr., b. 1642, died 1692 ; married Mary Prior, b. 1652, d. 1698.

Samuel Underhill, b. 1674, m. Hannah Willetts. Sarah Underhill m. 1708 Thos. Peaasall.

Samuel Underhill, b. 1708, m. Ann Carpenter. Sarah Pearsall m. 1741, Richard Mott.

Mary Underhill, born 1745, married, 1765, James Mott, born 1742.

Anne Mott, born 1768, died 1852.

The Underhills are from an ancient and honorable family of Warwickshire, England. Captain JOHN UNDERHILL, the immigrant, was descended from the Underhills of Huningham in Warwickshire, a town about four miles west of Kenelworth, on the River Learne. During the reign of Elizabeth, the prosperity of the family seems to have been at its height. They owned land in many places. A Sir Hercules Underhill was Sheriff of the County, and a John Underhill of that day was Chaplain to Queen Elizabeth, who made him Bishop of Oxford in 1589, and he died in 1592. (Bolton's Westchester, 2d Ed. II, 406.) Monuments of the family in marble and brass, still remain in some of the Parish Churches.

The immigrant, JOHN UNDERHILL, finally settled on a tract of land he purchased from the Indians, in the town of Oysterbay, to which he

gave the name of Kenelworth, which has been usually corrupted into Kellingworth. He became a member of the Society of Friends in his old age, and here he died in 1672.

The father of this immigrant, Captain JOHN UNDERHILL, and bearing the same name, was a soldier in the personal train of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, accompanying him to the Netherlands, where Leicester commanded the combined forces against Spain. After the death of Leicester (1588), Underhill remained with the army under Robert Devoreux, Earl of Essex, the new favorite of the Queen (1587–1600), and he perhaps remained in the Netherlands after the execution of Essex in 1601. The younger JOHN UNDERHILL[1], the immigrant, was probably born between 1595 and 1600. It seems to be certain that he spent much of his youth in Holland, or in the service of Maurice of Nassau, Prince of Orange, the greatest commander of his age, and in whose camp the warlike youth of that day sought instruction in the art of war.

The history of Captain JOHN UNDERHILL, the immigrant, and of his ancestors and of his descendants, has been traced out with much care by the late Abraham S. Underhill, of New York, one of his descendants, who freely showed his voluminous records to this present Editor. The account of the Underhills, in Bolton's History of Westchester, is based on the researches of Abraham S. Underhill.

In the army in Netherlands young Captain JOHN UNDERHILL found himself a fellow soldier of Captain Miles Standish, and of course he saw much of the Puritans who had found refuge there, from England. It is said that it was proposed to UNDERHILL to go with the Puritan Pilgrims to Plymouth in the immigration of 1620, but it was Captain Miles Standish who was finally employed to train the Plymouth Militia. It was ten years later when Captain JOHN UNDERHILL sailed from Yarmouth, on the 7th of April, 1630, with John Winthrop and his nine hundred immigrants to Boston, then about being founded, under an agreement to train the Militia of this new settlement.

JOHN UNDERHILL was sworn freeman of Boston on the 18th of May, 1631, and was one of the first deputies to the General Court. One of the earliest acts of the new government (26th July, 1630) was to order that the first Thursday of every month be general training day of Captain Underhill's Company, at Boston. September 28th, 1630, the Court ordered that £50 be raised for Mr. Underhill and for Mr. Patrick, who was training another company. Captain Daniel Patrick seems to have been a comrade and friend of Captain Underhill. Two years later, 7th November, 1632, the Court limited training days to once a month. Underhill and Patrick were fellow soldiers in several subsequent Indian fights.

Captain John Underhill brought with him to Boston his first wife, a lady from the Netherlands, and the records of the old South Church, in Boston, tell that "HELENA, wife of our brother JOHN UNDERHILL,"

was admitted to the Church on the 15th of September, 1633. On the 25th was admitted Margary Hinds, "our brother John Underhill's maid servant."

The earliest existing minute book of proceedings of the Selectmen who governed Boston, gives the list of the members present at the meeting of "1634, month 7, day 1," in the following order: Jno. Winthrop, WM. CODDINGTON, Captain UNDERHILL, Thos. Oliver, and six others. (N. E. Gen. Reg. IV, 124.) It will be noticed that at least two of the ancestors of Anne Mott were sitting at that Council Board, Coddington and Underhill. Captain John Underhill had now been more than four years in Boston.

There was a good deal of party strife in the early days of Boston, as well as since, but in those days when the local government undertook to define and to enforce religious orthodoxy, as well as good morals and honest dealing, there entered into party strife some elements from which we are fortunately free. John Winthrop and Sir Henry Vane represented opposite parties, and John Underhill, who was with Vane rather than with Winthrop, was sometimes accused of failure in morality as well as of failure in orthodoxy. But his abilities as a soldier were not questioned, and in 1637 his friend Sir Henry Vane, then in power, put him in command of the troops of the Colony, and sent him to Saybrook, Connecticut, against the Indians, and he destroyed the Indian forts on Mystic River and broke the power of the Pequots. From this expedition he returned successful the same year. But soon afterwards, on the 7th of November, 1637, for sins of commission or for sins of omission, Captain Underhill was banished from Massachusetts. On this, in 1638 he returned to England and there printed a book entitled "News of America," etc., "by Captain John Underhill, a commander in the warres there." The book gave a good account of the Pequot war, where, as above stated, he had been very successful.

"Myself," he wrote, "received an arrow through my coat sleeve, and a second against my helmet on the forehead, so, if God in his Providence had not moved the heart of my wife to persuade me to carry it along with me, I had been slain. * * *Let no man despise advice and council from his wife, though she be a woman*," adds the gallant Captain with emphasis.

On his return to America he petitioned the Court for 300 acres of land which he said of right was his, but his petition was not granted, and he went to Dover, in New Hampshire, where he was chosen Governor in place of Barret. Governor Winthrop unsuccessfully interfered in Dover, and UNDERHILL retained his position, and through his influence Hansard Knollys was made minister at Dover. But neither the minister nor the Governor seem to have led regular lives at Dover, and subsequently both left. Knollys returned to Boston, confessed his faults, and was reinstated. On this Captain Underhill also went to Boston and

made confession, accusing himself of immorality, and promising amendment. His confession did not procure his reinstatement until after much controversy, but he was finally again admitted to communion, and after six months of good behaviour, the Court relieved him from the sentence of banishment. Governor Winthrop's journal relates that, "the Governor and Captain Underhill being on a journey" were bountifully entertained by Captain Endicott.

But dissensions in Boston naturally turned Captain Underhill's consideration to the newer English settlements on Long Island Sound, and to the Dutch in the New Netherlands. He had passed many years, it will be remembered, among the Dutch in Europe, and was familiar with their language and their customs, and was now well known in New Amsterdam, and his military services against the Indians had made him acquainted with all the English settlements and their surroundings. In April, 1640, Captain Daniel Patrick bought Indian lands near Norwalk, and soon after this date Captain JOHN UNDERHILL was settled in Stamford, making occasional visits to New Amsterdam.

In 1643 Captain JOHN UNDERHILL was representative from Stamford to the General Court at New Haven, and at the same time the Dutch settlements in the New Netherlands were in danger of destruction from the Indians. Governor Kieft, in an attempt to intimidate the Indians, made a midnight attack, in February, 1643, upon an unsuspecting encampment, where the Indians had their women and children, many of whom were killed, and this had so exasperated them, that all the tribes seemed to unite in a fierce war on the Dutch. They had destroyed all the outlying Dutch settlements and were threatening New Amsterdam.

In this situation Governor Kieft convoked the Eight Men of New Amsterdam to deliberate on what had best be done. (4th October, 1643.) It was decided to apply to New England for assistance, and the Eight Men made, at the same time, an appeal to the home government. In despondent terms, and at considerable length, they relate the evil that has fallen on the Dutch Colony. They say: (O'Callaghan I; 292.)

"So then, it is, that we poor inhabitants of New Netherlands were pursued in the Spring by the wild heathen and barbarous savages with fire and sword. Daily have they cruelly murdered men and women in our houses and fields; and with hatchet and tomahawk struck little children dead in their parents' arms, or before their doors, or taken them far away into captivity, Cattle of all descriptions are killed, and such as remain must perish the approaching winter for want of fodder. Every place almost is abandoned. We, the wretched people, must skulk with wives and little ones, that are still left, in poverty together, by and around the fort on the Manhattes, where we are not one hour safe."

This was the situation at New Amsterdam when the Dutch authorities decided to ask Captain John Underhill to come to their aid. The Dutch and the English had, it is true, occasional disputes with each other. The

English always contended that the Dutch were intruders upon territory which were rightfully English by prior discovery, while the Dutch on the other hand complained of English aggressions, but both had a common enemy in the Indians, and now the Dutch asked English aid.* In addition therefore to Captain Underhill's recognized ability as a military leader, was the belief that as an Englishman he was in better position to bring English aid to the Dutch. And Underhill himself seems to be almost equally at home with the English and the Dutch.

Captain Patrick, of Norwalk, sent word to New Amsterdam, of an Indian camp in what is now the town of Bedford, in Westchester County, and a company of 120 men was sent, nominally under Counsellor La Montagne, by way of Greenwich, and the next day they marched in search of the Indians, but did not find them, and returned to Stamford and made a halt there over Sunday. On Sunday afternoon a Dutch soldier called at Captain Underhill's house, while the people were at church, and finding Captain Patrick there, charged him with having misled them, and in the quarrel Captain Patrick was shot dead, and the soldier escaped. This was on the 2d of January, 1644. (O'Callaghan I, 298.)

Captain Underhill returned with the troops to New Amsterdam and accompanied another expedition, also under the nominal command of Counsellor LaMontagne, in a very successful attack upon the Indians in Hempstead. They reported that they left a hundred and twenty savages dead on the field, with only a loss on their own side of one man killed and three wounded.

On their return from Hempstead, Captain Underhill was sent to Stamford to learn the situation of the Indian camp there, and in February he was sent in command of 130 men in three yachts to Greenwich, to attack them. They landed in the evening in a snow storm, but the next morning, the weather having moderated they commenced their march and reached the Indian Village about ten o'clock that night, in bright moonlight. The Indian huts were set on fire, and a fierce fight resulted in the almost entire destruction of the Indians. Some of the Indians afterwards reported their loss at five hundred. "The Lord having collected the most of our enemies there to celebrate some peculiar festival" is a phrase occurring in an English report of the fight.

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*New Haven records of the General Court relates, under date 27th October, 1643. that request was made to Captain Underhill and Mr. Allerton, by instruction from the Dutch Governor and some of the freemen of that jurisdiction, for the raising of one hundred soldiers out of the plantations of the English, and armed and victualed, to be led by Captain Underhill, against the Indians, now in hostility against the Dutch, to be paid for by bills of Exchange, in Holland. (N. E. Gen. Reg. VIII, 269.)

Captain Underhill returned to New Amsterdam in triumph, and the Indians soon after solicited his intervention to establish peace.*

This brief campaign of a few months seems to have left the Dutch Colony in permanent safety from serious Indian attacks. Captain Underhill went the same year (1644) to Flushing, with the Rev. Mr. Denton, but he appears to have remained subject to military service with the Dutch. The following year (1645) he was elected one of the "Eight Men" forming the Governor's Council in New Amsterdam. This was during the administration of Governor Kieft, who had finally learned that he must respect popular sentiment. On the coming in of Governor Stuyvesant, in 1647, the old imperious spirit of absolute power in the Governor was again revived, and popular sentiment, and especially the foreign element in it, was disregarded. But Captain Underhill acquired new interests on Long Island, and gradually sided more and more with the English element against the Dutch.

This was the time of the Civil war in England. The arbitrary exercise of power by Stuyvesant was similar to that against which Parliament had been in controversy with King Charles. The King had surrendered to Parliament in January, 1647, and a few months later (May, 1647), Stuyvesant arrived at New Amsterdam. Of course all Englishmen were specially interested in events in England. And when a little later war broke out between England and the Netherlands their respective Colonists shared in the hostile feeling. It was in December, 1652, that the Dutch Admiral Van Tromp, after defeating the British fleet, sailed along the coasts of England with a broom tied to his masthead to signify that he was sweeping England from the sea. Cromwell was now supreme in England and doubtless Captain Underhill had the majority of his English neighbors with him, when on the 20th of May, 1653, he hoisted the Parliament colors in Flushing, and issued an address assailing Stuyvesant and his administration. The address charged Stuyvesant with having unlawfully imposed taxes, contrary to the privileges of freemen, violated liberty of conscience, imprisoned both English and Dutch without trial, enacted general laws without the approbation of his government and "imposed magistrates on freemen, without election and voting." * * "And this great autocracy and tyranny," says the address, "is too grievous for any Englishman and good Christian to endure." (N. Y. Civil List, p. 37.)

* An English narrative printed in "London, by Thomas Matthys" a little later, gives this account of Captain Underhill's services:

"When about six years past, the Dutch were reduced by the Indians to the most perilous extremities, they solicited the aid and succor of the English, which we sent them without delay, under the command of Captain John Underhill, a person of courage, experience and prudence * * * who hazarded an attack on the Indians in vindication of the Dutch, by which in one night fourteen hundred savages were killed without any remarkable loss to the English. By this heroic act, they restored, with the aid of the Almighty, peace and tranquility to the Dutch." (O'Callaghan II, 571.)

Captain Underhill was a good soldier, but perhaps not a shrewd politician. He was speaking to the Dutch as well as to the English, and his address was not followed by any popular rising. On the contrary he was himself warned to quit the Province. And he was wanted elsewhere.

On the 24th of May, 1653, four days after the date of the above address, the authorities of Providence appointed Captain John Underhill by land, and William Dyer on the sea, to capture Dutch property. On the 27th of June, a month later, Captain Underhill in command of the English troops, siezed the Dutch Fort of Good Hope, near Hartford, on the Connecticut River, with all the dependent lands and held them till the 13th of the following October (1653), when he sold them to "William Gibbens and Richard Lord, of Hartford," for the money to pay his soldiers. This ended the Dutch possessions on the Connecticut River. (N. E. Gen. Reg. VI, 369.) Two years later (16th July, 1655), Captain Underhill gave a confirmatory deed of the property to the same parties. (O'Callaghan's New Netherlands, II, 570.)

Van Tromp's taunt with the broom at his masthead in December was avenged the following July (1653), when the Dutch fleet was defeated with great loss, and Van Tromp himself was killed. Peace between the two nations very soon followed, and more peaceable relations were reëstablished between the English and Dutch colonists of New Netherlands. And Stuyvesant in the end found himself obliged to concede to the people much of the liberty of popular representation which Captain Underhill had demanded—"privileges after the manner of Fatherland," as the Dutch claimed.

A little later Captain Underhill obtained from the Matinecock Indians a tract of land in Oyster Bay, where he finally settled. To this tract he gave the name of Kenelworth, as above stated, after the Kenelworth of the Earl of Leicester in Warwickshire, near which the Underhill family had lived for many generations. But the Long Island Kenelworth has more often been called Killingworth. Here Captain John Underhill made his home for the remainder of his life. The English interest was yearly growing stronger in the Province, and especially on Long Island. In February, 1663, an agreement for peaceable intercourse between the Dutch and the English was drawn up and signed on behalf of the Dutch by O. Stevens Van Cortlandt, J. Backer and John Lawrence, and on behalf of the English by JOHN UNDERHILL, David Denton and ADAM MOTT. (O'Callaghan II, 578.) It was stipulated that "until his Majestie of England and the States General, doe ffully determine the whole difference about the said Island," the Dutch and the English shall respectively have equal rights in all the territory. It may be of interest to note that two out of the three signers to this convention on behalf of the English were ancestors of Adam and Anne Mott. (Records in the Department of State at Albany.)

The Duke of York proposed to settle the differences between the English and the Dutch in New Netherlands on the

"Good old plan,
That they should take who have the power,
And they should keep who can."

It must be remembered that the expedition sent out by Sir Walter Raleigh in 1584 discovered or landed on territory to which Queen Elizabeth gave the name of Virginia, which a part of the territory still retains, and that Viginia as then understood extended from latitude 34° to 45° north. This carried "Virginia" far enough north to include all the coast of what we now call Maine, and it was all "Virginia" for many years. More than thirty years after Raleigh's time, the Pilgrims of the Mayflower, in 1620, founded Plymouth in "Northern Virginia." Under this construction the Dutch were intruders, and the New Netherlands were always a part of Virginia. And on this construction Charles II., in March, 1664, granted the land in the Dutch occupation to his brother, the Duke of York; and the Duke borrowed four ships of the King and sent Colonel Nicolls, with 450 troops, to take possession of the territory. The fleet was at Boston in July, and Colonel Nicolls was advised to invite Captain THOMAS WILLET to accompany him to New Amsterdam, as a man in whom the Dutch as well as the English had confidence. Captain WILLET accordingly accompanied the fleet, which reached New Amsterdam near the end of August, and Stuyvesant surrendered the colony without firing a shot, on the 8th of September (1664). Thus one of Anne Mott's ancestors, Captain THOMAS WILLET, as a friend of both parties, was present at the surrender which made New Amsterdam New York, and this bit of history is quoted to show how Captain JOHN UNDERHILL, also an ancestor of Anne Mott, now found his possessions in Oyster Bay, English territory.

In the struggles for popular representation between the Dutch Governors and the people several Conventions had been held, where representatives of each settlement had been elected by the people to attend. The first Convention was held in November, 1653, having representatives from only New Amsterdam, Gravesend, Flushing and Newtown. At a Convention held the following month (December, 1653), Hempstead, Flatlands, Brooklyn and Flatbush were added, and the two members from Hempstead, WILLIAM WASHBURN and JOHN SEAMAN, were ancestors of Adam or of Anne Mott. The next Convention was held in 1663, and another in February, 1664, and again in April, 1664, which added several new towns, but thus far Oyster Bay had never been represented, and perhaps had not hitherto had a settlement entitling it to representation. But in March, 1665, six months after the landing of Governor Nicolls, another Convention was held, in which seventeen towns were represented, and Oyster Bay now came in for the first time, with John Underhill and Mathias Harvey as representatives. This was

nineteen years since Captain John Underhill had first served as one of the eight men in New Amsterdam in 1645, and eleven years after he had hoisted the colors of Parliament in Flushing.

In 1665, Captain John Underhill was probably nearly seventy years of age. He had married, about 1658, as second wife, Elizabeth Feakes, daughter of Robert and Elizabeth Feakes, and sister of Hannah Feakes, the second wife of John Bowne of Flushing, one of the most prominent and faithful members of the Society of Friends. Thus John Underhill, the Captain in a hundred fights, came at length under the peaceful influences of the Quakers, and in the end became himself a member of the Society.

We have no record of the death of his first wife, Helena, the Holland lady. Her children were : first, Elizabeth, baptized 14th of February, 1636 ; second, John, baptized 24th of April, 1642, at 13 days old, and died at Killingworth 29th of October, 1692. The descent of Anne Mott is from this eldest son John.

The list of the children of Captain John Underhill and the second wife, Elizabeth Feakes is here quoted as given in Friends' records, where it is stated that the children were born at Killingworth:

" Deborah Vnderhill, ye daughter of John and Elizabeth Vnderhill, borne ye 29th of 9th month, 1659.

Nathaniel Vnderhill borne ye 22d day of ye 12th month, 1663.

Hannah Vnderhill borne ye 2d day of ye 10th month, 1666.

Elizabeth Vnderhill borne ye 2d of ye 5th month, 1669.

David Vnderhill borne ye 2d month, 1672."

Captain JOHN UNDERHILL himself died at Killingworth the 21st of 7th month, 1672, and was buried on his own estate.

It is stated that Captain John Underhill was appointed Sheriff by Colonel Nicolls, in 1665, but it is not likely that he held the office long. Probably the later years of his life were passed quietly at Kenelworth or Kilingworth.

Captain John Underhill's last will is dated 18th of September, 1671, He gives the use of his whole estate to his

" wife, Elizabeth Underhill, during her widowhood ; but if she marry, then my brother John Bowne and Henry Townsend and Matthew Pryor and my son John Underhill, I empower hereby that they see to ye estate that ye children be not wronged nor turned off without some proportionable allowance, as ye estate will afford, and that my son Nathaniel remain with his mother until 21 years," etc. (Queen Co. Records, Liber B, p. 91.)

Nathaniel remained with his mother until 21, as provided in the will, and then moved to Westchester and married, and in 1686–7, March 22, Nathaniel Underhill and Mary his wife, of the County of Westchester, conveyed all their interests in Oysterbay " which is the land that my father, John Underhill Sen., lived upon, with forty acres in the woods which I bought of the Indians," to his half-brother, John Underhill, who

thus acquired the whole estate. Most of the Underhills of Westchester County are descended from this Nathaniel.

JOHN UNDERHILL, the eldest son of the Captain, married on the 1st of 8th month, 1668, at the age of 26. MARY PRIOR, born 1st January, 1652, died 29th May, 1698, daughter of MATTHEW and MARY PRIOR, highly respected Friends, of Matinecock. The bride was thus in her 17th year at the time of her marriage.

Friends' records give "the children of Matthew and Mary Prior, of Killingworth," as follows: (N. Y. Gen. Rec., III, 186.)

John Prier, ye sonn of Matt. and Mary Prier, was borne in ye 12th month, 1651.

MARY PRIER was borne in ye 1st month, 1652.

Elizabeth Prier was borne in ye 6th month, 1656.

Sarah Prier was borne in ye 8th month, 1664.

Martha Prier was born ye 15th of ye 8th month, 1672.

John Pryor above, "of Killingworth," married 2d of 9th month, 1678, Elizabeth Bowne, of Flushing. Sarah Pryor married 30th of 6th month, 1686, at her father's house, John Gould, son of David and Wait Gould, of Rhode Island. Martha Pryor married 24th of 5th month, 1693, Simon Cooper, son of Mary Cooper, of Oysterbay.

The eldest son, JOHN UNDERHILL JR., passed his life at Killingworth, a reputable member of the Society of Friends. He died there, as above stated, in 1692, in his 51st year. His wife survived him more than six years, and died at the age of 46. Their children are given in Friends records as follows:

"The children of John and Mary Vnderhill, of Killingworth,

John Vnderhill, ye son of John and Mary Vnderhill, of Killingworth was borne ye 1st of ye 5th month, 1670.

Daniel Vnderhill was borne ye 3d of ye 9th month, 1672.

SAMUEL VNDERHILL was borne ye 18th of ye 12th month, 1674.

Mary Vnderhill was borne ye 26th of ye 2d month, 1677.

Abraham Vnderhill was borne ye 28th of ye 6th month, 1679.

Deborah Vnderhill was borne ye 11th of ye 2d month, 1682.

SARAH VNDERHILL was borne ye 17th of ye 6th month, 1687.

Jacob Vnderhill was borne ye 16th of ye 10th month, 1689.

Hannah Vnderhill was borne ye 23d of ye 1st month, 1689–90.

(N. Y. Gen. Rec. III, 186.)

Two of these children of the younger JOHN UNDERHILL and his wife MARY PRIOR, are in the ancestry of Anne Mott.

SARAH, born 17th of 6th month, 1687, married 9th month 25th, 1708, THOMAS PEARSALL, born 18th of 4th month, 1679, son of Nathaniel and Martha Pearsall, of Hempsted, and their daughter SARAH PEARSALL, who married first RICHARD MOTT, and second, Richard Alsop, was the mother of the elder James Mott, Anne Mott's father.

SAMUEL UNDERHILL, born as above, 18th of 12th month, 1674, married Hannah Willitts, born ——, died 1st January, 1753, daughter of Thomas Willitts.

From marriage certificate of the "younger son Adam" Mott.

SAMUEL and HANNAH (Willitts) Underhill, lived in Oysterbay, near the home of his late grandfather, Captain JOHN UNDERHILL, and like his father, were reputable members of the Society of Friends.

Friends' record give as follows: "the children of SAMUEL and HANNAH VNDERHILL, of Oysterbay. (N. Y. Gen. Rec. IV, 37.)

Amee Vnderhill born ye 9th day 9th month, 1702.
Dinah Vnderhill born ye 20th day 7th month, 1705.
SAMUEL VUNDERHILL born ye 8th day 9th month, 1708.
Abraham Vnderhill born ye 12th day 12th month, 1715–16.

1. Amee, the eldest daughter, as above, born 9th of 9th month, 1702, died 7th September, 1779; married 17th July, 1729, William Lathrop, ancestor of Dr. Samuel Lathrop Mitchell, LL.D., of New York.
2. Dinah, the second child, in 1738, January 27th; married John Bowne.
3. SAMUEL the eldest son, born as above, 8th of 9th month, 1708, died 1780; married 10th month 23d, 1737, ANN CARPENTER, born 24th 9th month, 1716, died 1803, daughter of JOSEPH and MARY (WILLET) CARPENTER, of the town of Oysterbay.
4. Abraham Underhill, of Matinecock, born as above, 12th of 12th month, 1715; married Dinah, daughter of Isaac Willits.

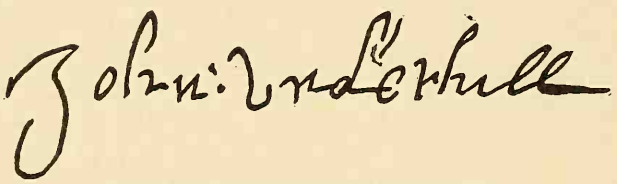
SAMUEL UNDERHILL, No. 3, above, the great-grandson of Captain JOHN and HELENA UNDERHILL, lived in the town of Oysterbay, in a farming neighborhood, called in his day, Cedar Swamp, and there brought up his children as named below.

1. Joseph, of North Carolina, born in Oysterbay, 1st of 8th month, 1738; married 1765.
2. Samuel, born 26th of 5th month, 1740, will proved 1797; married 28th of 3d month, 1771, Anna Willis, born 15th of 10th month, 1748, daughter of Robert Willis.
3. MARY, born 31st of 1st month, 1745, died about 1776; married while living at Cedar Swamp, back of what is now Glen Cove, JAMES MOTT, and settled in New York, where she had—
   - Richard, born in New York, 10th of 1st month, 1767, died at Mamaroneck, 29th of 7th month, 1856.
   - ANNE, born in New York, 31st of 7th month, 1768, died in Rochester, 5th of 8th month, 1852.
   - Robert, born in New York, 1771, died 21st of 3d month, 1805.

Samuel, born in New York, 1773, died 8th of 10th month, 1843.

4. Andrew, born 17th of 4th month, 1749; died 1794; married, 3d of 11th month, 1774, Deborah, daughter of Richard Willits.
5. James, born 1751, died 1752.
6. Thomas Underhill, of Flushing, born 18th of 5th month, 1755; died 1834; married Elizabeth Thorne, and had no children.
7. Robert.
8. Hannah.

About the time of the American Revolution, SAMUEL and ANN (CARPENTER) UNDERHILL removed to Mamaroneck—their son SAMUEL then living in the neighborhood—and also their daughter Mary, who had married James Mott, but their daughter MARY MOTT died about 1776, leaving four minor children—Anne Mott, our Grandmother, being the second—and SAMUEL UNDERHILL himself died in 1780, after which his widow made her home with her grandchildren, in the house of her son-in-law James Mott, and occasionally with other children, until her death in 1803.



Autograph of Captain John Underhill.

CHAPTER XX.

THE WILLIS ANCESTRY.

Adam Mott's mother, SARAH WILLIS, was the daughter of SAMUEL and MARY (FRY) WILLIS, esteemed Friends of Jericho, where they lived in easy circumstances on their own acres. Here, also, Samuel Willis had himself been born, and here Mary Fry and Samuel Willis had been brought up together in rural simplicity and devout Quakerism, and here in like devotion to Quakerism had they brought up their own children.

The story of MARY FRY and SAMUEL WILLIS is not without its simple rural romance. The name of MARY FRY does not bring before me the venerable figure of our grandfather, Adam Mott's own grandmother who lived to be honored by her own great-grandchildren in her eighty-eighth year, in 1800.

On the contrary, the name of MARY FRY brings before me the charming Quaker maiden, who was 15 years old in 1727, and had already captivated her neighborhood. She was an orphan from her infancy, but an heiress and a belle, if a devout Quaker maiden can be called a belle, and when young Samuel Willis fell in love with her he found he must win her from many competitors. But he had this in his favor, she was his father's ward and dwelling under his father's roof. Let us inquire, then, who his father was.

Samuel Willis' father and mother, WILLIAM WILLIS and MARY TITUS his wife, were also in their day esteemed Friends of Westbury. WILLIAM WILLIS, the eldest son of HENRY WILLIS, the immigrant, had been himself born in England, in the County of Wilts, in 1663, and came to America when a boy of 12 years, with his father's family, in 1675. A little later, the father, HENRY WILLIS (grandfather of Samuel), bought land in Hempstead (Queens County, Long Island), of Captain JOHN SEAMAN, and here made a permanent settlement, and gave the place the name of Westbury, after a town in his native County of Wiltshire. The place in Hempstead had been previously called "Plainedge," the edge of the plain, or "Woodedge," the edge where the wood joined the plain. And here HENRY WILLIS had found EDMOND TITUS, a much earlier immigrant than the Willis family, already settled many years before their coming, perhaps one of their inducements to come. And as the Titus family was from Westbury in Wiltshire, it is probable that the Willis and Titus families agreed on the name which the place still bears.

And here, in the new Westbury in the new world, the Willis and Titus families grew up in intimacy. Edmond Titus had been in Hempstead

since 1650, and was now counted an old settler. Henry Willis came nearly twenty-seven years later, in 1677. And after Henry Willis and his family had lived in Westbury nearly a dozen years, his eldest son, William Willis, who had come from England with his father, as above stated, as a boy of twelve years, now, in the maturity of his 24th year, married on the 12th of June, 1687, MARY TITUS, two years his junior, the daughter of Edmond Titus, who, as a boy of five years, had come from London with his father to New England in 1635.

But when WILLIAM WILLIS and MARY TITUS thus, in 1687, founded a new family in Westbury, it must be remembered that it was not the Westbury of to-day. The Willis and the Titus families, and some other families in the vicinity were Friends, and had been among the earliest adherents of George Fox, but no meeting house then stood where we now see the venerable and picturesque meeting house at Westbury. Nor had the farmers who were settling in the neighborhood yet been able to provide themselves with such spacious and handsome houses and farm buildings as we now see on the highly cultivated farms of their descendants. But where there were Friends there were meetings, and in the absence of meeting houses the meetings were held in such private houses as Friends then occupied.

A meeting had been established at Westbury, when the place was still called Plainedge, on the 25d of 3d month, 1671. This was before Henry Willis had left England. The meeting was to begin on "the 25th of 4th month, aud so every fifth First day;" and was held at Westbury or "Plainedge," at the house of Edmond Titus. Other meetings were held on the intervening First days at other Friends' houses in other neighborhoods—at Jericho, Bethpage, &c. After the coming of Henry Willis in 1677, the meetings were sometimes held at his house instead of the house of Edmond Titus in Westbury. In 1697, the Monthly Meeting revised the rule, and it was directed that "a meeting shall be held every five weeks, on the First day, to begin at Edmond Titus', the next First day at Jerusalem, the next at Bethpage, next at Jericho, and next at Hempstead. Traveling ministers, when they reached Westbury, usually stopped at the house of Edmond Titus, and after the coming of Henry Willis they sometimes stopped with him.

Henery (they wrote his name in three syllables in those days) and Mary (Peace) Willis maintained their honorable position among Friends at Westbury to the end of their lives, and died within a few weeks of each other in 1714. The wife died first. Their deaths are thus mentioned in Friends' Records:

"Mary Willis, wife of Henery Willis, an Innocent woman, died ye 23 of 4th mo., 1714—aged 82 years."

"Henery Willis of Westbury died 11 of 7 mo. 1714, aged 86 years."

At the time of their death, their eldest son, William Willis, had passed his fiftieth birthday, and his wife, Mary Titus, had entered her forty-

ninth year, and William Willis' youngest son, Samuel, was now ten years old. From the time of their marriage in 1687, the new family of William and Mary Willis gradually took honorable rank among the Friends of Westbury. Seven children were born to them, beginning with a younger William in 1688, and ending with a younger Mary, the only daughter, in 1709, who died an infant the same year.

And into this household of William and Mary Willis, half a dozen years after the birth and the death of their daughter Mary, the orphan Mary Fry was to be admitted as a member, and William Willis was to be one of her guardians. But when William Willis' youngest child and only daughter Mary was born and died, John Fry, Jr., and Mary Urquhart, who were to be the parents of Mary, were not yet married.

John Fry, Jr., who in 1711 married Mary Urquhart, was the son of an elder John Fry of Jericho, in the town of Oyster Bay, and, apparently the father and the son were forehanded men; they were also members in good esteem of the Society of Friends. And this marriage is thus entered on Friends' record of Westbury:

"On the 19th day of ye 10th mo. in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eleven, at Westbury, John Fry, Jr., of Oyster Bay, &c., yeoman, son of John Fry of Oyster Bay, and Mary Urquhart, daughter of John Urquhart, now of East Jersey."

Hardly sixteen months later a little Mary Fry was born at Jericho, on the 16th of 2d month, 1713.

And less than two years after the baby's birth come these brief, sad entries in the Death Record:

Mary Fry, wife of John Fry, of Jericho, Dyed ye first of ye first month, 1714–15.

Above said John Fry dyed ye 9th of 1st month, 1714–15.

And thus baby Mary Fry was an orphan before she was two years old. Her father died nine days after her mother.

The father's will is on record in the New York Surrogate's office (VIII, 339), and is dated 4th of 1st month, 1714–15, five days before his death. He describes himself as "John Fry, of Oysterbay * * sick and weak of body, but understanding sound and memory good." * * And then he adds "I will my immortal soul into the hands of God who gave it, in hope of eternal salvation through Jesus Christ my only Saviour and Redeemer." He gives all his property, which seems to be considerable, to his "beloved wife Mary Fry and daughter Mary Fry." But he expected that his wife would soon become the mother of a second child, and if this child should be a son, he was to have the chief part of the property, reserving, however, a home of 102 acres, with one-half of all the movable property to his wife and daughter. He names as his Executors his "beloved wife Mary Fry" and his "uncle William Fry," and his "loving friends SAMUEL UNDERHILL and WILLIAM WILLIS."

And there is no restriction, such as some husbands unkindly make, on a second marriage of the young widow whom he supposed he was about to leave. Nor was there any need of such restriction, for on the day of the date of the Will which so lovingly remembered her, the young wife was already four days dead. Her death seems to have been concealed from her husband, perhaps in consideration of his own fatal illness, for, as stated above, he died five days after the date of the Will.*

The Will was proved on the 26th of March; and on the 1st of April, 1715, the Governor, Robert Hunter, issued testamentary letters to the three surviving Executors, and also appointed them "guardians to the said Mary Fry, to take care of her and of her estate." The Governor's letter states that the orphan was but two years old, and that her mother died before her father. When WILLIAM WILLIS was thus appointed guardian to the infant Mary Fry, his youngest son SAMUEL, whom she afterwards married, was in his eleventh year. Samuel had no sister, William Willis' only daughter, three years younger than Samuel, had died an infant years before, and Samuel's next older brother, was dead. There only remained Jacob, who never married, and was 18 when Mary Fry was born, John Willis, who was twenty years older than Mary Fry, Henry, who was 23 years older, and William Junior, who was 25 years older, and three of these brothers were already married and gone.

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* The Fry family will need further researchs to make a connected story, but the few items which have been picked up are here arranged in chronological order.

1. Hotton's list of emigrants, "May, 1638, Southampton—List of persons intending to ship themselves in the Bevis of Hampton CL tonnes Robert Battin Mr. for N. England"—among them are "John Fry, of Basing (wheelwright), and his wife and three children;" among the passengers was also "Adam Mott Taylor, aged 19."

The following items are from Friends' Records, and are all printed in N. Y. Gen. Rec. as noted:

2. Frances Frey deceased at Lusum ye 23d of 10th month, 1686. (VII, 40.)

3. Mary Frey, daughter of Frances Frey, died at Lusum the 26th of ye 12th month, 1686. (VII, 40.)

4. Mary Frey, ye wife of John Frey, died at Lusum ye 23d of ye 11th month, 1687. (VII, 40.)

5. Children of John and Mary Frey of Lusum, on Long Island. Joht Frey, son of John and Mary Frey, was born ye 15th day of ye 11th month, 1687. (III, 190.)

6. Mary Frey, daughter of ye above John Frey, was born ye 16th day of ye 12th month, 1712–13. (III, 190.)

7. Married, the 7th day of ye 1st month, 1686–7, at Jerico, John Fry of Jerico, &c., and Mary Willis, both of Jerico. (VI, 98.)

8. Ye 23d day of the 12th month, 1707, at Oysterbay, William Glading, late of Burlington, in West Jersey, and Mary Fry, daughter of William Fry and Tomeson Fry, of Oysterbay, &c. (VI, 100.)

9. The 19th day of ye 10th month, in the year of our Lord, 1711, at Westbury, John Fry Jr., of Oysterbay and Mary Urquhart, daughter of John Urquhart, now of East Jersey. (VI, 101.)

10. Mary Fry, wife of John Fry, of Jericho, dyed ye 1st day of ye 1st month, 1714–15.

11. Above said John Fry died ye 9th day of 1st month, 1714–15. (VII, 42.)

SAMUEL UNDERHILL, another guardian of little Mary Fry, was to be the grandfather of Anne Mott's mother, Mary Underhill, born many years later. The younger Samuel Underhill, who was to be Mary Underhill's father, was now but seven years old, his older sister Amey was eleven, and his younger brother Abraham but an infant. Probably his young ward, Mary Fry, was occasionally an inmate in Samuel Underhill's house.

The other guardian, John Fry's "Uncle William Fry" lived near him in Oysterbay, where the Frys had long been settled. Thirty years before this little Mary Fry had been left an orphan, another Mary Fry, wife of another John Fry, of Lusum (Jericho), had died there in 1687. And the year before this, in 10th month, 1686, Frances Fry died at Lusum, and Frances Fry's daughter, Mary Fry, had died in Lusum two months after her mother, in 12th month, 1686. I suppose that Frances Fry was the grandmother of the John Fry who in 1711 married Mary Urquhart. And near the record of the marriage of John Fry stands this record of the marriage at Jericho of his cousin, another Mary Fry.

"Ye 23 day of ye 12 month 1707 at Oysterbay William Glading late of Burlington in West Jersey, and Mary Fry daughter of William Fry and of Tomeson Fry of Oysterbay, &c."

I find no record of the residence provided by her guardians for baby Mary Fry, but she might doubtless remain for a time with her great Uncle William Fry at Jericho, or with other relatives there. It is certain that she matured young. She was a woman at fifteen, and was much sought after by the rural beaus of Westbury Monthly Meeting, as well for her personal attractions as for her inheritance. It is a tradition that she gave her guardians much anxiety, and that she was frequently removed from the house of one to that of another. But there remains some evidence that she was at times, perhaps was most of the time, in the house of WILLIAM WILLIS. The Bible which Mary Fry's father had inherited from his grandmother, Frances Fry, came with the young Mary to the house of William Willis, and still bears traces of the interest which it excited in young Samuel Willis. The Bible is still in the house which a hundred years ago was the home of Mary Fry's daughter Amy, who, in 1762, married Stephen Mott.

Mary Fry's Bible is a handsome book still, small quarto, "Printed by the printer to the University, Cambridge, Anno Domini 1630." in old English black letter, handsomely printed and with an elegantly engraved title page, and in fair preservation when last examined by this present editor on the 10th of July, 1881, in the possession of Elizabeth (Mott) Barrow, daughter of Henry Mott, and granddaughter of Mary Fry's daughter Amy. On a blank page, after the title page of the New Testament, is written in a large bold hand, with many flourishes:

"FRANCESES FRY
Her Book
1668."

This seems to be the original entry. This book, in the childish hands of Mary Fry, was very attractive to young Samuel Willis. On a blank page before the New Testament title page, he wrote, when he was in his sixteenth year, in a very legible hand, but with some unnecessary flourishes:

"MARY FRY Her
Book March ye 19 day 1719–18
writ by me SAMUEL WILLIS."

The winds of this month of March go by and the apple blossoms of May year after year fall on the heads of the young people in his father's orchard, and a few years later Mary is in her sixteenth year, and Samuel Willis writes again in Mary's Bible, but now on the same page on which we still read the ancient name of Frances Fry:

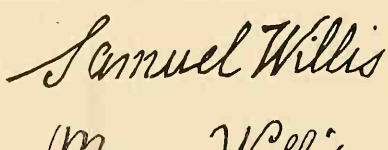
"SAMUEL WILLIS and MARY WILLIS
This book, left to MARY WILLIS
by her father JOHN FRY, writ this 1st of 1st mo.
Anno 1729."

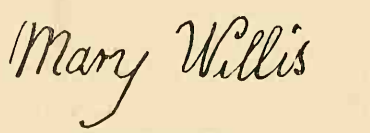
At this date Mary had been four months married. Her name is written, not Mary Fry, but Mary Willis. And even yet she was barely sixteen years old. She was born on the 16th of December, 1712, and when she was married, on the 2d of August, 1728, she was 15 years 7 months and 16 days old. Her husband, Samuel Willis, was in his 25th year.

At this writing, Samuel still recognizes Mary's ownership of her Bible. But a couple of years later he writes again:

"SAM. WILLIS
His Book
Anno Domini
1731—9 mo. 24 day."

He evidently now assumes that whatever had once belonged to Mary, now that she is his wife, belongs to him!





Born Mary Fry.

[From marriage certificate of their daughter Amy, 1762.]

And Mary Fry did in fact bring much property to Samuel Willis, including much land lying between Westbury and Roslyn, most of which was sold and the proceeds put into a more profitable shape. But a parcel of land near the Head of the Harbor, the village to which we now give the name of Roslyn, was retained because its yellow sand was apparently filled with grains of gold. This gold, it was hoped, would be a source of profit in which her children and her grandchildren should share. This story was told to this present editor by Cousin Mary Titus, the great-grandaughter of Mary (Fry) Willis, when Cousin Mary Titus was herself 94 years old (on the 31st of July, 1881), and she added that Uncle Stephen Mott told her (Cousin Mary Titus) that her share would be worth about eighteen pence. This present editor got out of the carriage to inspect this gold-bearing sand, and it shines with particles of gold, or perhaps of iron pyrites, now as it did two hundred years ago.

This notice of the Willis family seems, thus far, to have grouped its members around Samuel and Mary (Fry) Willis, through whom the connection with our Mott family took place. But the family was a notable one, and the hospitable house of Samuel Willis' parents, William and Mary Willis, at Westbury, was widely known. William Willis was a prosperous man. He had inherited considerable land from his father, Henry Willis, to which he continued to add field after field and farm after farm. His wife had ruled diligently in the wide range of work of a great farm household, and had enabled him to make profit on his many crops and thus, when in 1728 his youngest son Samuel was married, his land was all paid for and he had money out on bond. His Will, now on record in the Surrogate's office in New York (XII, 484), was written several years before he died, while he was still in vigorous health, and it gives interesting glimpses of his home, with his sons married and settled around him on his own land, and the Meeting house near by, and it will be of interest to his descendants of to-day to quote some passages from it as a picture of the times, and of the place in which William Willis lived in 1729. He describes himself as,—

"* * William Willis, of Hempstead, in Queens County, on Nassau Island, Yeoman, being, this 13th day of November, in the year of our Lord, 1729, in health of body and my memory good and understanding sound, thanks being given to the Lord for the same, and being willing to set my house in order, do make, appoint and ordain this to be my last Will and Testament. * * I will my body to the earth, to be buried at the discretion of my Executors, * * and do commit my soul to God that gave it me, in hopes of eternal salvation through Jesus Christ my only Saviour and Redeemer." He then directs all debts to be paid before any division of the estate shall be made, and goes on, "I will and bequeath unto my well beloved wife Mary, the equal half of my cleared land wheresoever, and the third part of my meadows both salt and fresh, and one of my dwelling houses, my cellars and kitchen and my barn, which of my dwelling houses she shall please to choose, and my two negro boys Dick and Prince, and my negro woman called Hager, and my

negro girl Rose, all, both houses, barn, land and meadows, and the equal quarter of my uncleared land, and negroes above named I will unto my wife above named, for her to have the use, benefit, and profit thereof, and every part thereof, so long as she doth remain my widow and no longer." (At this date he was in his 67th year and she in her 65th). "And after her decease or marriage to be equally divided among my sons as hereinafter mentioned. I also will and bequeath unto my wife, all my household goods, and the equal third part of all my movable estate out of doors, in cattle, horses, sheep, swine, with all the corn in the barn, or stack, or growing in the ground, of all sorts, and the interest or use of all my money due to me upon bond. The use of said money due upon bond, I will unto her during her widowhood, and then the money to be equally divided between all my five sons. * * I also will unto my wife all the equal half of all my tools, with all my plow and beast tackling and utensils of husbandry.

"I will unto my eldest son, William Willis, and to his heirs and assigns forever, the farm he dwelleth on, bounded north by ten acres of land Thomas Balden, deceased, and I bought of John Davis, and west by George Balden's land, and east by the land of Nathaniel Seaman and my own land, and south by the road.

"I will and bequeath to my son John Willis, and to his heirs and assigns forever, the land whereon his house standeth, with all the land that I have on the west side of George Balden's path that goeth from his house through his lot, and the point to south, and a piece of land on the east side of my son Henry's land, between that and the road that parts it, and the Meeting house ground, be it, in both pieces, in quantity of acres more or less.

"I will and bequeath to my son Henry and to his heirs and assigns forever, the land joyning, and whereon his house stands, bounded on the east by the fence that parts it from the land of my son John, above bequeathed to him, and on the north by the road, and on the west by the Brush plains, be it in quantity of land more or less.

"I will and bequeath to my two younger sons, Jacob and Samuel Willis, and to their heirs and assigns forever, all my farm that I do dwell on, with all the dwelling houses, barns, fences, fields and pastures, it being the north end of the lot of land my father bought of John Seaman, deceased, and five acres I bought of John Davis, and half a lot I bought of Jonathan Seaman, ded., and fifty acres my father bought of Richard Stits,* and ten acres being overplus of meadows on the west

* The name of Richard Stits recalls the quaint story of an elder Stits, his grandfather, related by Samuel Willis as having occurred near a hundred years before he wrote, and it is here quoted in Samuel Willis' own words :

"I remember to have heard a story that my father heard my grandfather Edmond Titus relate to him, which was on this wise : My grandfather and another young man being amongst others at a neighbour's house a husking Indian Corn, and my grandfather and another young man intending a journey next day on foot fifty miles, and they happened to let drop some account of their intended journey the next day to the company, there being then an old man in the company, one Stites, which was then upwards of an hundred years old. This old man, intending the same day to go the same journey, desired my grandfather and the other young man to wait the next morning for him, for he should be glad of their company. The old man had a mile that night to go back to his lodgings. The young men, not willing to have the old man in company with them, lest he should be unable to travel with them, and so stop them from proceeding in their travel, therefore the young men concluded to get ready early in the morning before the old man came, and so set out out and leave him behind. But early in the morning the old man came, before the young men were ready, upon which the young men concluded to run the risque of travelling with

side thereof, joining to the Harbor path from the plains that the trustees laid out to me on my right of land on the Commons—the one-half thereof for them to enjoy when the first crop thereon, after my decease, is taken, and the other half at the decease or marriage of their mother."

The will then adds sixteen acres "north of the road that leads from John Titus' house to the harbor." All of the land given to them to be equally divided between Jacob and Samuel, and if either dies without children, the other to have the whole—but they to pay £50 each to their elder brothers, and two more after the death of their mother.

The will then divides many other parcels of land, particularizing them, among his different sons, including 250 acres of land at Fishkill, in Duchess County.

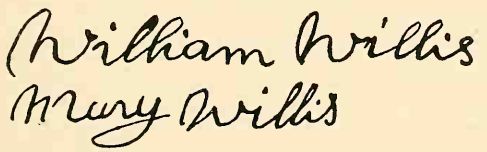
All the negroes to choose their masters from among his sons after the death of his wife.

He names his executors his "loving wife Mary Willis and my friends THOMAS PEARSALL and SAMUEL UNDERHILL."

The will was proved on the 7th of May, 1736, more than six years after it was made.

The liberal provision made in the will for the widow is no more than, with his ample means, William Willis ought to have made, but this several times great-grandson of William Willis who now, nearly two centuries after the writing of it, is commenting on his will, desires even at this late day, to record his disunity with the other and very different provisions of the will forfeiting (in the most improbable event of her second marriage) the widow's share of those worldly goods which her own frugal diligence through many years of care had helped to lay up for their old age.

William Willis was born in England on the 16th of October, 1663, and died in Westbury on the 7th of March, 1736, in his 73d year. His wife, Mary Titus, survived him nearly 12 years. She was born in May, 1665, and died 31st October, 1747, in her 83d year.



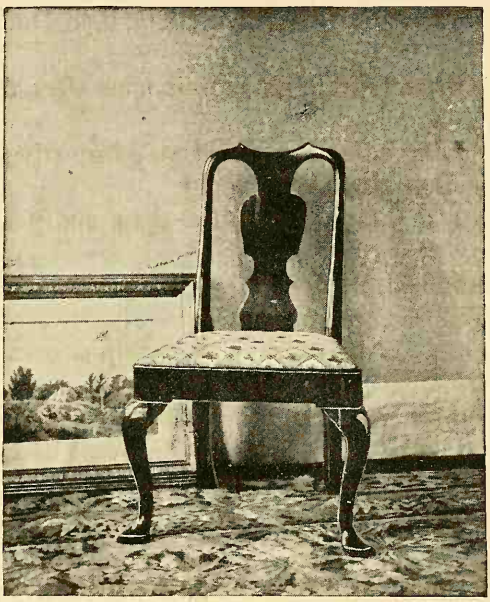
["From marriage certificate of Adam Mott, 1731."]

When William Willis made his will, in 1729, his youngest son, Samuel, had been married more than a year, but had no children. But it has

the old man. The old man had a bundle hung on his staff and the staff across his shoulder, and in that posture they set forward, and after some miles travel the old man gained ground and was some distance before them, and so set down to wait their coming up with him; and called upon the young men to travel faster, the young men, expecting the old man would soon give out, and they should be obliged to help him before they got to their journey's end. But the old man continued travelling with his Budget, and once in a while would get before the young men and set down to rest himself till the young men came up, and so continued to the end of the journey, and overdid the young men at last. I have been informed that this old man lived to upwards of 120 years. He was great-grandfather to William Stites that lived at Westbury."

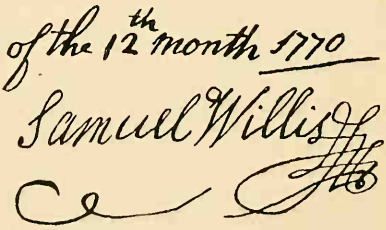
been seen that his father's will left Samuel and his brother Jacob a good deal of property, including the house in which William and Mary Willis were then living, and the farm which made their home, and if either of the two sons dies without children, the other to have the whole, and as Jacob died unmarried, in 1750, all this property probably came to Samuel. And Mary Fry's substantial acres, even had he inherited nothing from his father, would have made Samuel Willis a man of means.

The good things of this world which Samuel and Mary (Fry) Willis had thus inherited, were not wasted, and with the thrifty diligence which they also inherited, passed down to their children and their childrens' children, and some of the good things with which they endowed their daughter Jane when she became the second wife of James Parsons, survive to-day, and this present Editor reproduces again on this page the photograph of one of Aunt Jane Parson's chairs, which has descended to him, and now stands in his parlor, a witness to the prosperity of Samuel and Mary (Fry) Willis a century and a half ago, and a witness also to the bond which connects him and his generation with them.



ONE OF AUNT JANE (WILLIS) PARSONS' CHAIRS.

Samuel Willis was not only a man of means, he was also better educated than most of his neighbors, and was much consulted and looked up to. Se served his neighborhood as surveyor, and some of his maps are still extant, one of which is copied in *fac simile* in this volume. It is one dividing between his two sons-in-law, Adam Mott, who married his daughter Sarah, and Stephen Mott, who married his daughter Amy, the five or six hundred acres of land which has been left them by their father, the "younger son Adam" Mott.



[Autograph of Samuel Willis, 1770, from a map.]

Samuel and Mary Willis were always held in high esteem among Friends, both on Long Island and in New York, and their children and grandchildren continued to occupy similar positions. A list of their children and descendents, with births, deaths and marriages, will be given in its place.

Samuel Willis (born 1704, died 1782) was contemporary up to his tenth year with his grandfather, the immigrant Henry Willis, and he was contemporary of his own grandson, Adam Mott, down to Adam's twentieth year. In 1760, when he was 56 years old he wrote an account of his family from the earliest traditions he had, down to that date. In the year 1786, four years after the death of Samuel Willis, his granddaughter, Abigail Mott (born 1773, died 1795), daughter of his daughter Amy, copied the work of Samuel Willis with subsequent additions, and after Abigail's death, and the death of her mother, in 1822, the manuscript came into the possession of Abigail's brother, Henry Mott, who made addition to it, and a few further additions relative to James Mott and his children were made by Richard Mott, of Toledo, in the later years of his life, and this manuscript is now before me, yellow with age, and most of it written more than one hundred years ago. The earlier portion of it is copied below in the language of Samuel Willis, and some of the later portions, in a condensed and somewhat tabulated form with the additions of later years.

THE ACCOUNT WRITTEN BY SAMUEL WILLIS.

"A short account of my stock of parentage and kin, both paternal and maternal, as far as occurs to my memory, according to my knowledge and information, that I have heretofore had, 1760.

My great-grandfather's name was HENRY WILLIS, and lived, as I suppose, in Wiltshire, in England, and had several children, viz :

Sarah, born the 10th of September, 1626.

HENRY WILLIS, my grandfather, born 14th of September, 1628.

Alice Willis, born the 13th of October, 1630.

Catharine Willis, born in the first month, 1632.

Elizabeth Willis, born the 30th of October, 1636.

Margarey Willis, October, 1638.

Henry Willis, my grandfather, was born as above and lived in Wiltshire, in a town called Devises, and married Mary Peace, born the 12th of 6th month, 1632, had several children, viz :

Mary.

Elizabeth.

William.

And then moved up to London, about the year 1667, the next year after the fire,* and had several children born in London ; it being not long after the rise of the people called Quakers, where he suffered imprisonment and many abuses from the rude rabble on account of his religion. After he had lived in London about seven or eight years, he removed

* It is the tradition that he was a carpenter and builder, and went up to London to help rebuild the burned city.

over into this country, in the Province of New York, with his family, all except his eldest daughter Mary, which he left in England.

He came to Oysterbay, and settled there, and lived a year or two in that town, and then purchased a piece of land of Captain John Seaman; the lot of land lying at Westbury, in the township of Hempstead, on Long Island, where my grandfather settled with his family, and gave the name of the place Westbury (I suppose in remembrance of a town in Wiltshire of the same name.) My grandfather had several children, viz:—Mary, Elizabeth, William, Henry; and John, Sarah, Rachel and Ester.

Some years after my grandfather came over in this country, his eldest daughter that he left in England came over in this country to him, and was, sometime after this married to George Masters, and sometime after their marriage the said George Masters and Mary his wife settled at New York. They had two daughters, Mary and Philadelphia. * *

The next place I propose to trace the stock of my father's sister Elizabeth, which married one Robert Zane a widower, lived in West Jersey, not far from Philadelphia City, and she had several children by Zane viz.:

Ester Zane,
Rachel Zane, and
Robert Zane.

Then her husband died, and she married one William Reakstraw and by him had one daughter, her name I do not remember.

* * * * * * * * * *

The next was my father WILLIAM WILLIS, was born 16th of 10th mo. 1663 in Wiltshire in old England; lived at Westbury, and married MARY TITUS daughter of EDMOND TITUS at Westbury, about the year 1687, at the house of Edmond Titus, according to the practice used among Friends, as appears by their marriage certificate, subscribed by many Witnesses.

My father had seven children viz.:

1. William, born ye 14th of 4th month, 1688;
2. Henry, born ye 19th day of ye 6th month, 1690;
3. John Willis, born ye 15th of 2d month, 1693;
4. Jacob Willis, born ye 6th of 9th month, 1695;
5. Silas Willis, born ye 27th of 6th month, 1700;
6. SAMUEL, born ye 30th day of ye 6th month, 1704;
7. Mary, born ye 23d of ye 5th month, 1707, and died the 25th of 7th month following.

My eldest brother William was married in the year 1712 to Hannah Powell, daughter of Thomas Powell, and had several children, viz.:" * *

Samuel Willis then goes on and gives all the descendants of his own brothers and sisters down to his own time. This statement, with later additions, may perhaps be a little summarized and condensed:

I. *William Willis'* children were:

1. Mary, born ye 11th of 4th month, 1713; married William Bedle, and had several children, viz.: Mordecai, Rachel, and Johial.
2. Hannah, born 27th of 12th month, 1714; married Micah Spragg.
3. Elizabeth, born 8th of 8th month, 1716; married Richard Post as second wife, and has Stephen, Catta, Sarah, and several others.

4. Rachel, born 5th of 7th month, 1718; died young.
5. Jacob, born 5th of 5th month, 1720; married Elizabeth Duesinbury, widow of Jarves Duesinbury, and daughter of James Denton, deceased, and have several children—Amy, Phebe, Mary, Jane and Abigail.
6. Samuel, born 27th of 12th month, 1722; married Mary Wright, daughter of Joseph Wright of Westbury.
7. Amey, born 27th of 1st month, 1724; dyed ye 10th of 11th month, 1730.
8. Mordecai, born ye 14th of 10th month, 1725; married Mary Clement, daughter of Joseph Clement of Westbury, and have Silas, Oliver, Sarah, Daniel, Betsey, Patty, and Jane.
9. Silas, born 5th of 7th month, 1727; dyed 14th of 1st month, 1750.
10. Martha, born 27th of 7th month, 1729; unmarried at date of record.
11. William, born 5th of 12th month, 1732; married Sarah Clement, daughter of abovesaid Joseph Clement, the 4th of 2d month, 1756, and have no children.
12. Joseph, born 15th of 5th month, 1734; married and has several children.

II. *Henry Willis* (2d son of 1st William), born 19th of 6th month, 1690, died 12th of 10th month, 1744; was married to Phebe Powell the same day his brother William was married to her sister Hannah Powell, daughter of above said Thomas Powell, Senior, and had,

1. Mary Willis, born 22d of 2d month, 1713; married, 1732, above said Richard Post, and had Henry, Richard, Mary, Jotham and James.
2. Silas Willis, born 1715–16, died 17th of 4th month, 1745; married Ann Pearsall, daughter of Henry Pearsall, died 1st month, 1740–41, and had Jordan, Phebe, and one that died young.
3. Phebe Willis, born 1st January, 1719; married Benjamin Downing, and had Silas and Benjamin: Phebe died, and Benjamin Downing married again and had several children.

III. *John Willis* (3d son of 1st William), born 15th February, 1693, died 9th of May, 1777; married about 1713, Abigail Willets, born December 27, 1690, died 29th April, 1777, daughter of Richard Willits, formerly of Jericho, and had,

1. Phebe Wiliis, born 24th January, 1715; married John Post and had several children.
2. Richard Willis, born 30th October, 1716; married Elizabeth Pine, daughter of James Pine, has one son James.
3. Elizabeth Willis, born 4th January, 1719, died 1777; married Jonathan Seaman, died 1777, at Jericho, and had three children.
4. William Willis, born 23d March, 1721.

5. John Willis, born 5th April, 1726; married Margaret Cornell, daughter of Caleb Cornell, and have several children.
6. Stephen Willis, born 13th January, 1736; married Sarah, daughter of Jonathan Smith.

IV. *Jacob Willis* (fourth son of first William), born 6th September, 1695, died unmarried in 1750.

V. *Silas Willis* (5th son of first William), born 27th June, 1700, died in youth.

VI. SAMUEL WILLIS, born 30th of June, 1704; died 24th of December, 1782 (sixth son of first William); married, 2d of August, 1728, Mary Fry, born 16th of December, 1712; died 28th of 5th month, 1800, in her 88th year, and had,

1. Mary, born 7th of 3d month, 1731; married Thomas Jackson, died 1750, of Jerusalem, and had daughter (1) Mary Jackson, born 1749; married William Seaman, son of Robert Seaman of Jericho, and had (*a*) David, (*b*) Mary, (*c*) Hannah and (*d*)Ester. Then William Seaman died 1779, and several years later Mary (Willis) Seaman married Willits Kirby of Jericho, and her daughter (*b*) Mary Seaman married Jacob Kirby, son of above Willits Kirby, and they have one daughter, Mary Kirby.

   After Mary (Willis) Jackson had been some years a widow, she married Thomas Jackson of Jericho, and had (2) David, (3) Charles and (4) Amy. (2) David Jackson married Ester Whitson, daughter of Nathaniel Whitson of Bethpage, and have (*a*) Mary, (*b*) Jarvis. (3) Charles Jackson married Sarah Whitson, another daughter of Nathaniel Whitson above mentioned, and they have (*a*) Thomas, (*b*) Kezia, (*c*) Ester and (*d*) Phebe. (4) Amey Jackson married Robert Hubbs, son of Job Hubbs, and have one child, David Hubbs.

2. John Willis (second child of Samuel and Mary (Fry) Willis), born 8th of February, 1734, died 3d month 4th, 1789; married, 5th of 3d month, 1755, Elizabeth Mott, born 31st of 5th month, 1733, died 13th of 9th month, 1783, daughter of Adam and Phebe (Willits) Mott (Grandmother Dodge), and had (1) Adam Willis, who died young, (2) Samuel Willis, married Rachel Pearsall, daughter of Thomas Pearsall, and have Henry, Phebe, John and Amy. (3) Phebe, daughter of John and Elizabeth (Mott) Willits aforesaid, married Joshua Powell, son of Joshua Powell, and have (*a*) Edmund Powell, (*b*) Elizabeth Powell, (*c*) Mary Powell, (*d*) John Powell and (*e*) Phebe Powell.

3. SARAH WILLIS (third child of Samuel and Mary (Fry) Willis), born 14th of 7th month, 1734, died 10th of 1st month, 1783; married, 5th of 3d month, 1755, Adam Mott, born 10th of 10th month, 1734, died 18th of 12th month, 1790, son of Adam[2] and Phebe

(Willits) Mott (Grandmother Dodge), and had (1) Elizabeth Mott, born 19th of 7th month, 1736, died unmarried, 10th of 4th month, 1782. (2) Lydia Mott, born 24th of 11th month, 1759, died 17th of 5th month, 1791; married, 1780, Solomon Underhill, died 1827, and had (*a*) Isaac Underhill, married —— Rhinelander, (*b*) Samuel Underhill, married Elizabeth Bowne of Flushing; (*c*) Henry Underhill, died unmarried; (*d*) Sarah Underhill, married William Waring of New York; (*e*) Elizabeth Underhill, died of consumption, unmarried, at the age of 16. After Lydia's death, Solomon Underhill married Martha Burling, daughter of Edward Burling. (3) Adam Mott, born 11th of 10th month, 1762, died 10th of 1st month, 1839; married, 10th of 5th month, 1785, Anne Mott, born 31st of 7th month, 1768, died 5th of 8th month, 1852, and had Mary, died young, James, Sarah, Mary, Abigail, Thomas, died young, and Richard—(as all the children of Adam and Anne Mott are given in detail in the account of Adam Mott, dates &c., are omitted here). (4) Samuel Mott, born 29th of 9th month, 1773, died 16th of 6th month, 1864; married, 9th month, 1796, Catharine Appleby, born 17th of 9th month, 1775, died 8th of 4th month, 1862—(their children are given on page 218 of this volume.)

4. Amy Willis (fourth child of Samuel and Mary (Fry) Willis), born 27th of 3d month, 1738, died 10th of 11th month, 1822; married, 6th of 10th month, 1762, Stephen Mott, born 1st of 2d month, 1736, died 11th of 11th month, 1813.—(The descendants of Amy (Willis) Mott are given on pages 218–19 of this volume.

Three children of Samuel and Mary (Fry) Willis—John Willis, Sarah Willis and Amy Willis—had thus married the three children of Adam and Phebe (Willits) Mott—Elizabeth Mott, Adam Mott and Stephen Mott—and of course all their children were double first cousins. These children and their immediate descendants are given on pages 216–19 of this volume.

[From marriage certificate of her sister Amey, 1762.]

5. Jane, born 11th month 7th, 1741, died 9th month 20th, 1825; married about 1780 as second wife, James Parsons, born 17th of 4th month, 1736, who had previously married Mary Burling, born 13th of 6th month, 1737. Mary Burling had died about 1777, leaving three sons, John Parsons, born in New York 15th of 7th month, 1767, James Parsons, born in New York 22d of 1st month, 1772, and Samuel Parsons, born in New York 8th of 8th month, 1774. These step-children of Aunt Jane Parsons were usually

called " cousin " by the children of Aunt Jane's sisters, Sarah and Amy (Willis) Mott. To this present editor " cousin Sammy Parsons," of Flushing, the youngest of the three step-cousins, is one of the pleasant memories of his childhood, a handsome man, combining the graceful simplicity of manner and neatness of dress and graciousness of address of a well-bred gentleman, with the straitest Quakerism. In the early quarter of the present century, Samuel Parsons and Anne Mott were frequently clerks of their respective Yearly Meetings. A few words have already been said about Aunt Jane Parsons, in pages 105 and 106 of this volume.

6. Fry, bearing his mother's family name, born 9th April, 1744, died 3d month, 22d, 1820; married 1770, Ann Seaman, died 8th month, 2d, 1828, daughter of Thomas Seaman, of Westbury, and had two sons Thomas and Isaac Willis. His son Thomas Willis took a prominent part on the Orthodox side in the separation in the Society of Friends, in 1828.
7. Kezia, born 7th April, 1747, and died unmarried on the 15th of 3d month, 1781, at age of 34 years.
8. Henry, born 13th September, 1749, died unmarried 28th of 9th month, 1780, at the age of 31.
9. Edmond, born 29th of 9th month, 1752, died 16th of 5th month, 1813; married 1778, Abigail Titus, died 17th of 3d month, 1793, daughter of William Titus, of Westbury.
10. Phebe, born 28th of 5th month, 1756, died 9th month, 1791; married in 1779, Edmond Prior, son of Joseph Prior.

Samuel Willis continues the account of the children of his grandfather Henry Willis, as follows:

Henry Willis was the next to my father. He was born in Wiltshire and was about one year old when my grandfather moved up to London, which I am informed was the next year after the fire in London, which was in the year 1666. (This Henry died young.)

John Willis, my father's brother, was the next in order of time, was born (by the best accounts I have) in London, on ye 6th of 1st month, 1668, and came over with the family, and after he came to man's estate he went in Pennsylvania, in Chester County, and married the daughter of one Brenton, her name was Esther. My grandfather was helpful in purchasing some land there, I think the place is called Thornbury. * * Their sons were William (who died young), John, Henry, Edward, Benjamin; their daughters were Mary, Ann, Sarah and Ester, * * most of them married. * * My uncle John and his wife lived to be old, I suppose to eighty years of age.

Sarah Willis, my father's sister, was also born in London on the 5th of the 5th month, 1671, came into this country with her father, very young, was educated by her father and mother at Westbury, and married my mother's brother, John Titus, and settled at the north part of Westbury, where they lived many years together, and had Mary, John, Philadelphia, Jacob, William, Sarah and Phebe. * * * [The children and

grandchildren of John and Sarah (Willis) Titus, are given in N. Y. Gen. Rec. XV, 175, &c., and hardly need be copied here.]

Rachel Willis, my father's sister married Nathaniel Seaman, and had nine children. (These children more properly come in the Seaman ancestry). Esther Willis (youngest daughter of Henry), married William Albertson, of West Jersey, and had William, John, Jane, Mary and Esther. (See N. Y. Gen. Rec. XV, 176.)

This ends what it seems necessary to quote of Samuel Willis' account of his "paternal kin." His account of his "maternal kin" through his mother, Mary Titus, will come in the Titus ancestry.

The picture of the local world in which Edmond Titus, Henry Willis and their associates were living in Hempstead two hundred years ago will hardly be truthful if it does not recall the persecution and loss to which they were subjected by their unflinching adherence to Quakerism. A record of their sufferings in these respects was kept by the Monthly Meeting, and a few extracts from these Records will be of interest to their descendants who are living in the freedom of the last decade of the nineteenth century,

Two examples are given from their experience before leaving England. In 1657, an earlier "William Willis, of Wiltshire, for going to meeting at Marlborough on the first day of the week, was set in the stocks for four or five hours."

In 1660, "Henry Willis, of Wiltshire, coming to Salisbury" with several others "to visit their friends in prison, were carried before the Mayor, who tendered them the oath of allegiance, and upon refusal committed them to prison."

The following instances of persecution occurred after their coming to Hempstead—in the New World—under the English Colonial administration.

On the 27th of 9th month, 1678, Henry Willis' daughter Mary was married at his house to George Masters of New York. For allowing his daughter to be married by Friends' ceremony, at that time contrary to law, the Court of Sessions imposed a fine of £10 on Henry Willis, and on his refusal to pay it, execution was issued, and Joseph Lee, Under Sheriff, siezed his barn of corn. He appealed to the Governor 4th of 5th month, 1680, for redress, but the record is silent as to the success of the appeal.

1687, Nov. 29—Henry Willis and Edmond Titus, of Hempstead, "in derision called Quakers," petition the Governor for relief. They have already suffered in the spoil of their goods for the setting up and upholding a worship in the town aforesaid, which in their consciences they believe and know to be not the true worship of God, and are again threatened to have a part of their effects taken from them toward the maintenance of one Jeremiah Hobart* of the same place, whom in con-

* He was the legally appointed parish minister.

science they cannot maintain, knowing him to be no minister of Christ, and so are no ways concerned with him. They allege the taking of their goods to be contrary to the laws, which give liberty of conscience to all persuasions.

The above are but samples of many similar records. But the following record is of a much pleasanter nature. It shows that Friends were now about to have their own meeting house instead of meeting in private houses as heretofore:

"1701, 29th of 9th month.—The committee appointed to select a site for a meeting house at Westbury report that they have concluded of a place suitable at the Plainedge, on the land that William Willis tenders for that service."

"1702, 21st of 9th month.—William Willis for £4 sold Friends 3¼ acres."

This is the site on which the Westbury Meeting House now stands, but the present meeting house was built nearly a century later.

While quoting the Monthly Meeting records, it will be of interest to note that it is officially said of Mary (Fry) Willis that "she was a true helpmeet to her husband," and a "tender, sympathizing companion in temporal and in spiritual concerns," and that "she was concerned for the preservation of good order, and very useful in managing the concerns of society, being indeed a Mother in Israel." "The last three years of her life she was mostly confined at home through bodily weakness"—that is, from her 85th to her 88th year, when she died, 28th of 8th month, 1800. But eighteen years before this date—25th of 12th month, 1782—is the record: "Our ancient friend, Samuel Willis, deceased the 24th, and is to be buried to-morrow. The Monthly Meeting adjourns till the close of the burial."

For these extracts from old records the Editor is indebted to his cousin, Peter B. Franklin.

Since the earlier part of this Willis chapter was printed, a letter from Benjamin D. Hicks of Westbury adds some interesting details. He writes, under date,

"4th month, 30th, 1890.

"* * * Samuel Willis and Mary Fry, after their marriage, went to live on the Fry property, and continued there the rest of their lives. This Fry homestead was east of Jericho, toward Syosset. It is locally called Springfield, I suppose because of a fine spring near where the the house stood. In all the old records and documents he is spoken of as 'Samuel Willis of Springfield, near Jericho.' He owned about five hundred acres there, which I suppose all came through his wife. There is now a house on the old site. It is owned by Walter R. T. Jones.

"I think that the land between Westbury and the 'Harbor' did not come from Mary Fry, but from William Willis, who owned a large wood lot where the Taber farm now lies, and in this was the 'round hill' on

the road to Roslyn, which was supposed to contain gold, because it was composed of yellow sand interspersed with fine lamina of mica. Samuel Willis probably inherited this wood lot and 'round hill' from his father. As I heard the story from James Post, who was older than cousin Mary P. Titus, and remembered Samuel Willis and his wife, the two guardians of Mary Fry both had sons whom they desired to have her marry, and there was quite a friendly strife between them. William Willis was supposed to have succeeded with his son by reason of superior firmness and tact, but probably the girl's own preferences decided it.

"William Willis lived at the place now owned and occupied by William E. Hawxhurst. * * *

"Sincerely thy friend,

"BENJAMIN D. HICKS."

CHAPTER XXI.

THE TITUS ANCESTRY.

[With a note of the Washburnes.]

The Titus blood came to Adam Mott through his mother SARAH WILLIS, daughter of SAMUEL WILLIS, and granddaughter of WILLIAM WILLIS and MARTHA TITUS his wife. MARTHA TITUS was daughter of EDMOND TITUS and granddaughter of ROBERT TITUS, the immigrant, and HANNAH his wife. (N. Y. Gen. Rec. XII, 92, etc.)

ROBERT TITUS, the first of the name in America, was born in England in 1600, probably in the parish of St. Catharines, near Stanstead Abbey, Hertfordshire, about thirty miles north of London. He was probably of the same family with Colonel Silas Titus, of the same neighborhood, who played a part in the politics of the times. The name Silas was common among the descendants of Robert Titus, on Long Island.

Colonel Silas Titus, of Hertfordshire, was the son of an elder Silas, who had three sons. One of these sons is not named in the record, and may have been the Robert Titus who was then in America. The children named are Silas, Jr., the Colonel, who died in December, 1704, aged 82, and was consequently born in 1622, and Stephen, who died 30th March, 1671, age not given. The elder Silas died 24th November, 1637. His wife Constancia survived him 30 years, and died 22d October, 1667. Silas Titus, Jr., entered a commoner of Christ Church, Oxford, in 1637 and became, about 1640, a member of one of the Inns of Court. He married Catharine Winstanley, daughter of James Winstanley, of Lancastershire. In the Great Rebellion he had a Captain's commission on the Parliament side, but subsequently went to the Royal side and rendered good service. He wrote a famous pamphlet, "Killing no Murder," which was published anonymously. King Charles II rewarded him. He was interred in the chancel of the parish Church of St. James, at Bushey in Hertfordshire, where his father and other members of the family also lie buried.

ROBERT TITUS, the immigrant, embarked from London 3d April, 1635. The passenger list preserved in the public record office, London, contains the following entry:

"Theis under written names are to be transported to New England imbarqued in ye Hopewell, Mr. Wm. Bundic. The parties have brought certificate from the Minister and Justices of the Peace that they are no Subsidy men, they have taken the oath of Alleg. and Supremacie."

Here follow between twenty and thirty names, some from Essex, some from Derbyshire, Herts and Cambridge. Among them are these names:

" Robert Titus, husbandman of St. Katherines, aged 35.
Hannah Titus Uxor, " 31.
Jo Titus, " 8.
Edmond Titus, " 5."

The certificate of Robert Titus was from London.

After the arrival of Robert Titus and his family in Boston, in the summer of 1635, land was granted to him in what is now the town of Brookline, near Muddy River, adjoining Boston. Here they remained two or three years, when they removed to Weymouth, about nine miles to the southeast. Their land is described in the records of the town of Weymouth, and was located in the present village of North Weymouth, not far from the place of the unfortunate settlement made by Captain Weston, in September, 1622.

In the spring of 1644 Robert Titus, in company with about forty families, including the minister of Weymouth, Rev. Samuel Newman, removed to the town of Rehoboth, just east of Providence, Rhode Island. While at Rehoboth he was often intrusted by the freemen with offices of confidence. He was commissioner from Rehoboth to the Court of Plymouth, in the years 1648–9 and in 1650 and in 1654. He had some trouble with the Authorities because he harbored Abner Ordway and family, they being of "evil fame." This probably signified that they were Quakers.

In 1654, on "the 23d of 3d month" Robert Titus sold his property at Rheoboth to Robert Jones, of Nantasket, and removed to Long Island. EDMOND, his second son, had been in Hempstead since about 1650. John, the eldest, remained in Rehoboth North Purchase, now Attleboro. His other children went with him to Long Island. His sons Samuel, Abiel, and Content were freeholders in Huntington, Long Island, in 1666.

ROBERT TITUS died before his wife. Her will was dated at Huntington, 14th May, 1672 and proved 28th May, 1679. She gives to her son Content, her house and all her lands, he paying his brother John ten pounds. She adds:

"And also I give to my son John my mare, and to my son EDMOND I give a horse, and to my son Samuel a browne cow and a yearlen stear, and I give to my son Samuel's wife my warming-pan, and to my son Abiall's wife my smoothing iron, and to my son Content's wife my skimmer, and for what remnantes I have of serge and cloth, my will is that it be equally divided among all my children, and to my dafter Susana I give my sarg hoode, and for all the rest of the estate within the house and without it I give to my sun Abiall and Content to be equally divided between them two, and to this my will

I set my hand in the presence of

Richard Williams, the H mark of
Thomas Skidmore. Hana Titus.

This will, with the inventory, are recorded in the N. Y. Surrogate's office, Lib. 1, p. 454. The will is printed in the N. Y. Gen. Rec. XII., p.

93, in an account of the Titus family in America by the Rev. Anson Titus, Jr., of Weymouth, Mass, from which many of the facts here stated are taken.

CHILDREN OF THE IMMIGRANTS, ROBERT AND HANNAH TITUS.

Robert Titus had six children—1, John; 2, Edmond, both born in England, as above mentioned; 3, Samuel; 4, Susanna; 5, Abiel; 6, Content.

John Titus (born in England 1627, died 16th April, 1689) the eldest son of ROBERT, married Abigail, daughter of William Carpenter. After the death of John Titus she married, 9th of November, 1692, Josiah Palmer, and died, a second time a widow, 5th of March, 1710. John Titus was one of the original purchasers of Reheboth, North Purchase, now Attleboro', and was active in Church and State. He and his son John were engaged in King Philip's War.

CHILDREN OF JOHN TITUS AND ABIGAIL CARPENTER, HIS WIFE.

1. John, Jr., born 18th of December, 1650, died 2d of December, 1697.
2. Abigail, born 18th of February, 1652, married John Fuller 25th of April, 1673.
3. Silas, born 18th of May, 1656.
4. Hannah, born 28th of November, 1658, died 12th of November, 1673.
5. Samuel, born 1st of June, 1661, died 13th of July, 1726.
6. Joseph, } twins, born } Mary married Richard
7. Mary or Mercy, } 17th of March, 1665, } Bowen 9th of Jan., 1683.
8. Experience, born 9th of October, 1669, married Leonard Nowsom 12th of June, 169–.

EDMOND TITUS, second son of ROBERT and HANNAH TITUS, was born in England in 1630, and was brought by his parents at the age of five years to Boston, and thence to Weymouth and later to Reheboth. About 1650 he went to Long Island and settled at Hempstead, and in 1655 there married MARTHA (born 1637) daughter of WILLIAM* and JANE WASHBURNE. The Hempstead tax list of 1658 bears his name among eighty-nine others, and the records show that in February, 1672, he sold his house and home lot, with the orchard and trees (three apple trees excepted) to ADAM MOTT. They subsequently lived and died at Westbury. EDMOND and MARTHA TITUS were among the earliest ad-

* WASHBURNE. I wish we knew more of William and Jane Washburne. The marriage of their daughter Martha to Edward Titus, about 1656, brought them into our Mott family. Samuel Willis, grandson of Edmond and Martha (Washburne) Titus, was grandfather of Adam Mott. Everything that we know of the Washburnes is good. The record of his grandmother, made by Samuel Willis, quoted in the Willis Ancestry, speaks her praise. Friends' record of the death of Martha (Washburne) Titus calls her "an innocent woman."

William Washburne's name appears in the Hempstead list of freeholders as early as 1647. (French's Gazetteer N. Y., p. 547). He was with Rev. Mr. Leverich, in 1653, and was in

herents of the Society of Friends, and as a consequence suffered reproach and injury. Thus, on the 15th of January, 1687, on a demand for £1 15s. toward "building a house for the priest" (Rev. Jeremy Hobart), which EDMOND TITUS refused to pay on conscience's grounds, the officers took a cow worth £4 10s., and on a demand "for the priest's wages he took four young cattle. The following autumn, HENRY WILLIS, who had suffered in like manner, joined with EDMOND TITUS in petitioning the Governor for relief from similar exactions, but they were continued at intervals for many years. The refusal to pay was not for the want of means. In the Hempstead tax roll of October, 1683, EDMOND TITUS appears as the owner of 29 acres of land, with 4 oxen, 17 cows, 20 sheep, and 1 horse.

Friends' Meeting had been established at Westbury, then called Plainedge or Woodedge, on the 23d of 3d month, 1671, to begin on "the 25th of 4th month, and so every fifth First day." The meeting was held for some years at the house of EDMOND TITUS. In 1697, the Monthly Meeting directed that a "meeting shall be held every five weeks, on the First day, to begin at EDMOND TITUS', the next First day at Jericho, next at Bethpage, next at Jerusalem, and next at Hempstead." Roger Gill, a travelling Friend who visited Westbury Quarterly Meeting 6th month 26th and 27th, 1699, says that he lodged both nights at EDMOND TITUS'. At this date EDMOND TITUS was in his seventieth year and his wife in her sixty-third, and they had brought up a numerous family, of whom Temperance, the eleventh and youngest, was then in her nineteenth year.

SAMUEL WILLIS, son of their daughter MARY, wrote about 1760 some account of the Willis and of the Titus families, in which he says:

"My mother's father's name was Edmond Titus. * * * He was born in England about 1630. * * * He came to Hempstead, and there married my grandmother, Martha Washburn, daughter of William Washburn and Jane, his wife. My grandfather settled in Hempstead, and there he lived several years, and then he purchased a Proprietary right that did belong to one Timothy Wood, one of the original Proprietors of Hempstead, and my grandfather having a lot of land fell to him in the division of the town, at the place now called Westbury, where his grandson, William Titus, now lives, he came and settled there. * * *

Oysterbay about the same time with John and Daniel Washburne. (N. Y. Gen. Rec. X, 13.) He was witness to an Indian Deed in Oysterbay, in 1654–5. In December, 1653, he was one of 19 signers of a petition to Governor Stuyvesant for popular representation in the local Dutch government, and for reformation of sundry abuses. (Doc. Hist. N. Y., I, 552.) And the same month, he and Captain John Seaman were representatives from Hempstead in the Convention called in New Amsterdam by Stuyvesant. And in 1654 William Washburn represented Hempstead in the Court at New Haven.

Captain John Seamen's eldest daughter, Elizabeth, married Colonel John Jackson, son, of Robert Jackson and Agnes Washburne. (XI, 150, N. Y. Gen. Rec.)

In 1691, October 30, Isaac Arnold married Sarah, widow of John Washburne. (IV, 31, and XI, 153.)

My grandfather and grandmother were both convinced of the principles of the people called Quakers, in the fore part of their time, and lived in a strict and circumspect manner, and were pious examples to their children and others. My grandfather in his latter days * * * being often filled with the spring of Divine Goodness, would often show the effects thereof to those that were present, in his advice and counsel to live a godly and sober life, and would often express weighty passages of Scripture that occurred to his mind, tending to the encouragement of a well-governed life and conversation, which I remember to have heard from him. * * *

" My grandmother survived my grandfather 12 years and 10 days. My grandmother was born, according to the best account I am able to get, in the year 1637. My grandmother had an excellent skill in surgery, with an extensive knowledge of herbs and vegetables, how to apply them to their particular uses for the good of mankind. She married young, and lived a married life with my grandfather upwards of sixty years. She was convinced in her judgment of the principles of Friends in her young years, and lived a zealous and Godly life all her days. Some years before her death she was helpless and kept her bed. Her mind was impaired, yet she retained a lively sense of Divine goodness. Many times near her close, feeling the fresh springs of Divine life in her soul, would exhort her children and others that came in to visit her, to wait upon God that they might thereby be made sensible of the workings of the truth in their hearts, which was the way through obedience thereto to find peace with the Lord. Before her departure, she said: 'My life is hid with Christ in my God,' and said: 'I now feel the springs of Divine life.' Her last words were: 'My soul is going to rest with my God.' She died the 17th of 2d month, 1727, in her ninetieth year. Her husband had then been dead twelve years.

" The Westbury Mo. Meeting Records mention him as follows: 'EDMOND TITUS, one that received the truth many years since, and lived and died in it. In his latter days his eyes grew dim that he could not see, and thick of hearing, all which he bore very patiently. In the time of his last sickness, his daughter Phebe Field standing by him, he said: " My life is in Christ, my God," with many more comfortable words. His last words were these: " I have put away all filthiness and superfluity of naughtiness. I have received with meekness the engrafted word that is able to save the soul,"* and soon departed this life in a quiet frame of spirit, sensible to the last, the 7th of 2d month, 1715, aged near 85.' "

CHILDREN OF EDMOND AND MARTHA (WASHBURN) TITUS.

I. Samuel, born at Westbury, 1658; married, 1st, Elizabeth, daughter of THOMAS POWELL; married, 2d, Elizabeth, widow of John Prior of Matinecock, and daughter of John Bowne of Flushing. She died 14th of October, 1721; he died 1st of January, 1732–3, aged about 75. His children by his first wife:
   1. Phebe, born 8th of 8th month, 1693.
   2. Temperance, born 6th of 1st month, 1695–6; died 15th of 2d month, 1704.

* James I., 21.

3. Martha, born 23d of 12th month, 1698–9.
4. Samuel, born 23d of 9th month, 1702; died 19th of 2d month, 1750.

II. Phebe, born 1st month, 1760; married, 1st, Samuel Scudder; 2d, Robert Field.

III. Martha, born 1st month, 1663; married Benjamin Seaman.

IV. MARY, born 5th month, 1665; married, at Westbury, 10th of 6th month, 1687, WILLIAM WILLIS, born in England, but brought up in Westbury, son of HENRY and MARY (PEACE) WILLIS.

The children of William and Mary (Titus) Willis are given in the Willis Ancestry.

V. Hannah, born 9th month, 1667; married Benjamin Smith.

VI. Jane, born 2d month, 1670; married James Denton.

VII. John, born at Westbury, 29th of 2d month, 1672; married, 1st, Sarah, born in London 5th of 5th month, 1671, daughter of HENRY WILLIS, the immigrant, who died 1st month 1st, 1729–30, aged 58; married, 2d, Mary widow of John Smith, 7th of 1st month, 1732. Lived in the north part of Westbury; died 4th of 1st month, 1751. Children by first wife:

1. Mary, born 13th of 4th month, 1696; married Henry Pearsall.
2. John, born 28th of 5th month, 1698; married Sarah Pearsall.
3. Philadelphia, born 29th of 9th month, 1700; married Thomas Seaman.
4. Jacob, born 1st of 5th month, 1703.
5. William, born 23d of 7th month, 1705.
6. Sarah, born 7th of 1st month, 1708; married Edmond Titus.
7. Phebe, born 6th of 5th month, 1710; married John Ridgeway.
8. Richard, by second wife (not 21 when will was made, 1747).

VIII. Peter Titus, born at Westbury, 6th month, 1674; married Martha, daughter of John Jackson, of Jerusalem. She died 10th of 12th month, 1753 (N. S.); he died 23d of 10th month, 1753. Children:

1. James, married, Jane Seaman.
2. John, married Amy Barker, daughter of Samuel.
3. Richard, married Mary Peters.
4. Elizabeth, married Henry Townsend.
5. Peter, married Mary Scudder.
6. Robert, died unmarried in 1756.

IX. Silas Titus, born at Westbury 3d of 8th month, 1676; married Sarah Haight, of Flushing, 8th of 10th month, 1704. (Sister of Nicholas Haight, who married Patience Titus, daughter of Edmond.) The will of Silas Titus was probated 8th June, 1750. He mentions wife Sarah and children as named below, except David, who died before date of will, 1747. Children of Silas and Sarah (Haight) Titus:

1. Edmond, born 1st of 8th month, 1705; married his cousin, Sarah Titus, daughter of John.
2. Temperance. born 14th of 10th month, 1707.
3. Silas, born 14th of 9th month, 1709.
4. Sarah, born 6th of 8th month, 1711; married Wm. Walmsley, of Pennsylvania. For an account of this family see History of Byberry and Moreland, Pa., page 339, *et seq.*
5. Hannah, born 29th of 9th month, 1713; died 9th month, 1714.
6. Phebe, born 27th of 7th month, 1717; married Benjamin Hicks, and died 2d of 2d month, 1800.
7. David, born 20th of 4th month, 1719.
8. William, born 14th of 8th month, 1722.
9. Mary, born 8th of 3d month, 1725; married Thomas Walton, of Pennsylvania.

X. Patience, born 4th of 12th month, 1678; married Nicholas Haight.

XI. Temperance, born 1st of 3d month, 1681; died 15th of 11th month, 1704.

Samuel, third son of the immigrants Robert and Hannah Titus, born in Brookline, near Boston, or Weymouth, removed with his parents to Huntington, Long Island. He was called "Sargent." He married and had a family of daughters, as follows:

1. Hannah, born 1st April, 1669; married (?) John Buffet, 1696.
2. Rebecca, born 28th October, 1675.
3. Patience, born 27th April, 1677.
4. Experience, born 27th April, 1670.

Susanna, fourth child and first daughter of Robert and Hannah Titus, is mentioned in her mother's will.

Abiel, fifth child and fourth son of Robert and Hannah Titus, was born in Weymouth, Massachusetts, 17th March, 1640. Landholder in Huntington, Long Island, 1666; married ——— Scudder; died, 1736–7, aged 96. Children of Abiel Titus:

1. Mary, born 12th March, 1673–4.
2. Rebeca, born 21st October, 1676.
3. Abiel, born 15th March, 1678–9.
4. Henry, born 6th March, 1681–2.
5. John. born 9th April, 1684–.

Content Titus, sixth and youngest child of the immigrants Robert and Hannah Titus, was born at Weymouth, Massachusetts, 28th March, 1643. Was a landholder in Huntington, Long Island, in 1666, and in Newton in 1672. He married Elizabeth Moore, daughter of Rev. John Moore. He was active in Church and State, was a Captain in the war against the

Indians and became an elder of the Presbyterian Church at the age of 80. He died 17th January, 1730, aged 87. His gravestone is in the south-west corner of the ancient burial place at Newton. Children of Content and Elizabeth (Moore) Titus ;

1. Robert, said to have gone to Delaware.
2. Silas, died 2d November, 1748.
3. John.
4. Timothy, settled in Hopewell, New Jersey.
5. Hannah, died unmarried.
6. Phebe, married Jonathan Hunt.
7. Abigail, married George Furniss or Ferris.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE SEAMAN ANCESTRY.

[With notes of the Pearsalls, the Moores and the Youngs.]

Anne Mott's grandmother, Sarah Pearsall (Mott-Alsop), born 1714, died 1800, was a granddaughter of Captain John Seaman's daughter Martha, who married Nathaniel Pearsall. Sarah Pearsall's father, THOMAS PEARSALL, of course, was grandson of Captain Seaman, and was his contemporary until his fifteenth year, when his grandfather, Captain Seaman, died in 1695.

Captain Seaman's wife, MARTHA MOORE, was daughter of Captain THOMAS MOORE and MARTHA YOUNGS, his wife, of Southold, L. I., and Martha Youngs was daughter of the Rev. CHRISTOPHER and MARGARET YOUNGS, of Southwold, Norfolk, England, where the Rev. Christopher Youngs was Vicar of Reydon, &c.

Thomas Moore was sea captain and ship carpenter. John Seaman's title was probably military.

This relationship with the Seamans, the Pearsalls, the Moores and the Youngs is shown in the following tabular statement:

Rev. Christopher and Margaret Youngs, of Southwold, Norfolk, England.

Capt. John Seaman had been one of the most prominent men of Hempstead for half a century, and died there 1695; married, about 1655, Martha Moore.

Martha Youngs, married Thomas Moore, of Southold, L. I.

Henry Pearsall, one of the early settlers of Hemptead, L. I.

Nathaniel Pearsall, died 1703; married, about 1674, Martha Seaman.

Thomas Pearsall, b. 1679; m., 1708, Sarah Underhill, b. 1687.

Richard Mott, m., 1741, Sarah Pearsall (Mott-Alsop), b. 1714, d. 1800.

James Mott, b. 1743; m., 1765, Mary Underhill.

Anne Mott.

It will be well to begin with such notes as we have of Captain John Seaman.

JOHN SEAMAN, or Symonds, or Simmons, as the name is variously written, was born in England, but was one of the early settlers in Hempstead. He was twice married. His first wife, the mother of four sons and one daughter, was a daughter of John Strictland, an original settler of Charlestown, Massachusetts, but who came early to Hempstead. His second wife was MARTHA MORE, daughter of THOMAS MORE, of

Southold, and MARTHA YOUNGS, his wife, baptized in Salem, Massachusetts, on 21st October, 1639. She had four sons and seven daughters, of whom MARTHA, named after her mother, was the third. Of these 16 children, all but one daughter married and raised families, and he had at least 95 grandchildren, and his descendants are very numerous.

JOHN SEAMAN (Symonds) had land at Salem, Massachusetts, in 1643, but removed to Hempstead about 1647, and bore an active part in its affairs for nearly half a century.

In a Provincial Convention called in New Amsterdam, by writs from Governor Stuyvesant, in December, 1653, JOHN SEAMAN and WILLIAM WASHBOURNE were representatives from Hempstead.

On the 21st of December, 1656, JOHN SEAMAN and Richard Gildersleeve were nominated by the town, and appointed Magistrates by Stuyvesant. And on the 15th of April following, when the "townsmen" were elected (one of the five was ADAM MOTT), the two magistrates signed an engagement "to stand by them." On the 17th of July that summer (1657), Governor Stuyvesant visited Hempstead, and a few days later, on the 25th of July, JOHN SEAMAN was again sent to the Governor by the town on errands of peace.

In March, 1658, JOHN SEAMAN and others were sent by the town, in concert with Chekanow, an Indian representative of the Montauk Sachem and other Indians. if they come, to lay out the bounds of the town to be known by marked trees, etc., and "to continue forever." "Mr. SEAMAN" was allowed 8s the following February "For 2 days travel in laying out the bounds."

In February, 1659, "Mr. JOHN SEAMAN was allowed a bounty of £2 for killing two wolves. For many years a bounty of 20s. to 25s. each was paid by the town of Hempstead for killing wolves.

In 1664, JOHN SEAMAN was again appointed by the town on a Commission about the bounds, and was often subsequently employed in like services. But he does not appear to have taken much part in the disputes between the English and the Dutch preceding or attending the transfer of the town and the colony to English possession, nor in the attempt made about the same time by Connecticut to annex the Long Island towns. And he was diligent and successful in his own business.

In 1665, Captain SEAMAN served on a jury at Hempstead in a charge of witchcraft, but—let it be recorded to the credit of John Seaman—the accused was not convicted.

In May, 1669, Thomas Rushmore (he was called Ensign Rushmore the following spring) was ordered to give up to Captain SEAMAN the colors he received from the Governor. Does this indicate that his title of Captain was military? He had not yet become a Friend.

In 1668–9, the town debated the question of a new patent from the English Government, and one was granted by Governor Nichols on the 6th of March, 1669. The expense of procuring the patent was paid by

an assessment upon the landholders under it, proportioned to their respective interests. The assessment shows that Captain SEAMAN was one of the largest landowners, his payment being £4, 3s., 4d. Six of his sons also held land under the new patent, and paid assessments for it, averaging over 20s. each.

Questions of the bounds of the town again came up in the summer of 1669, and the east line, run eleven years before (in 1658) by Captain SEAMAN and others in connection with the Indians, was reasserted. Lands of Captain SEAMAN adjoined that line, and the town authorities resolved to make good to these bounds all owners adjacent to Mr. SEAMAN. In August, 1670, Captain SEAMAN was engaged by the town to inspect the fences of the East Ox Pasture weekly, and to report any deficiencies. On the 3d of July, 1671, the town voted that Captain SEAMAN and Mr. Gildersleeve should go to New York to treat with the Governor about the east bounds.

In August, 1673 a Dutch fleet recaptured the Colony, and the officers of the fleet reorganized the government and appointed Captain SEAMAN one of the Schepens for Hempstead, and he was sworn in September 4th, and the following year, May 14, 1674, he was appointed to hold Court with the Scout, at Jamaica. But the Colony was again restored to the English by the treaty of Westminster, proclaimed in March, 1674, and the Dutch Governor, Captain Anthony Colve, surrendered possession to the English Governor, Major Edmond Andros, on his arrival in November, 1674.

For a dozen years or more from this date Captain SEAMAN was often in the service of the public, and seems to have been always trusted in questions about town boundaries, and in laying out town lots. In 1676 he, with others, was appointed to lay out Cowneck, on the north side, and later, with Mr. Fordham and NATHANIEL PEARSALL, to lay out the Common Meadows, and in 1677 he was defending the interests of the town before the Governor and Council. In 1678 the laying out of the Common Meadows was continued. In 1682 he and others were appointed to prosecute the cause of the town in Cowneck against the Indians, who still claimed land there. And in September, 1683, the town, by a full vote, appointed Captain Seaman and Mr. William Nichols, of New York, Attorneys to act for Cowneck, and the following month, and also again in December, he was head of a Commission to go before the Governor in support of town interests. In 1684 he represented the town in controversies at Jamaica, and also in questions with Flushing and Oysterbay, and in September before the Governor, in New York, to get a new patent for the town. "one as good as they can get." And in October, with another Commission, in which were ADAM MOTT Senior, NATHANIEL PEARSALL and others, again to go before the Governor about the patent; and again in December, about the patent and to try to get a settlement of the Jamaica dispute. Similar services were continued through the

year 1685 and to November, 1686, after which his age probably exempted him from further public service.

But before this he had become a member of the Society of Friends. In 1679 Mr. Richard Gildersleeve, who had been associated with him as Magistrate, complained that on the 26th of May Captain Seaman had entertained a great Quaker Meeting at his house. But John Seaman was a man of too much weight to be then molested.* There is no earlier account of his sympathy with Friends. But an old Court record of 3d December, 1679, quotes the testimony of Captain Seaman, that a certain event occurred "one First day in the afternoon." He could hardly have been a Friend, when, on the 1st of April, 1678, he had been appointed on a Committee to agree with Joseph Carpenter to build a Meeting house for the town, 30 ft.x24 ft., in which the Rev. Jeremy Hobart might preach. The Church was built. But the town was dilatory in providing the minister with a house for his own residence, and in paying his salary of £70 a year, and in December, 1686, Mr. Hobart appealed to the Governor. The town appointed Captain SEAMAN and Mr. Searing to answer before the Governor. Whatever may have been Captain SEAMAN'S answer to Mr. Hobart, it did not prevent the distraining a few months later the goods of EDMOND TITUS and HENRY WILLIS and other Friends to satisfy demands for "building the priest's house" and also "for the priest's wages."

Several of JOHN SEAMAN'S children also became Friends. Roger Gill and Thomas Story held "a pretty large meeting at Benjamin Seaman," in Jerusalem, in 1699. The Monthly Meeting at that time was held at the house of Nathaniel Seaman, of Hempsted. Later a regular meeting was held at the house of Richard Seaman, who was a minister for many years. Of course MARTHA, who married NATHANIEL PEARSALL, and MARY, who married Thomas Pearsall, were Friends.

Captain JOHN SEAMAN died early in 1695. His will is dated 25th August, 1694. He is called JOHN SEAMAN, the Elder of Hempstead. It was proved 25th March, 1695. He was a man of wealth for his time. He apportions among his children many horses and oxen, and neat cattle and sheep and swine and other property, and a great deal of land. About a thousaad acres are specified in various places, and in addition many necks and meadows, and undivided lands which would at least

* Charles B. Moore, in his account of Captain John Seaman, printed in the New York Genealogical Record, October, 1880, when speaking of this meeting at Captain Seaman's own house, says: "In this Mr. Seaman took an exact line which he could defend; for a man has a right to use his house as his castle, and could not legally be deprived of this use, even for public accommodation, without just compensation. He could have all his children at home, and hear one of them read or speak. He was not bound to exclude visitors, but had a right to exclude spies. There was no indication of religious adherence by him to "Friends" before this. He defends his own right in protecting them from wrong." (N. Y. Gen. Rec. XI. 153-4.)

make as much more. He made his wife and his sons Benjamin and Thomas his executors, and his "two loving friends THOMAS POWELL and John Townsend, Sr.," overseers.

CHILDREN OF CAPTAIN JOHN SEAMAN BY FIRST WIFE, DAUGHTER OF JOHN STRICTLAND.

1. John, called Junior till 1694, was taxed in 1683, freeholder in 1694; married Hannah Williams (?). Had John, who married Esther, daughter of Thomas Williams; Joseph, Martha, Mary, Ruth and Hannah.
2. Jonathan, a freeholder in 1685, and had nine children living in 1698, viz.: Jonathan, Jr., David, John, Elizabeth, Jane, Joseph, Caleb, Hannah and Sarah. The third son, John, had four sons: William, Robert, John (who died unmarried) and Jonathan (who lived at Jericho and married Elizabeth Willis, and their daughter Jemima, on the 2d of 1st month, 1771, married the celebrated preacher Elias Hicks, son of John Hicks of Rockaway.)
3. Benjamin, born about 1650; married Martha, daughter of EDMOND and MARTHA (WASHBORNE) TITUS, and had seven children: Hannah, Benjamin, Jane, Martha, Jacob, James and Phebe; was a freeholder in 1685, his name being written Simmons. His will, dated 28th of February, 1732, describes him of Jerusalem, and his wife was then living. The will was proved 5th of November, 1733.
4. Solomon, who before 1682 married Elizabeth (?), daughter of Henry Livingston, and had six children: Henry, Solomon (described in Jordan Seaman's record as the "father of drinking Solomon"), Deborah, Elizabeth, Mary and Abigail.
5. Elizabeth, eldest daughter, married Colonel John Jackson, son of Robert and Agnes (Washbourne) Jackson, and had five children. Colonel Jackson was a noted public man—Sheriff, Member of Assembly, Judge, &c.

CHILDREN BY SECOND WIFE, MARTHA, DAUGHTER OF THOMAS AND MARTHA (YOUNGS) MORE.

6. Samuel, was a freeholder in 1685, living with his father. Had at least four children: Phebe, Charity, Samuel and Deborah, and was living as late as 1732.
7. Thomas, married Mary ———. His will dated 14th of November, 1722, describes him of Hempstead, and names ten children: Thomas, John, Samuel, Nathaniel, Sylvanus, Richard, Hannah, Abigail (wife of Samual Jackson), Mary Smith and Elizabeth Alling. Will proved 29th of December, 1724.
8. Nathaniel, of Hempstead, on 9th of 8th month, 1695, after the manner of Friends, married Rachel, daughter of Henry and Mary Willis, and had nine children: Rachel (died young), Nathaniel, Ester,

Jacob, Abraham, Rachel, Hezekiah, Thomas and Samuel. In 1692, Friends Meeting was appointed in his house every third First Day; in 1699, the Monthly Meeting, and in 1701 the Quarterly Meeting. In 1702 he is called of Westbury. Probably died about 1715.

9. Richard, born about 1674, died 5th of September, 1749. Married, about 1693–4, Jane, probably daughter of Adam Mott ("the eldest son"), and had fifteen children. His will, dated 5th of April, 1749, names his wife Jane, and children Richard, Thomas, Adam, Giles, Daniel, Jane Titus, Sarah Dusenbury, Hannah Doty, Elizabeth Townsend, Phebe and Mary, and his cousin Patrick Mott. In 1705, Thomas Pearsall, the son of Nathaniel Pearsall, having sold the house where Friends Meeting in Hempstead used to be held, they were appointed at this Richard Seaman's house. After his death in 1750, he was characterized as "a sound minister of the Gospel for many years, having led a solid and exemplary life from his young days."

10. Sarah, married probably Left. John Mott, born 1659, son of Adam, Sr., and had at least four children: John, Jr., James, Sarah and Martha.

11. MARTHA, married NATHANIEL, son of HENRY PEARSALL; lived in Hempstead, and had:

    I. Nathaniel, born 27th of 11th month, 1676.
    II. THOMAS, born 18th of 4th month, 1679.
    III. Martha, born 10th of 10th month, 1681.
    IV. Hannah, born 22d of 1st month, 1683.
    V. Sarah, born 1st of 5th month, 1686.
    VI. Elizabeth, born 28th of 8th month, 1688.
    VII. Hannah, born 14th of 12th month, 1690–1.
    VIII. Phebe, born 20th of 10th month, 1693.
    IX. Samuel, born 18th of 12th month, 1695.
    X. Nathaniel, born 11th of 7th month, 1699.
    XI. Mary, born 30th of 2d month, 1703.

12. Deborah, before 1694 married ———— Kirk, and had two sons.

13. Hannah, who before 1694 married ——— Carmen.

14. ————, who married ———— Carmen.

15. ————, who died unmarried.

16. Mary, who married Thomas Pearsall, son of Henry and brother of Nathaniel, above mentioned. From this Thomas and Mary Pearsall are descended Thomas and Rowland Pearsall of Bethpage.

PEARSALL.

THOMAS PEARSALL, born 18th of 4th month, 1679, the second son of above Nathaniel and Martha (Seaman) Pearsall, was Anne Mott's great-grandfather, as shown in the tabular statement on a previous page. He

married on the 25th of 9th month, 1708, Sarah Underhill, born 17th of 6th month, 1687, daughter of John Underhill and Mary Prior.

CHILDREN OF THOMAS AND SARAH (UNDERHILL) PEARSALL.

1. Thomas Pearsall, Jr., born 18th of 6th month, 1710.
2. Nathaniel Pearsall, born 2d of 7th month, 1712.
3. SARAH Pearsall, born 6th of 11th month, 1714.
4. Phebe Pearsall, born 7th of 1st month, 1717.
5. Martha Pearsall, born 9th of 5th month, 1719; died, 1721.
6. Hannah Pearsall, born 17th of 10th month, 1721.
7. Samuel Pearsall, born 16th of 9th month, 1724.
8. Mary Pearsall, born 24th of 5th month, 1727.

SARAH PEARSALL, third in above list, married, as recorded in the Mott Ancestry, on the 26th of 1st month, 1741, Richard Mott, son of Richbell Mott, and grandson of the first Adam Mott, of Hempstead (Ante p. 209). The only child of this marriage was James Mott the father of Anne Mott.

THE MORES AND THE YOUNGS.

Captain JOHN SEAMAN'S second wife, MARTHA MOORE, was the daughter of Captain THOMAS MORE, of Southold, and MARTHA YOUNGS, his wife, and the Youngs and the Mores were therefore ancestors of Anne Mott.

The Mores and the Youngs were of Southwold, Norfolk, England. MARTHA YOUNGS was the daughter of the Rev. CHRISTOPHER YOUNGS, who was born in Norfolk, England, before 1590, and died in Southwold, England, 14th June, 1626. He was appointed 14th January, 1611, to succeed the Rev. Robert Selby as Vicar of Reydon, a Parish of Norfolk, on the east coast of England, having a Church at St. Margaret, and including the seaport of Southwold, where was a Church of St. Edmunds. Rev. John Goldsmith was his successor in the parish. His wife MARGARET survived him, and he left several children.

CHILDREN OF THE REV. CHRISTOPHER AND MARGARET YOUNGS.

I. Christopher Youngs, died at Salem, Massachusetts, June 19, 1647.

II. Margaret Youngs, who married Captain Joseph Youngs, and came to this country in July, 1635, with her children, Joseph and John, in The Love, of which her husband was Master, and who was living in Southold, Long Island, in 1669.

III. MARTHA Youngs, baptized 1st July, 1613, wife of THOMAS MORE. She came with her husband to Salem, Massachusetts, about 1635–6, and afterwards to Southold, Long Island. Was there in 1671.

IV. Edward, V. Elizabeth, both of whom were drowned in coming in a boat from Dunwich, in July, 1616. There were perhaps also other children. (N. Y. Gen. Rec. XIV. 65.)

Southold, Long Island, was first settled about 1640, by immigrants from New Haven, among whom was Rev. John Youngs. The first church there was built in 1641, Rev. John Youngs being Pastor. This was probably the first Church outside of New Amsterdam, built in what is now the State of New York.

The Mores and the Youngs were numerous at Southold, Long Island, and many of them were mariners. The tax list of 1675 includes THOS. MORE, senior, taxed on £27, and Thos. More, junior, taxed on £186. Mr. John Youngs also appears adjacent to his father, Captain John Youngs, probably a nephew of MARTHA (YOUNG) SEAMAN. (O. C. D. Hist. N. Y., II, 448–50.)

John Youngs was representative from Southold in the Provincial Assembly of March, 1665, and was Sheriff of Yorkshire (which included Long Island, Staten Island, and part of Westchester County), in 1680. In 1683 he was one of Governor Dongan's Council; was on a boundary Commission in 1684, and again in the Governor's Council in 1686–8, under Dongan, and in 1692 to 1698 under Governor Fletcher. (N. Y. Civil list.)

THOMAS MORE, of Southold, L. I., was a ship carpenter, and his adze was long preserved in his family. He sometimes acted as ship master, and also as house carpenter. He was born in England about 1615, probably at Southwold, in Norfolk, and died at Southold, L. I., 27th of June, 1691. The name is written indifferently More, Moor and Moore. THOMAS MORE was the son of an elder THOMAS MORE and ANN his wife, who apparently were living in Southwold, England, in 1630, for they had a son baptized there in October of that year. But they soon after came to New England, for about 1631 JOHN SYMONDS (Seaman), THOMAS MORE and others were sent by John Mason to settle New Hampshire. The elder THOMAS MORE must have died about this time, for on the 11th of July, 1636, THOMAS MORE, son of Widow MORE, and his wife, were admitted inhabitants of Salem, Mass., and ten acres was allotted THOMAS MORE'S widow. The younger THOMAS MORE had, therefore, married MARTHA YOUNGS before July, 1636. January 8th, 1636–7, Widow ANN MOORE was admitted to the church at Salem. Widow MORE had a daughter Mary, who married Joseph Grafton of Salem. Probably she had other children besides THOMAS and Mary. In 1637, Goodwife Grafton applied for land for her mother at the end of her husband's lot, which was granted. At a subsequent division of common land, Widow MORE, having five in her family, had three-quarters of an acre. THOMAS MORE, next her, having four in family, had also three-quarters of an acre, and Joseph Grafton, next, with seven in family, had one acre. 1642, Dec. 22–27, THOMAS MORE and others were sworn as

freemen of Massachusetts at Salem. The following year, 1643, five acres of land in Salem was granted to THOMAS MORE. In 1644, October 13, he obtained dismissal from the Church of Salem, doubtless contemplating removal, but he remained some time longer at Salem, or at least his children were baptized there. He appears to have been in Salem in the summer of 1647, on the death of his wife's brother, Christopher Youngs; and in 1649, his brother-in-law, Captain Joseph Youngs, sold him two houses and four acres of land at Salem, and moved to Southold, L. I. THOMAS MORE and family probably remained at Salem until 1651, when they followed Capt. Joseph Youngs to Southold, L. I., leaving his mother, ANN, and his sister, Grafton, at Salem.

In March, 1653, a small vessel trading on Long Island Sound, commanded by Captain (afterward Colonel) John Young, and probably owned by him and THOMAS MORE and J. Herbert, was captured by the Dutch; and in 1654, the bark Prince of Condé was captured from the Dutch and came into the possession of THOMAS MORE, who, after the peace of 1655, sold it again to the Dutch for 500 guilders.

In a list of lots in Southold in 1658, THOMAS MORE has several parcels. He became the purchaser of Captain JOHN UNDERHILL'S house and home lot at Southold. But in the tax list of Southold for 1675, THOMAS MORE, Sr., is only taxed on £27, while Thomas More, Jr., is taxed on £186. In 1658, May 26, THOMAS MORE appeared at New Haven as deputy from Southold, and as Magistrate he tried many petty causes.

THOMAS MORE was supposed to be friendly to the Quakers, but he did not belong to the Society.

THOMAS MORE was twice married. First as above mentioned, before July, 1636, to Martha, daughter of Rev. Christopher Youngs. She came with him to Southold, and was living there as late as 1671, or later. About 1680 he married Katherine, widow first of Thomas Doxy and second of Daniel Lane of New London. He had nine children:

I. Thomas, baptized at Salem, Mass., 21st of October, 1639.
II. MARTHA, baptized same time and place, married John Seaman of Hempstead, and was living in 1698.
III. Benjamin, baptized at Salem 2d of August, 1640.
IV. Nathaniel, baptized 3d of July, 1642.
V. Hannah, baptized at Salem 29th of December, 1644; married ——— Symonds (probably Richard), and was living in 1691.
VI. Elizabeth, baptized at Salem 31st of August, 1647; married Simon Grover.
VII. Jonathan, baptized at Salem 3d of June, 1649; died 16th of March, 1689.
VIII. Mary, baptized at Salem 15th of December, 1650.
IX. Sarah, probably born at Southold; married Samuel, son of Charles Glover.

(See N. Y. Gen. Rec., XV., 57).

THE PEARSALL ANCESTRY.

It has been already shown that Anne Mott's paternal grandmother was Sarah Pearsall, who married first Richard Mott in 1741, and second Richard Alsop in 1747. Sarah Pearsall's father was Thomas Pearsall, of Hempstead Harbor.

The Pearsalls were a family of note in Hempstead and its neighborhood and in New York, and their relations with our branch of the Mott family became intimate. The names Pearsall and Willis and Titus were among the most familiar to the ears of this present editor from his earliest recollection, and every incident connected with the several families is of interest to him still.

Henry Pearsall, the immigrant, was among the early settlers of Hempstead. His son, Nathaniel, had there grown to manhood, and about 1674 there married Martha Seaman, as elsewhere stated, a daughter of Captain John Seaman. One of the earliest mentions of him is the town record. Nathaniel Pearsall, Clerk, reported, 1675 (August 28), that the total valuation of the town of Hempstead (for taxation) was £11,532 19s. 4d.

Nathaniel Pearsall was a farmer and also a blacksmith, and he was, moreover, a man of weight and force in his community. It has been related in page 202 of this volume how, in October, 1676, Nathaniel Pearsall and others attended "an indignation meeting" in Hempstead to resist the supposed intrusion on Cowneck of John Cornwell—as he spelled the name—one of the greater grandfathers of this present Editor, who, under authority of Governor Andros, was making a settlement on the west shore of Cowneck, a little south of what we now call Sands Point, where some of his descendants are still living. But the people of Cowneck did not know that the Governor had granted this land to John Cornwell, and Adam Mott and Nathaniel Pearsall, each of them also the several times great-grandfather of the present writer, with some others, united to pull down the house that was being built, and for these riotous proceedings Adam Mott was fined £5, and Nathaniel Pearsall was fined £20 and was put under bonds to keep the peace.

Perhaps at this date Nathaniel Pearsall had not adopted the peaceable principles of Friends, but at any rate he had become a Friend a little later, for in the disputed administration of Leister (1689–90) writs were issued by the Governor calling a Provincial Assembly, the third Provincial Assembly under the English administration of the Province, to meet in New York in April, 1690, and the people of Queens County elected Nathaniel Pearsall as their representative. He attended at the appointed time, but, faithful to Friends' testimony against oaths, he refused to be sworn in, and therefore was not allowed to take his seat. When Colonel Sloughter arrived as Governor (in March, 1691), new writs were issued for a new Assembly, and Nathaniel Pearsall was again elected for Queens County, and this time John Bowne, the staunchest of Quakers, was sent as his colleague. They offered themselves at the appointed time to

serve, but not being willing to take the oath they were not admitted. It had not yet been learned that an affirmation may safely be substituted for an oath. Neither Nathaniel Pearsall nor John Bowne made any further attempt to serve their neighbors in that way.

Nathaniel Pearsall of Hempstead died 24th of 8th month, 1703. Martha Pearsall, his widow (daughter of John Seaman), survived him nine years, and died on the 6th of 7th month, 1712. They had eleven children, as follows:

I. Nathaniel, born 27th of 11th month, 1676; died 30th of 11th month, 1679.
II. THOMAS, born 18th of 4th month, 1679.
III. Martha, born 10th of 10th month, 1681.
IV. Hannah, born 22d of 1st month, 1684; died 20th of 4th month, 1689.
V. Sarah, born 1st of 5th month, 1686.
VI. Elizabeth, born 28th of 8th month, 1688.
VII. Hannah[2], born 14th of 12th month, 1690; died 31st of 11th month, 1718.
VIII. Phebe, born 20th of 10th month, 1693; died 14th of 1st month, 1703.
IX. Samuel, born 18th of 12th month, 1695; died 4th of 12th month, 1720.
X. Nathaniel[2], born 11th of 7th month, 1699; died 17th of 4th month, 1701.
XI. Mary, born 30th of 2d month, 1703.

(Westbury Records and N. Y. Gen. Rec., XVI., 173.)

Nathaniel Pearsall's will is recorded in the New York Surrogate's Office (VII., 137), and some extracts from it may be of interest to his descendants. The will is dated 20th of 8th month, called October, 1703. This was four days before his death.

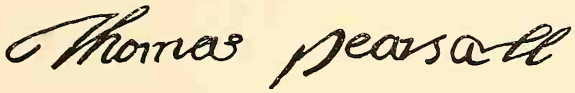
He calls himself "Nathaniel Pearsall of Hempstead * * * being sick and weak in body." * * "To my beloved wife, Martha Pearsall, the one-third part of all my movable estate, to be disposed of as she shall see cause" (excepting the negroes). He then directs the land divided equally between sons Thomas and Samuel, and if any difference Thomas to have the better part. At this date Thomas was 24 years old, unmarried, and Samuel 8 years old.

To his five daughters, "Martha Pearsall, Sarah Pearsall, Elizabeth Pearsall, Hannah Pearsall and Mary Pearsall, each a warming-pan, to be provided by my executors," and "whatever my two eldest daughters now have (Martha was now in her 22d year and Sarah 17) that they call their own they shall have." * * "I give my smith tools to my son Thomas." All household goods to his five daughters, except two beds and furniture which go to his two sons, "each of them one bed and furniture." * * "If my negro Frank grows unruly, my son Thomas is hereby empowered to sell him." * *

"My will is that so long as my wife remains a widow she shall have the use of all my negroes, and if she should change her condition, she

shall have the use of such of my negroes as my overseers shall see fit." * * If negro Frank is sold, the money to be divided equally between the five daughters. "My will is that my wife shall have the use of my housing and land at the town, and half the land at the Harbor, during widowhood, and longer if my overseers shall see cause, or in case the housing and land be sold which is in the town, then she shall have the use of the housing at the Harbour." * * "My will is that my five daughters shall have ten-twelfths of all my stock that is not before disposed of, to be equally divided between them," and the other two-twelfths to their brothers.

The daughters to have their portions when they marry, or at age of 23 years. He makes his executors "my loving wife and my eldest son Thomas," and his overseers: Samuel Bowne, Richard Seaman, William Willis, Thomas Powell, Jr., and Nathaniel Seaman.



From Marriage Certificate of Adam Mott, 1731.

Thomas, the second child of Nathaniel and Martha (Seaman) Pearsall, and the oldest who lived to maturity, was born, as above stated, 18th of 4th month, 1679. He made his home at Hempstead Harbor, and seems to have been a diligent and prosperous man, and in good esteem among Friends. When he was nearly thirty years of age he married, on the 25th of 9th month, 1708, Sarah Underhill, eight years his junior, daughter of John Underhill the younger, of Killingworth, and Mary Prior. They had nine children, as follows:

1. A son born and died 29th of 6th month, 1709.
2. Thomas, born 18th of 6th month, 1710.
3. Nathaniel, born 2d of 7th month, 1712.
4. SARAH, born 6d of 11th month, 1714.
5. Phebe, born 7th of 1st month, 1717.
6. Martha, born 9th of 5th month, 1719.
7. Hannah, born 17th of 10th month, 1721.
8. Samuel, born 16th of 9th month, 1724.
9. Mary, born 24th of 5th month, 1727.

(Westbury Records and N. Y. Gen. Rec. IV., 36.)

Thomas Pearsall lived to enter his 81st year, and a few months before he died he made his will, now on record in the Surrogate's office, New York (XXI, 520), and many of its provisions will be of interest to his descendants now, a hundred and thirty years after it was written. It is dated 9th of 8th month, called August, 1759.

He calls himself "Thomas Pearsall of Hempstead Harbor, in the township of Hempstead, Yeoman * * weak of body and far advanced in years * * To well beloved wife Sarah Pearsall, all the money which I have due me, and have in my house, she paying all my just

debts except those which I owe upon bond, which I shall direct to be paid otherwise. All my wearing apparel to my son Thomas, my son Samuel and the children of my son Nathaniel, equally divided. To my son Thomas my great book* by Isaac Pennington. "I will unto my grandson, James Mott,† one young horse to his disposal. (At this date James Mott was seventeen years old.) I will unto my wife Sarah Pearsall, for, and in lieu of her right of dower, and for keeping and maintaining my old Negro man Jack, as long as my wife liveth, the following articles, viz:—two good feather beds and full furniture, and all my negro bedding, and all my grain, either growing, cut, or in store at the time of my decease, and all my flax and wool, and yarn, and new cloth and cattle hides, leather‡ and soap, and meat, and all other provisions which I have in store in my house, either meat or drink, and one of my negro men, and one of my negro women, such of them as she shall choose, and my negro girl named Priss, and if I should chance to dye when I have cattle a fatting, my wife shall have them for the provision of herself and family, at my wife's disposal.

I will and bequeath all of my printed books to my wife Sarah Pearsall, to my son Samuel Pearsall, to my daughter Sarah Alsop, to my daughter Hannah Hawxhurst, my daughter Mary Seaman, and my daughter-in-law Mary Pearsall, the widow of my son Nathaniel Pearsall, to be equally divided among them.

To my wife an equal one-fifth part of remaining movable estate not disposed of; one-fifth to daughter Sarah Alsop, one-fifth to daughter Mary Seaman, and the interest on one-fifth to daughter Hannah Hawxhurst, and the principal at such time as my executors shall think proper, the remaining fifth part to be sold and converted into money, of which £10 to my son Samuel, £10 to my daughter-in-law, Mary Pearsall, and the remainder to be paid to my granddaughter, Elizabeth Hicks, on condition that her father, Benjamin Hicks, pays the money he owes on bond to me for the use of my grandson, James Mott, but if my executors cannot recover the money from Benjamin Hicks, then the said remainder of said fifth part, I will to my grandson, James Mott, or so much as will clear the bond, at five per cent interest on interest.

"I will to my son Thomas Pearsall, his heirs and assigns (on condition hereafter expressed), my houses, buildings, lands and improvements where I now dwell at Hempstead Harbour, bounded as follows: on the west by Hempstead Harbour, on the north by Jacob Mott's land, on the east by the Musketo Cove road that leads to the plains, on the south partly by Sylvanus Townsend's land, and partly by Michael Mudges's land, and partly by the highway that leads to the landing by my house, until it runs so far westerly as Mudge's land, and then running southerly by his land to William Kirk's land, and then by Kirk's land to Hempstead Harbor, be it in quantity of acres more or less"; also to Thomas a piece of wood land adjoining Mudge's land, as described, "on condition in the first place that my wife have the best room in my house, and as much cellar room as she shall have occasion to use, and full liberty to get fire-

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* Isaac Pennington, born 1617, died 1679, one of the earliest converts to the preaching of George Fox. He was a man of wealth and standing, and a voluminous writer in defense of the principles of Friends. His works were published in folio in 1681.

† It will be noted that this James Mott was Anne Mott's father.

‡ Does this mean that he was a Tanner as well as a Farmer?

wood for her use off the land which I give to my son Thomas (but not to sell any timber), and my son Thomas, his heirs or executors, to find and provide fodder and pasture for two cows and two horses for my wife's use, also plot for garden for her use, with full liberty to gather apples in the orchard, "said provisions above given to my wife to be and to remain unto her during her widowhood and no longer," son Thomas, or his executors to pay £1200 to my executors, in three several payments of £400 each, within two years, and of this sum £20 to wife, £20 to pay charges of the law in defense of my title, if necessary; £270 to pay debts I owe on bonds; £60 to my son Samuel; £30 to granddaughter Sarah Pearsall, daughter of deceased son Nathaniel; and the interest of £670 to use of my wife as long as she remains my widow. Then follow a number of small details of the subdivision of this money, including £25 to granddaughter Jane Pearsall, daughter of son Nathaniel, and £80 to daughter Sarah Alsop, but £80 to be paid to "granddaughter Elizabeth Hicks, if she behaves well," my executors to pay her the money when she is of age, if my executors have got all the money which her father, Benjamin Hicks owes me on bond. But if my executors have not got all the money, they are required to keep it out of the £80, etc. "And whereas I have been at charge, in a great measure, to bring up and to educate my grandson, James Mott, I do therefore order my executors to take and receive £5 for the use of my daughters, when he is of lawful age, but in case the said James Mott should dye under age and leaving no lawful child, then I order my executors to deduct a reasonable reward for his education, and for the trouble I have been at in keeping him, to be paid out of his estate, to be judged by impartial men." What Samuel owes for use of James Mott, to be taken out of his legacy. Wife to have use of all my negroes during widowhood, and wife to have use of my clock.

Executors: Son Thomas Pearsall, Grandson Israel Pearsall, Kinsmen David Underhill, Samuel Underhill, Abraham Underhill and Thomas Underhill. Witnesses: William Kirk, Samuel Willis, Henry Burtis and Richard Kirk. The will was proved on the 5th of March, 1760.

This will is of interest in showing that James Mott was "in a great measure" brought up by his Grandfather Thomas Pearsall, and moreover that James Mott's inheritance from his own father, Richard Mott, had been in part "put out on bond" by his Grandfather Thomas Pearsall, who afterward found it difficult in at least one case to recover either interest or principal. Of course, the will does not give the other side of the story, if there was any other side, but it is permitted to us to feel considerable sympathy for his "Granddaughter Elizabeth Hicks," whose inheritance from her grandfather is made dependent on what her own father may do. Let us hope that Elizabeth got her grandfather's bequest.

The extent to which the husbands of those old days seem to claim ownership over all the household goods is hardly acceptable to some, at least, of the feminine minds of to-day.

"Bequeaths feather beds to his wife!" said an estimable lady who sometimes favors this present editor with her views of things, and to whom some portions of the above will of 1760 had been read in this year of Grace, 1890. "Feather beds! Why, all the beds in the house be-

longed to the wife, any way. Hadn't her fifty years of keeping house for him earned her a great deal more than that? Why didn't he will to her the night gowns and the petticoats she was wearing?" And a little later, this estimable commentator of to-day, went on: "Of course, it was very well that his son Thomas should not be required to take any stepfather into his house, but was it decent for the old gentleman to threaten his old wife, the mother of his children, and his housekeeper for more than fifty years, that the little bit of interest on the £670 should be taken from her if she married again? And she seventy years old! It seems to me that your Great-Grandfather Pearsall ought to have been ashamed of himself!"

Let us hope that some of these provisions of the will were put in by the lawyer who drew it up, and were not noticed by our venerable Great Grandfather Pearsall.

Perhaps we are somewhat indebted to Dutch influence for the change in public sentiment in this direction which has taken place since this will was written. "The Dutch wife of that age," says Mr. C. B. Moore, in writing of Dutch and English intermarriages in our Colonial times:

"The Dutch wife of that age was more of an equal with her husband than the English, insisting upon the rule of the household indoors, and upon the full rights of a co-partner in business. She had to be consulted and to co-operate in such a serious matter as the disposing of property by last will and testament. Husband and wife often made a joint will, both signing it. This was in accordance with the civil law, which was generally followed by the Dutch. It was more equal and just in respect to the wife's property and earnings than the old English common law. It not very seldom happened that the grey mare was the better horse." (N. Y. Gen. Rec., IV., 137.)

Friends Records of Westbury give the children of the younger Thomas Pearsall, to whom his father as above left the homestead on Hempstead Harbor, as follows:

CHILDREN OF THOMAS PEARSALL, SON OF THOMAS PEARSALL, OF HEMPSTEAD HARBOR.

Israel, born 27th of 9th month, 1733.

Thomas, born 20th of 6th month, 1735.

Nathaniel, born 22d of 13th month, 1737; died 26th of 8th month, 1757.

Mary, born 29th of 1st month, 1742.

Martha, born 23d of 9th month, 1743.

Further gleanings in the history of the Pearsall family might perhaps have been gathered, including something about the immigrant Henry Pearsall, had leisure permitted. But what is above written must suffice for the present.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE RICHBELL ANCESTRY.

All of the descendants of Adam and Anne Mott have inherited through two lines the blood of John and Ann Richbell, the first patentees of the land now known as the town of Mamaroneck, in Westchester County.

Elizabeth Richbell, daughter of John and Ann Richbell, became the second wife of the first Adam Mott of Hempstead, and bore him five children. To her oldest son she gave her family name of Richbell, and this Richbell Mott was the grandfather of Anne Mott's father, James Mott. To her second son she gave his father's name of Adam, although his eldest son by his first wife, Jane Huelet, bore the same name and was still living. Hence the two half-brothers were distinguished as the eldest son Adam and the younger son Adam. This younger son Adam, the son of Adam and Elizabeth (Richbell) Mott, was the grandfather of our Adam Mott, who in 1785, married his second and third cousin, Anne Mott.

All this has been already stated in these pages, but it is here repeated in its connection with John and Ann Richbell, and the following tabular statement may make our double descent from them more clear:

John Richbell of Southampton, Eng., and merchant of London. —— Parsons, m. Margaret ——.

Robert Richbell, Mayor of Southampton, 1671.

John Richbell, married Ann Parsons, First Patentees of Mamaroneck, 1662–1700.

Robert, inherited from his uncle, John Richbell.

Elizabeth, m. about 1667, as 2d wife, Adam Mott.

Mary, m. 1670 James Mott.

Anne, m. John Emerson.

Richbell Mott, m. 1696 Elizabeth Thorne.

Adam Mott, married 1731, Phebe Willits, afterwards Grandmother Dodge.

William, married Hannah Seaman.

Charles

Richard Mott, married Sarah Pearsall.

Ancestors of Dr. Valentine Mott.

James Mott, married Mary Underhill.

Adam Mott, married 1755, Sarah Willis.

Anne Mott, b. 1768, d. 1852; married 1785, Adam Mott, b. 1762, d. 1839.

We know but little of the early life of John Richbell, except what can be inferred from the evidence that his father, an elder John Richbell, was of Hampshire, England, and a merchant in Southampton and London, and that his brother Robert was Mayor of Southampton, 1671.

John Richbell was in Boston as early as 1647, and a merchant in Charlestown, Mass., and a little later was in the West Indies. He received goods or money or both from his wife's mother, Mrs. Margaret Parsons in the Island of St. Christopher (DeLancey in Scharf's Westchester I, 143), and was in Barbadoes in 1657. It must be noted that at this time Barbadoes was an important central point in the trade between the old and the new world, and that England was now as far as possible from "free trade," and the oppressive restrictions of the navigation laws were avoided whenever practicable. How best to do this was a constant problem in mercantile enterprise. It was probably partly with this object that on the 18th of September, 1657, an agreement was signed in Barbadoes between Thomas Modiford, of Barbadoes, William Sharp, of Southampton (England), and John Richbell, of Charlestown, New England, merchants, to found a plantation and trading posts in the southwest part of New England bordering on the Dutch territory.

This plantation, it is agreed, must be on some safe harbor or navigable river not difficult of access, well watered by running streams, or springs or ponds, and well wooded, high and healthy. And here he was to establish his family, cultivate the grounds, clear the land, providing food and a home for such persons as business might bring to him, sawing timber for house-building and for ship-building. Hemp for cordage, "pot ash which will sufficiently recompense the charge for falling this ground." This work John Richbell undertook, and also to keep his partners constantly informed how the opportunities of the situation could be most advantageously employed by them, "for the life of our business" they say, "will consist in your nimble, quiet and full correspondence with us."*

Richbell first went to the English settlements of Long Island, and in Oysterbay and Hempstead, where he probably made the acquaintance of the elder Adam Mott. He was probably in Oysterbay as early as 1657 or 58. He seems to have contemplated a settlement on the north shore of Oysterbay, for he bought on the 5th of September, 1660, the peninsula now known as Lloyds Neck, and also land at Matinecock. He appears to have been much in Oysterbay for several years, but pushed his investigation along the northwestern shore of Long Island Sound, and in September of the following year (23d September, 1661), he completed an agreement with the Indian chiefs for a purchase of what now makes the whole water front of Mamaroneck, bounded on the west by Mr. Pells' land. They call the Richbell purchase, three Necks of land, and running "twenty miles into the woods." It will be of interest to note what was the stipulated price of all this land. It included much more territory than the present town of Mamaroneck, which does not extend ten miles into the interior. And the Richbell grant extends twenty miles. The

*Office Secretary of State, Albany, Deed Book III, p. 123.

price of all this territory, in 1661, was, twenty-two coats, 100 fathoms of wampum, twelve shirts, ten pairs of stockings, twenty hands of powder, twelve bars of lead, two firelocks, fifteen hoes, fifteen hatchetts, three kettles. Half the goods were to be delivered "in about a month," and the other half in the following spring.

Having made sure of the Indians, John Richbell sought a confirmation of his Indian deed by a grant from the Dutch authorities, and in a letter addressed by him "to the most noble, great, and respectful Lords, the Director General and the Council in New Amsterdam," and dated at New Amsterdam 24th of December, 1661, he asks for a "grant of letters patent for three necks of land" east of Mr. Pells' land, and promises to hold it subject to the government of the New Netherlands. On the 19th of January, 1662, an answer was returned by the Director that he must explain more at large "the extent of his proposal." This he seems to have done, for he received a favorable reply from Governor Stuyvesant, under date 6th of May, 1662, at Fort Amsterdam, and the patent was issued to him as requested. (Albany Records, XX, 127.) He immediately took possession and commenced improvements, but probably continued his residence in Oysterbay until he could make a home in his new grant, perhaps in the summer or autumn of 1662.

In 1664, the Duke of York undertook to take possession of the New Netherlands under his grant from his brother Charles II., and, as is well known, an expedition in four ships, borrowed from the King, took possession of New Amsterdam, and the whole colony in September, 1664. John Richbell's brother Robert was a member of the great British Council of Trade, and doubtless knew of this expedition and informed his brother of it. We find the Commission who accompanied the expedition putting themselves in communication with John Richbell as soon as they landed. This change of government changed also the business advantages of the situation. But Governor Francis Lovelace confirmed the grant to "John Richbell, of Mamaroneck, gentleman, in whose possession it now is," on the 16th of October, 1668.

John Richbell had three daughters but no son to inherit this great estate, but he set apart all the East Neck, including the land on which all of the village of Mamaroneck which lies west of Mamaroneck River has since been built, as a jointure for his wife. On the 14th of November, a month after the confirmation of the title by Governor Lovelace, Richbell conveyed all the East Neck to Margaret Parsons, his wife's mother, who apparently made her home with her daughter. Two days later—16th of November, 1668—Margaret Parsons conveyed to her daughter, Ann Richbell, the same property, "for that singular and dear affection I have and bear to my most dear daughter, Mrs. Ann Richbell, wife of the said John Richbell, for her dutiful observances towards me." As a further confirmation, on the 23d of April, 1669, John Richbell confirms the property in his wife as a jointure—"in consideration of a marriage

long since had and solemnized between the said John Richbell and Ann, his present wife "—and he describes the tract as follows: "All that parcel or neck of land where he now lives, called the East Neck, and to begin at the westward part thereof at a certain creek * * betwixt ye Necks of land, ye Great Neck and the East Neck, and so to run Eastward as far as Mamaroneck River, including therein betwixt the two said lines all the land as well North into the woods above the Westchester Path twenty miles, as the lands below the path southward towards the Sound." (Westchester Records, B. 275.)

It is not necessary here to give any account of the long controversy respecting their boundary line between John Richbell and his English neighbor of the west—Thomas Pell—of which some mention has been made on page 63 of this volume. This controversy was finally compromised on the oblique line where the boundary between Mamaroneck and New Rochelle now comes down to tide water.

John Richbell made several conveyances out of the middle and western parts of his land, including two or three mortgages. One mortgage was to his brother Robert for £2,500. On the 20th of December, 1670, John Richbell and wife convey "to our son-in-law, James Mott, and our dear daughter Mary, his wife," certain lands in Mamaroneck. If this James Mott, as seems probable, was the second son of Adam Mott of Hempstead, he was now about twenty years old. He was a prominent man in Mamaroneck for many years. Another piece of land was, some years later (10th of September, 1686), conveyed to their youngest daughter Anne, who had then married John Emerson of Maryland, and John and Anne Emerson soon after conveyed the same land to James Mott.

I find no record of the date of the marriage of their eldest daughter, Elizabeth, to the first Adam Mott of Hempstead, and we have no record of the date of the death of Adam Mott's first wife Jane Huelet. The marriage with Elizabeth Richbell probably took place about 1667. (Ante p. 205.)

There is reason to believe that John Richbell made his home on the upland which looks easterly over Mamaroneck harbor, at the entrance to what has since been called De Lancey's Neck, and about where the Rushmore house now stands. The situation is beautiful and convenient. But no building or improvement made by him remains there now, unless it be the burial plot, on the same property, where his remains still repose, and those of his wife and of his wife's mother, and of his daughter Mary Mott, and his son-in-law James Mott, and doubtless others of the family. It is on what is now the Rushmore property, on the little knoll between the harbor and De Lancey Avenue, marked by a few trees and a few half-buried tombstones of comparatively late date.

But John Richbell lived on his estate twenty years or more before his death. We have no record of the success of his ventures with Modiford

and Sharpe, and it is probable that the capture of the Province by the English changed all those plans, and in place of them developed other plans. But there is a record now in the Westchester County Register's Office (Lib. B., p. 375) that, on the 7th of September, 1680, a saw-mill was to be built and operated in Mamaroneck, at the joint expense of John Richbell, Henry Fowler, Thomas Hatfield and Richard Ward.

Interesting and embarrassing questions grew up out of the vaguely described territory in the northern part of the grant to Richbell. He had asked for twenty miles into the woods, and this the grant gave him. But the lines were not defined, and the twenty miles would take in the whole of what is now the town of White Plains, and much of the adjacent towns. The claim upon White Plains was maintained as long as John Richbell lived, and one of his last acts was to protest against the trespassers in the White Plains, and to appeal to the Governor and to the court against them. The petition came up for a hearing before Governor Dongan on the 17th of March, 1684, and the trespassers, who were people from Rye, were summoned to show cause at the next Court of Assizes why John Richbell was not the true owner of the land in question. But before the next court sat Richbell had been laid in his grave on his own land. He died there on the 26th of July, 1684. He had been a resident of Mamaroneck for at least twenty-two years. He left a widow, Ann (Parsons) Richbell, and three daughters—Elizabeth, then the second wife and later the widow of the first Adam Mott of Hempstead; Mary, the wife of Captain James Mott, the second son of Adam Mott by his first wife Jane Huelet, and Anne, the wife of John Emerson of Maryland.

John Richbell died, as above mentioned, on the 26th of July, and two weeks later, on the 8th of August, his widow conveyed the homestead to Mary her daughter and James Mott. This was the thirty acres of land now owned by Thomas L. Rushmore, on which the Rushmore House stands. Some years later, this property being in the possession of James Mott, and after the death of his wife, but before the death of her mother, James Mott grants a privilege of interment in this family burying plot, to his neighbors the Disbrows, and describes it as "a certain piece of land lying near the salt meadow, where Mr. John Richbell and his wife's mother and my wife Mary Mott was buried, in my home lot or field, adjoining to my house."

Unlike some of the Quaker ancestors of Long Island, who count themselves as Yeoman, and so designate themselves in their wills, John Richbell was always designated, "gentleman," and his wife in the local records is designated, "Madam Richbell." She continued to make her home with her son-in-law, and after the death of her daughter, Mary Mott, counted James Mott as her son. Doubtless she occasionally made state visits to her friends in the city of New York, but she more and more confined herself to her Mamaroneck home. She continued the re-

sistance commenced by her husband to the invasions of the White Plains portion of her estate by the men of Rye. Ten years after the death of her husband, she made a formal protest, on the 26th of February, 1694, against these trespassers.

* * "Know ye," she says, "that whereas I, Ann Richbell, of Mamaroneck, in the County of Westchester, in the province and colony of New York, the widow and relict of Jno. Richbell, Esqr, deceased, am credibly informed that Humphrey Underhill, and several other persons belonging to the town of Rye, have made a forcible entry; and a farther proceeding in like manner, and into several parcels and tracts of land, within the patent right of me the said Ann Richbell, as may and does appear by the Grand Patent granted under the hand and seal of Coll. Francis Lovelace, the then Governor of this Province, contrary to the peace of their Maj.^{ties} and Therefore know ye y^{t} I, Ann Richbell, of Mamaroneck aforesaid, being the true and absolute owner of the said Tracts or parcells of Land, do Protest against and forbidd any person whatsoever from making any forcible entry upon the same or any part or parcel thereof, and likewise do warn and desire all such persons that have already made such forcible entry thereon or on any part or parcel of the said Patent as aforesaid, that they expel and forthwith remove therefrom, and do further protest ag^{t} the Register of the County and doe forbid him, at his peril, not to enter any of their private agreements or writings in the Records of the County. In presence of James Mott, Justice of the Peace and Benjamin Collier, Esqr., High Sheriff of the said County, In consideration whereof I doe hereby oblige myself and my heirs, Executors and Administrators, firmly, by these presents, to Indemnify and keep harmless the said Register concerning the premises aforesaid. In witness whereof I have hereunto put my hand and seal this 26th day of February in the 6th year of their Maj.$^{ties'}$ Reign, Anno Dom. 1693–4. Acknowledged before us by the above Ann Richbell to be her act and deed the day and date above written.

Ann Richbell, [L. S.]

James Mott, Justice of the Peace.
Joseph Lee, Pub. Not.
(Westchester Co. Records, B. 168.)"

The suit against Humphrey Underhill was tried in December, 1696, and resulted in favor of Mrs. Richbell.

At this date (1696) Col. Caleb Heathcote opened negotiations with Ann Richbell for the purchase of her patent as a part of his contemplated Manor of Scarsdale. He obtained her written consent to his seeking the usual Indian deeds of confirmation for the neighboring lands. On the 23d of December, 1697, Mrs. Ann Richbell conveyed all her estate to "Coll. Caleb Heathcote, Mayor of the Borough of Westchester," reserving only the land that had been conveyed to her son-in-law, James Mott, on which she was then living with him, and a small piece of land

which had been conveyed (September 30, 1686) to her son-in-law John Emerson, and which Emerson had conveyed to Mott on the 25th of June, 1690. A part of the consideration of the Deed to Heathcote was a Mortgage on the property sold to him for £600.

In the Albany Records, XLIII, 51, is preserved an autograph letter of Madam Ann Richbell. It is addressed to "Mr. Benj. Cossens, Clark, of his Majesty's Council, of the Province of New York," on a sheet of note paper, and is written in a neat, easy, feminine hand, as follows:

MADAME RICHBELL'S NOTE TO MR. BENJ. COSSENS.

MOMORONOCK, Aug. 28, 1699.

Sr. The Sheriff of this County was with me about 14 days ago and read of a summons of Mr. Pell, and the heirs of Mr. Richbell to appear at Council about the 30th inst. I was very much surprised that he should summons me being neither Mr. Pell, nor Mr. Richbell's heir, and desired Col. Heathcote to write to Col. Smith, being at New York, to inquire of you whither I was concerned in that matter or not, who sent me word that your answer was you knew nothing of my being summoned. So believing it to be a mistake and being by reason of my infirmity, not able to travel without great danger and difficulty, I hope his Hon^{r} the Lieut. Governor and the Hon^{le} Council wont look upon my non appearance as contempt and when I am inquired for I beg they may be acquainted herewith, pray excuse this trouble and you'le oblige Sr yr. afft, servant

Ann Richbell.

Madam Richbell's will was proved on the 19th of February, 1700–1, a year and a half after the date of this note.

The will is on record in the Surrogate's Office, New York, in Vol. II. of Wills, p. 92, and is here copied in full. It sheds a little light on her situation and on her descendants then living which we cannot get elsewhere.

WILL OF ANN RICHBELL, DIED 1700—(NEW YORK SURROGATE'S OFFICE, II., 92.)

In the name of God Amen. I Ann Richbell of the town of Momoronock in the County of Westchester in the Province of New York Gentlewoman, being sick and weak in body but of good and perfect memory, blessed be the Lord for it, who hath now put it in my heart to set my house in order by making this my last will and testament in manner following.

Imprimis I give and bequeath my soul into the hands of Almighty God my Creator, and my body to the Earth from whence I came, to a decent and country burial at the discretion of Coll. Caleb Heathcote, Mr. Richbell Mott and Lieut. John Horton whom I make my Executors

of this my last will and testament; and for the worldly Estate which it hath pleased the Lord to endow me with I give and bequeath as follows—

Imprimis I give and bequeath to my daughter Elizabeth the sum of Eighty pounds current money of this Province, due to me in ye hands of Coll. Caleb Heathcote, and my gold ring with an emerald stone in it, and my little Bible.

Item. I give and bequeath unto my daughter Anna the sum of £60, current money, &c., in the hands of Coll. Heathcote, and also my gold chain.

Item. I give and bequeath to my three granddaughters, namely Anna Gedney, Mary Williams and Mary Mott, each of them respectively the sum of £40 current money, &c., due to me in the hands of Coll. Heathcote, and to my granddaughter Mary my biggest gold ring.

Item. I give and bequeath to my son in law James Mott ten pounds current money, &c., due to me in the hands of Coll. Heathcote, he making no further claim on my estate.

Item. I give and bequeath to my grandson James Mott the son of Captain James Mott of this place, the sum of £15, in the hands of Col. Heathcote.

Item. I give and bequeath to all the rest of my granddaughters by my two daughters Mary and Elizabeth, not above mentioned or named, namely ten pounds current money, &c., due to me in the hands of Col. Heathcote.

Item. I give and bequeath to my negro woman her freedom, one suit of apparel from head to foot, besides what she hath already, and a cow, and twenty shillings in current money as aforesaid.

And as to my household goods, Creatures, and every other Estate that I am possessed of, that every one of my children and grandchildren, above mentioned shall have an equal part thereof in proportion to what I have given to each of them by this my last will and testament, and in case that it please God that I survive this present indisposition, and shall expend any part of my Estate, so as what I leave will not amount to what I have given the persons above said, that it shall be deducted from each of them according to this proportion.

In case it should happen,—which God forbid,—that any dispute shall arise amongst ye Legatees or otherwise, that then, and in that case my said Executors, or the major part of them. shall decide, and I do here, by these presents give them full power and authority to interpret any doubtful part or case of this my last will and testament, and to issue and determine all or any such disputes whatever. And I also will that each Legatees, shall rest satisfied with my Executors as determined aforesaid, and whereas I have directed Coll. Heathcote to pay unto Col. Stephen Cortlandt £20, when he goes next to New York, I do order and appoint by this my last will and testament that ye said Coll. Heathcote pay the sum of £20 as directed.

And whereas the money due me from Elizabeth and Jane* have the Coll. Heathcote is at sundry payments. I do order and appoint my granddaughters Anna, Mary, Grace Elizabeth and Jane have of the first payment that becomes due, because their necessity is greatest. My daughter Anna the next, after them, my daughter Elizabeth the next after her, and next her children, and after, my grandchildren James and Adam Mott. And before signing and sealing this I give and bequeath to Benjamin Collier four pieces of Eight. I do further order and appoint the £80 given to my daughter Elizabeth shall be, after her decease equally divided among her children.

In witness of this to be my last will and testament I have hereto set, my hand and seal this first day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred.

Ann Richbell. [L. S.]

Signed and sealed in the presence of us
John Washburn,
Jonathan Huestis,
Obadiah Palmer.

The above will, although dated on the 1st of April, 1700, is recorded as proved on the 19th of February, 1700, which evidently counted the year in the old style, beginning in March, and in the new style the year beginning on the first of January, the proof of the will, as we now count the years, was on the 19th of February, 1701. It is therefore probable that Madame Richbell lived several months, or nearly a year after the making of her will.

This volume is only concerned with the children of Ann Richbell's daughter Elizabeth, the second wife of the first Adam Mott of Hempstead, and all that we need say about these children is said in the Chapter of the Mott ancestry.

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*There is evidently here a clerical error in the record of the will. It is copied in the words of the record. If we change "have the Coll. Heathcote" to "and from Col. Heathcote." it would at least make sense. But I do not know what was the language of the original will.

DESCENDANTS OF ADAM AND ANNE MOTT.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Adam and Anne Mott had seven children, as follows:

I. Mary Mott, born 14th of 4th month, 1786; died 16th of 2d month, 1792.

II. James Mott, born 20th of 6th month, 1788; died 26th of 1st month, 1868.

III. Sarah Mott, born 4th of 4th month, 1791; died 17th of 3d month, 1872.

IV. Mary Underhill Mott, born 28th of 2d month, 1793; died 30th of 10th month, 1862.

V. Abigail Lydia Mott, born 6th of 8th month, 1795; died 4th of 9th month, 1846.

VI. Thomas Underhill Mott, born 19th of 2d month, 1798; died 1st of 7th month, 1801.

VII. Richard Mott, born 21st of 7th month, 1804; died 22d of 1st month, 1888.

Five of these seven children reached maturity. The other two died in childhood. All the children who reached maturity married and left children. A record of all these children, with their descendants to the present time (1890), will be here added. And it may be noted that, although more than seventy descendants of Adam and Anne Mott are now living, there are but three of them who now bear the name of Mott. These are: (1) Thomas Mott, son of their eldest son James Mott, of Philadelphia; (2) Thomas Mott's daughter, Maria Mott, and (3) Anne Caroline Mott, (Cannie Mott) daughter of their youngest son, Richard Mott of Toledo. But we may confidently hope that even should the Mott name entirely fade away from among the descendants of Adam and Anne Mott, their virtues, the prompt and implicit obedience to the Divine Inspiration in each heart, in which they always sought to live, may abide among the generations which, if they do not bear their name, yet inherit their blood and honor their memory.

I.

MARY MOTT, THE FIRST BORN.

Mary Mott, the first born of Adam and Anne Mott, and bearing the name of her mother's mother, was born at the old house on the Cowneck shore on the 14th of 4th month, 1786. She lived to move with her

Maria Mott Davis. Anna D. Hallowell

Maria Hallowell Lucretia Mott

FOUR GENERATIONS, FROM PHOTOGRAPHS TAKEN ABOUT 1878.

parents to the Mill house on Cowbay, and died there on the 16th of 2d month, 1792, "on the 5th day of the week," not quite six years old." She left her little brother James, nearly four years old, and Sarah, her sister, about ten months. But another Mary was born a year later.

II.

JAMES MOTT OF PHILADELPHIA—THE ELDEST SON.

James Mott, the second child and eldest son of Adam and Anne Mott, was born at "the old place," the old Mott Homestead on Cowneck, on the 20th of 6th month, 1788, and died in Brooklyn, N. Y., of pneumonia, while on a visit to his daughter, Martha M. Lord, on the 26th of 1st month, 1868, in his eightieth year, clear in mind and memory, and in good bodily health until a few days before his death. He had married in Philadelphia, 10th of 4th month, 1811, Lucretia Coffin, born 3d of 1st month, 1793, in Nantucket, died at "Roadside," near Philadelphia, 11th of 11th month, 1880, having nearly completed her eighty-eighth year, clear in mind to the last, although in failing strength, daughter of Thomas and Anna (Folger) Coffin, of Nantucket and subsequently of Philadelphia.

Lucretia Coffin represented many of the old families of Nantucket, and a brief account of her ancestry will interest all of the descendants of Adam and Anne Mott.

The Coffin family in England is traced back to the time of William the Conqueror, when a Norman Knight, Sir Richard Coffyn, accompanied William in his invasion of England. The knight doubtless had his reward, for "Sir Richard Coffyn of Alwington in Devonshire," became an hereditary name for centuries—from the reign of Henry I. to that of Edward VI. Richard Coffyn was Sheriff of Devonshire in the time of Henry VIII. Curious agreements in relation to boundaries between Sir Richard Coffyn and the Abbot of Tavistock are still preserved. In one of them the Abbot grants the privilege of his church to the Coffyn family.

The first of the family in America was Tristram Coffyn, as he still spelled the name, son of Peter and Joanne (Thimber) Coffyn of Brixham Parish, in the town of Plymouth, in Devonshire. They seem to have been people of considerable substance. Tristram married Dionis Stevens, and after his father's death he came to New England, bringing his mother with him. He was said to have been the first person who used a plow in Haverhill. He was a Royalist, and appears to have come to America to escape the Parliamentary party, of which Cromwell soon after this date became the ruling spirit. And several of Tristram's descendants were also Royalists in the time of the American Revolution.

Tristram Coffin was one of the original proprietors of Nantucket, but did not himself go there until the success of the colony had become as-

sured. In 1660, he moved to Nantucket, taking with him his four children—James, John, Stephen and Mary.

Among Tristram Coffin's descendants may be counted Admiral Sir Isaac Coffin of the British Navy, and the Admiral's brother, General John Coffin of the British Army. Two of General Coffin's sons were also British Admirals. Sir Isaac Coffin gave ten thousand dollars to the school of his name in Nantucket.

The following tabular statement will show part of the descent of Lucretia Coffin:

Peter Coffin and Joanne Thimber of Brixton, England.

Tristram Coffyn, born at Brixton, Devonshire, England, 1609; married Dionis Stevens; came to Massachusetts in 1642; in Nantucket, 1660; died 1681.

James Coffin, born in England 1640; died in Nantucket 1720; married Mary Severance, daughter of John Severance.

Nathaniel Coffin, b. 1666, d. 1721; m. Damaris Gayer.

William Coffin, b. 1691, d. 1774; m. Ann Holmes.

Nathaniel Coffin, b. 1727, d. 1780; graduate Harvard, 1744; m. Elizabeth Barnes.

General John Coffin, British Army. Admiral Sir Isaac Coffin, b. 1759, d. 1839. British Navy.

Benjamin Coffin, married Deborah Macy.

Thomas Coffin, b. 1757, d. 1815; m. 1779 Anna Folger, b. 1762, d. 1844.

Elizabeth Coffin, married Jonathan Bunker.

Ruth Bunker.

John Coffin, married Hope Gardner.

Richard Coffin.

Ruth Coffin, married

Lucretia Coffin, born 1793, died 1880; married 1811, James Mott, born 1788, died 1868.

John Folger.

Peter Folger, married Mary Morrell.

Eleazer, eldest, married Sarah Gardner.

Nathan Folger, married Sarah Church.

Abishai Folger, m. Sarah Mayhew.

William Folger.

Abiah, youngest, married Josiah Franklin.

Benjamin, Franklin. b. 1706, d. 1790; Printer, Philosopher and Patriot.

An interesting account of the lives of James and Lucretia Mott by their granddaughter, Anna Davis Hallowell, is now in print. Something of their relations with Adam and Anne Mott has also found place in the preceding pages of this volume, down to about 1825—30. At that time James Mott had become a merchant in Philadelphia, dealing in cotton and in cotton goods.

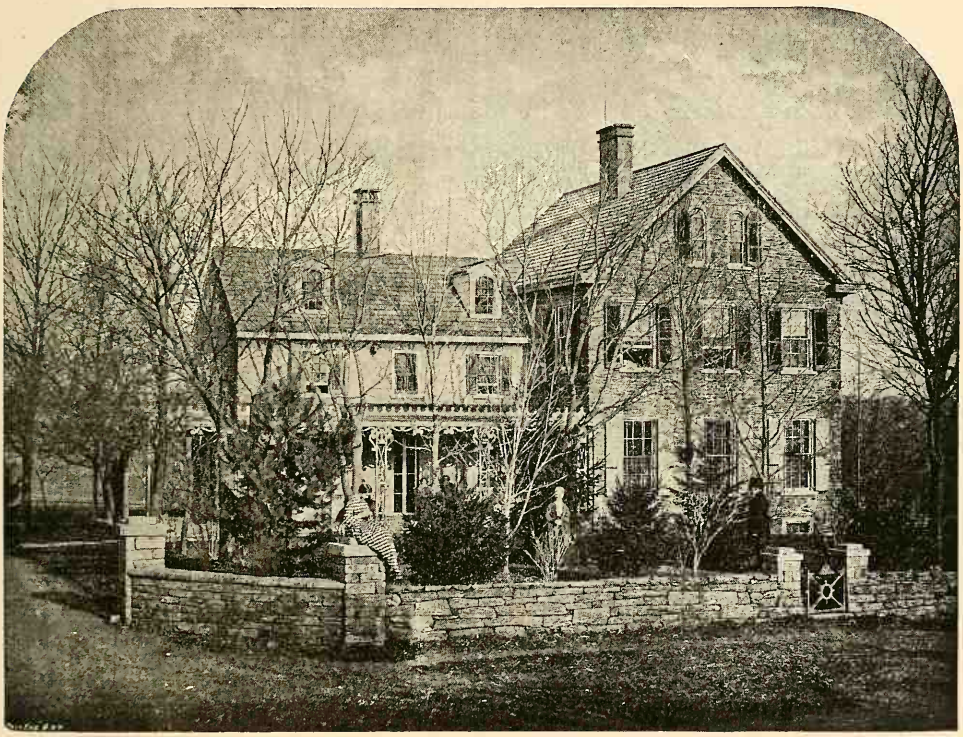
About 1830, James Mott became unwilling longer to deal in anything produced by slave labor, and determined to give it up, whatever it might cost him. He took up in its place a wool business, handling wool and

1872.

1873.

woolen goods, and at one time he was interested in a woolen mill near Philadelphia known as the Penn Factory. Business was but moderately successful for some years, and the factory was burned. But he struggled on, and in the end prospered, and about 1850 was able to retire from business with a moderate competence sufficient for all his needs. He was at this time 62 years old. They had been living for some years at No. 338 Arch Street, and the house became a social centre for many relatives and friends. About 1857 they removed to a small farm on the northern borders of the city of Philadelphia, on which a stone house stood near the road, whence the place took the name of "ROADSIDE."

This house, remodeled and enlarged, thenceforth remained their home for the rest of their lives, and "Roadside" has become a name full of pleasant and ennobling associations to the relatives and to all the friends of the family.



ROADSIDE,
Residence of James and Lucretia Mott after 1857.

CHILDREN AND DESCENDANTS OF JAMES AND LUCRETIA MOTT.

I. Anna, born in Philadelphia, 6th of 8th month, 1812; died at York, Me., 3d of 8th month, 1874; married, 24th of 4th month, 1833, Edward Hopper, born 2d of 12th month, 1812, son of Isaac T. and Sarah (Tatum) Hopper, of New York, and had

(*a*.) James Hopper, born 1836, died a few weeks old.

(*b.*) Lucretia Hopper, born 11th of 1st month, 1838; died, unmarried, 31st of 12th month, 1861.

(*c.*) Maria Hopper, born 8th of 8th month, 1845.

(*d.*) George Hopper, born 31st of 10th month, 1847; died 8th of 1st month, 1856.

(*e.*) Isaac Hopper, born 27th of 1st month, 1855; died 15th of 9th month, 1874.

Edward Hopper, at the time of his marriage, was in business in Philadelphia. He subsequently studied law with John Sargent, then one of the most prominent lawyers in the city; and Edward Hopper has now been a prosperous lawyer in Philadelphia for more than half a century. He and his only surviving child, Maria, have now for many years made a home at 1206 Spruce Street pleasant to all their friends.

II. Thomas, born 23d of 7th month, 1814; died 16th of 4th month, 1817.

III. Maria, born 30th of 3d month, 1818; married, 26th of 10th month, 1836, Edward M. Davis, born in Philadelphia 21st of 7th month, 1811; died in Boston, 26th of 11th month, 1887; son of Evan and Elizabeth Davis of Philadelphia, and grandson of Samuel Davis of Plymouth, Montgomery County, Pa. His grandfather was Captain in the American army in the Revolution, and his father was Captain in the war of 1812, although both were members of the Society of Friends, and Edward M. Davis himself was on the staff of General John C. Fremont in Missouri during the Rebellion, with the rank of Captain.

Edward M. Davis, at the time of his marriage, was a merchant in Philadelphia, and was deeply interested in the anti-Slavery movement, and in various other efforts of reform. For all the later years of his life, his home was at "Roadside." Their eldest daughter, Anna Davis Hallowell, is the author of the biography of James and Lucretia Mott above mentioned, and her husband, Richard P. Hallowell, has written two or three small volumes in defence of Quakerism and of Freedom: one, "The Quaker Invasion of Massachusetts;" the second, "The Pioneer Quakers," and a third, "The Southern Question." In recognition of these services, their portraits are introduced in this volume. Their home is at West Medford, near Boston, Mass. Edward and Maria (Mott) Davis had—

(*a.*) Anna Davis, born 21st of 4th month, 1838; married, 26th of 10th month, 1859, Richard P. Hallowell, born 16th of 12th month, 1835; son of Morris L. and Hannah P. Hallowell, and had—

1887.

1872.

Anna D. Hallowell R. P. Hallowell

FROM PHOTOGRAPHS TAKEN ABOUT 1883.

MARIANNA MOTT.

FROM PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN IN MUNICH IN 1868.

Thomas Mott

FROM PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN IN PARIS IN 1874.

1. Maria Hallowell, born 22d of 8th month, 1860.
2. Penrose Hallowell, born 10th month, 1862, died 4th month, 1872.
3. James Mott Hallowell, born 13th of 2d month, 1865.
4. Lucretia Mott Hallowell, born 8th of 12th month, 1867.
5. Frank Walton Hallowell, born 12th of 8th month, 1870.

(*b.*) Henry C. Davis, born 14th of 9th month, 1839; married Martha Mellor, born 10th of 11th month, 1842, died at Nice, France, in 1874, leaving—

1. Lucy Davis, born 30th of 6th month, 1863, in Philadelphia.
2. Charles Davis, born 4th of 5th month, 1865.

Henry C. Davis married 2d, Noami Lawton, born 24th of 9th month, 1842, and had—

3. Martha Davis, born 12th of 7th month, 1877.

(*c.*) Charles Davis, born 1841, died 1841.

(*d.*) Charles Davis, born 1845, died 1850.

(*e.*) William M. Davis, born 12th of 2d month, 1850; assistant of Professor Shaler, Professor of Geology in Harvard College and State Geologist of Kentucky; married, 11th month, 1879, Ellen Bliss Warner, of Springfield, Mass., and they make their home at Cambridge. They have—

1. Richard Mott Davis, born 4th of 12th month, 1881.
2. Nathaniel Burt Davis, born 21st of 8th month, 1884.
3. Edward Mott Davis, born 1st of 7th month, 1888.

IV. Thomas Mott, born 8th of 8th month, 1823; married, 28th of 7th month, 1845, Marianna Pelham, born 26th of 8th month, 1825; died in Switzerland, 3d of 7th month, 1872.

Thomas Mott, at the time of his marriage, was in the wool business with his father, and they prospered; and after the retirement of his father he made other business connections, and after one or two reverses, from which they promptly recovered, he retired from business in 1863 with a handsome competence. He has since spent considerable time in Europe, and of later years much time in Newport, R. I. He now makes the home of his family at Radnor near Philadelphia in the winter, and at Newport in the summer. Thomas and Marianna Mott had—

(*a.*) Isabel Mott, born 8th of 11th month, 1846; married in Paris, 3d of 9th month, 1868, Joseph Parish, born 6th of 7th month, 1843, son of Dillwyn and Susan M. Parish, and had—

1. Ethel Parish, born 3d of 9th month, 1869.
2. Grace Parish, born 17th of 6th month, 1871.
3. Marianne Parish, born 16th of 1st month, 1874.

(*b.*) Emily Mott, born 15th of 3d month, 1848; married, 31st of 8th month, 1874, in Paris, George R. Shaw, born 28th of 10th month, 1848; son of Samuel Parkman and Hannah B. Shaw, and has—

1. Frank Shaw, born 13th of 8th month, 1875.
2. Isabel Shaw, born 18th of 2d month, 1877.
3. Thomas Mott Shaw, born 19th of 9th month, 1878.

(*c.*) Maria Mott, born 5th of 4th month, 1858.

V. Elizabeth Mott, born 14th of 12th month, 1825, died 4th of 9th month, 1865; married, in 1845, Thomas S. Cavender, and had—

(*a.*) Fannie Cavender, born 25th of 5th month, 1846, died ———; married, 10th of 4th month, 1868, Thomas Parish.

(*b.*) Henry Cavender, born 29th of 1st month, 1849, died 9th month, 1863.

(*c.*) Charles Cavender, born 22d of 5th month, 1855.

(*d.*) Mary Cavender, born 13th of December, 1857; married, 17th of May, 1883, William J. Wilcox, son of James W. Wilcox of Philadelphia, and has—

1. Dorothy Wilcox, born 24th of March, 1884.
2. John Keating Wilcox, born 20th of August, 1885.
3. Harold Mott Wilcox, born 2d of January, 1889.

VI. Martha Mott, born 30th of 10th month, 1828; married, 8th of 6th month, 1853, George W. Lord, born 7th of 1st month, 1830, died 14th of 2d month, 1880.

George W. Lord was a clerk in the Bank of North America in Philadelphia at the time of his marriage. He subsequently went into the wool business in New York, from which he retired about 1874 on account of ill health, but with a competence. George W. Lord and Martha had—

(*a.*) Ellen Lord, born 13th of 9th month, 1855; married, 8th of June, 1878, Bernard de Schweinitz, born in Philadelphia 18th of January, 1855, son of Rt. Rev. Edmund and Lydia (von Tschirschky) de Schweinitz, and have—

1. Lucretia Mott de Schweinitz, born 1st of January, 1880.
2. George Lord de Schweinitz, born 17th of February, 1881.
3. Edmund Alexander de Schweinitz, born 7th of October, 1882.

(*b.*) Bessie Lord, born 11th of 9th month, 1859, died 9th of 9th month, 1860.

ELIZABETH MOTT CAVENDER.

FROM A PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN ABOUT 1862.

Martha Mott Lord

Geo. W. Lord

(*c.*) Mary Lord, born 7th of 8th month, 1861.
(*d.*) Anna Lord, born 23d of 6th month, 1865.
(*e.*) Lucretia Lord, born 5th of 8th month, 1867.

III.

SARAH MOTT AND SILAS CORNELL.

Sarah Mott, the third child and the second daughter of Adam and Anne Mott, the eldest daughter who lived beyond early childhood, was born at her parents' residence in the Mill house at Cowbay, on the 4th of 4th month, 1791, and died at the residence of her daughter, Sarah Alice Walbridge, in the stone cottage on the grounds of fhe Sisters of Charity at Mt. St. Vincent, near Yonkers, on the 17th of 3d month, 1872, having nearly completed her eighty-first year, clear in mind and memory to the last, and well enough to be in the parlor the day before she died. She had married, in Pearl Street Meeting House, New York, on the 12th of 12th month, 1815, Silas Cornell, born at Scarsdale, Westchester County, on the 29th of 11th month, 1789, died at his own residence, Rochester, N. Y., on the 7th of 5th month, 1864, in his seventy-fifth year, vigorous in mind and in body a week before his death; son of Benjamin and Alice (Sutton) Cornell of Scarsdale. Of the difficulties and delays in the accomplishment of this marriage, some mention has been made on pages 83 and 84 of this volume, and also on page 99.

THE CORNELL FAMILY.

This volume records something of all the families into which the children of Adam and Anna Mott married. Of Lucretia Coffin's family, much is already in print elsewhere, and therefore is not repeated here. Of the families of Robert Hicks, of Lindley M. Moore, and of Captain Elihu Smith, these pages record what I have been able to learn of them, which in some cases is very little.

Perhaps my cousins will pardon me if the record of my own family is more full than the others. I have not the means of making any of the others so full. Of my own family of the Cornell blood, I have been seeking what I could gather for many years, and much of what follows is now first in print.

I propose to begin with a general account of the first settlements of the Cornell family in America and especially in Westchester County, as I find it in a paper of my kinsman on the Cornell side, Alonzo B. Cornell, ex-Governor of the State of New York.

SOME OF THE BEGINNINGS OF WESTCHESTER COUNTY HISTORY.

A paper read before the Westchester County Historical Society at White Plains, on the 28th of October, 1889, by ex-Governor Alonzo B. Cornell.

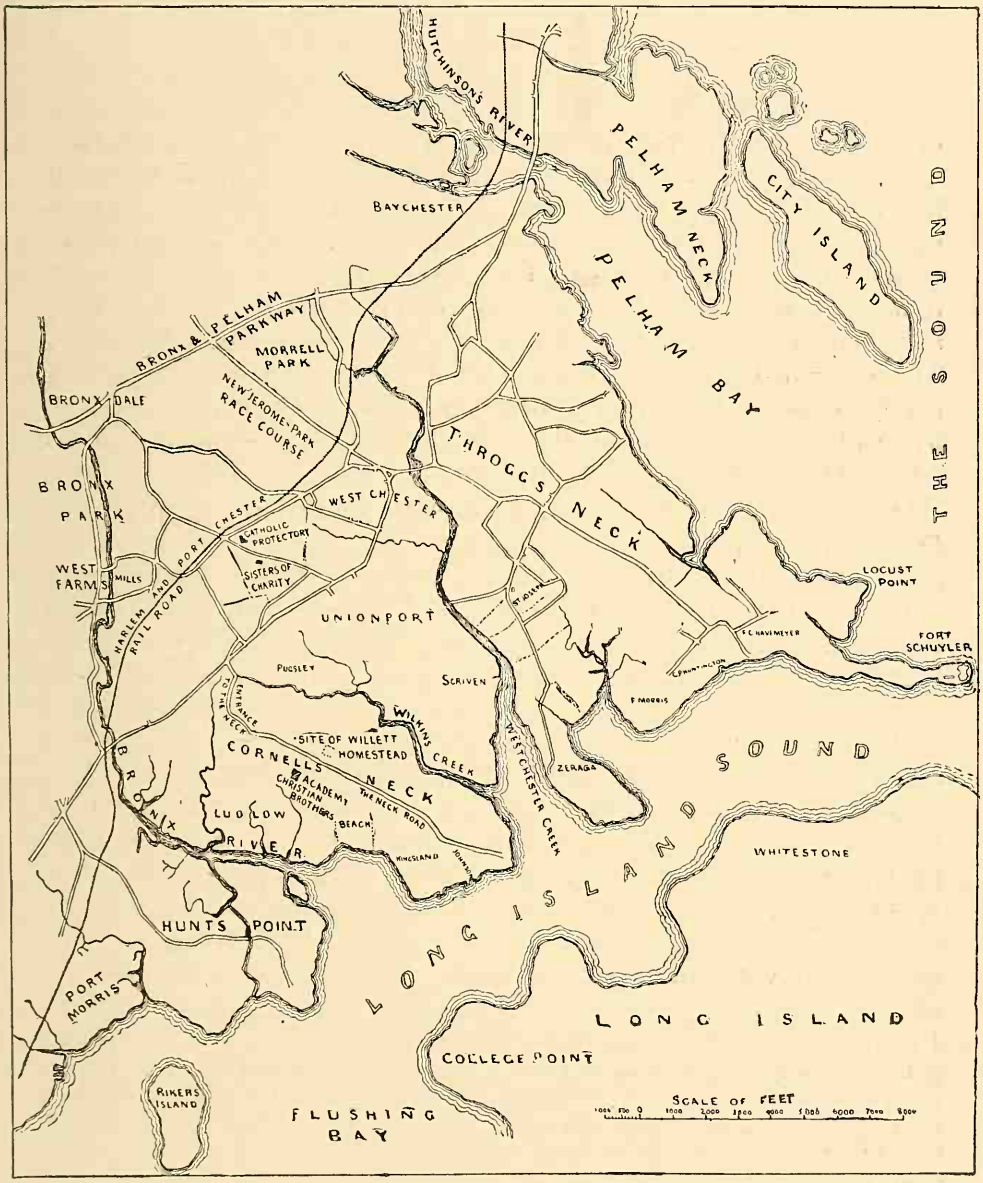
Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen :

Organized for the purpose of investigating and establishing a trustworthy record of the history of Westchester County, it is appropriate that your Society should obtain, from the best available sources, information relative to its earliest occupation and improvement by the people who converted it from a savage wilderness into a prosperous and thriving community. From the very beginning of its history as a white settlement, this county has been the home of many families whose names have obtained good record in the annals of both the State and nation. The mere repetition of the names of those entitled to mention within the scope suggested would occupy too much time and space for such an occasion as this. The names of the first settler Bronck, of Van der Donk, Van Cortlandt, De Lancey, Phillipse, Jay, and lately Irving, have for many generations been identified with this county. It is believed, however, and the opinion is now expressed with confidence, that Thomas Cornell was the earliest settler in Westchester County whose descendants have been continually identified with this community, and some of them are still residents in good esteem among you.

The only earlier white settlement in Westchester County of which there is trustworthy account, was that of Jonas Bronck, who in 1637 made the first recorded acquisition of Indian territory for private occupation north of the Harlem River and within the limits of what is now Westchester County. He purchased of the Indians five hundred acres on the north shore of Long Island Sound, between the Harlem and Bronx Rivers. The Bronx is still designated by his name, though carelessly corrupted in its orthography. The land thus acquired embraced within its borders what became more than half a century later the Manor of Morrisania and what are now known as Hunt's Point, Port Morris, Melrose and Mott Haven. It is a portion of the Twenty-third Ward of the City of New York, and is occupied by nearly 100,000 population, which is rapidly increasing in numbers. Mr. Bronck was a Dutch gentleman, perhaps of Swedish extraction, of some fortune. He erected on this estate a residence built of stone and covered with tile brought from Europe. He also constructed convenient farm buildings, cultivated his land, and lived on amicable terms with his savage neighbors until his death, which occurred there in 1643. He is believed to have been the first white man who lived on his own land in all the territory of what is now Westchester County after the advent of Hendrick Hudson.

Adjacent to the Bronck farm on the east, and separated from it only by the mouth of the Bronx River, is a neck of land fronting about two

miles on Long Island Sound, from the Bronx River to Westchester Creek, formerly and even still known as Cornell's Neck, and extending back two miles or more from the Sound to the neighborhood of the great Catholic Protectory buildings, at the westerly edge of the present village of



"MAP OF CORNELL'S NECK, AND SOME OF ITS SURROUNDINGS, IN 1890."

Westchester. This fine estate was, under patent dated July 26, 1646, granted by Governor William Kieft to Thomas Cornell, who, in 1642, four years before this date, had made an earlier settlement on what is now known as Throgg's Neck. Thomas Cornell's first settlement in 1642

in what is now Westchester County was, therefore, four years prior to that of Adrian Van der Donck at Yonkers in 1646; thirty-five years before Col. Stephanus Van Cortlandt, in 1677, obtained from Governor Andross permission to make his first purchase of lands from the Indians in Westchester County; nearly forty years earlier than the first acquisition of Westchester lands by Frederick Phillipse within the present towns of Greenburgh and Mount Pleasant in 1681, and thirty years before his first interest in Yonkers in 1672, and fifteen years before the great-grandfather of the illustrious George Washington first settled in Virginia in 1657.

Thomas Cornell, from whom Cornell's Neck takes its name, had been half a dozen years in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, and was well on in middle age when, in 1642, he arrived in New Amsterdam to take up his residence among the Dutch. He had emigrated from Essex, England, to Massachusetts about 1636, bringing with him his wife, Rebecca Briggs, and several children, some of whom were already nearly or quite grown. Thomas Cornell himself was born about 1595, of an ancient English family, of which the name was originally written Cornwell, as it is still written by most of the English branches, and also by some of the descendants of Thomas Cornell in this country.*

It is not proposed here to go behind the original immigrant, Thomas Cornell or Cornwell. Whatever may have been the rank of any of his ancestors, the immigrant himself was of a yeoman branch, not lacking in diligence and enterprise, and he maintained a good standing among his fellow yeomen.

Thomas Cornell was in Boston six or eight years after the city was founded. It was voted at a town meeting in Boston on the 20th of August, 1638, that "Thomas Cornell may buy Brother William Baulstone's house and become an inhabitant." He remained after this a year or two in Boston, and "kept an Inn" there, in the house he had bought of William Baulstone, and apparently succeeding to Baulstone's business, the General Court granting him the license on the 6th of September, 1638. But he subsequently had controversies with the General Court about his sales of beer and of wine, and on June 6th, 1639, in settlement of the controversy, the town, still holding itself obliged to maintain an

* "The early English name was written Cornewell, and two generations before Thomas of Cornell's Neck 'Richard Cornewell Citizen and Skynner of London'—as it stands written in his will—who died in 1585, left a portion of the wealth he had made in hides to found and endow 'a free grammar schole in New Woodstock, the town where I was born,' and the school stands there yet near the handsome Church of Woodstock in Oxfordshire. Some of the English branches of the family still write the name Cornewell. Burke's 'Landed Gentry of Great Britain' gives two branches, the senior one writing Cornewall and the other Cornwall. Burke's 'Peerage and Baronetage' adds a third branch, a family of Baronets in Hereford, who retain Cornewall, and Burke traces the lineage of the whole family up through the Barons of Burford to Richard de Cornewall, son of Richard, Earl of Cornewall, second son of King John, younger brother of Richard Cœur de Lion."—Scharf's Westchester County, I., 675.

inn, undertook within a month to relieve Thomas Cornell of this duty, and to provide some one else to keep it, and meantime he was to sell off his stock on hand.

Soon after this date he removed to Rhode Island, where many Boston settlers were following Roger Williams, and on the 4th of February, 1641, a piece of meadow in Portsmouth was granted to Thomas Cornell, which he was to fence himself. A month later—16th of March, 1641—he was made freeman of the town, and soon after was made constable, an office then of much greater dignity than in these later days—the constable was a magistrate, and the chief officer of the town.* In 1642, Thomas Cornell, or more probably his eldest son Thomas, was made Ensign, and was reappointed in 1644, when we know Thomas Cornell, Senior, was in New Amsterdam. The younger Thomas Cornell remained in Portsmouth and became a prominent man there, holding many offices, and was in later times Deputy in the Legislature of the Province for several years.

THOMAS CORNELL COMES TO NEW NETHERLAND.

Thomas Cornell, Senior, in the autumn of 1642, came to New Amsterdam, and there is reason to believe that he was accompanied by Roger Williams and John Throckmorton. Governor Winthrop's testimony seems to prove this.†

About a year later the Governor reports "Mr. Throckmorton and Mr. Cornell" established, with buildings and improvements and servants, on neighboring plantations under the Dutch. The Dutch records testify that Throckmorton, for himself and associates, had petitioned as early as September, 1642, for license to settle among the Dutch. On the 2d of October, 1642, the local Dutch government granted him permission, with his associates to the number of thirty-five families, to settle "within the limits of the jurisdiction of their High Mightinesses, to reside there in peace and enjoy the same privileges as our other subjects, and be favored in the full exercise of their religion," at a distance of three Dutch miles, equivalent to about eleven English miles, from New Amsterdam.‡

No other application for license to settle in what is now Westchester County appears at this date; but about this time (1642–3) Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, an estimable lady, whose want of orthodoxy had recently driven her from Massachusetts, finally brought her family and, apparently without asking license from the Dutch, settled among the Indians near the northern border of the land granted to Throckmorton and his asso-

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* C. B. Moore, in N. Y. Gen. Rec., XV., 64.

† "The History of New England from 1630 to 1649, by John Winthrop, Esq., first Governor of Massachusetts Bay, from his original MSS., with notes, &c., &c., by James Savage, President of the Massachusetts Historical Society," II., 163.

‡ O'Callaghan, I., 258—Albany Records, 1638–42.

ciates, and the little river on which she endeavored to establish her home is now called by her name.

But Throckmorton and Cornell, after obtaining this general license to settle, made examination of the territory, and procured a survey and map, and agreed upon the boundaries of the desired tract, and on the 6th of July, 1643, Governor Kieft granted to John Throckmorton, for himself and his associates, a tract of land in what is now the town of Westchester, "containing as follows: Along the East River of the New Netherland, extending from the point" (where Fort Schuyler now stands) "half a mile" (Dutch, about two English miles), "which piece of land aforesaid is surrounded on one side by a little River" (Westchester Creek), "and on the other side by a great Kill" (East River), "which River and Kill at high water meet each other and surround said land, as will more clearly appear by a map of the same, which has been made and marked off by the surveyor."*

This description includes the whole of what we, in abbreviation of Throckmorton's name, now call Throgg's Neck, extending north to the low land where the head waters of Westchester Creek (the "little River") approach the Sound (the "Great Kill"), near the mouth of Hutchinson's River, as we call it now, on the upper shores of Pelham Bay.

We thus find John Throckmorton and Thomas Cornell in New Netherland and New Amsterdam in the winter of 1642–3.

We have the testimony of contemporary history that Roger Williams, founder of Rhode Island, was also in New Netherland and New Amsterdam in the winter of 1642–3. And we know that the families of Williams and Throckmorton had long been intimate. They came together from England, sailing with their wives and families from Bristol, in the ship Lion, on the 1st day of December, 1630, arriving in Boston on the 5th day of February, 1631.†

Throckmorton, with his wife, had early joined Williams in Rhode Island, and was one of his most efficient supporters, and with Coddington, who was afterwards made the first Governor, and many others, united in organizing an independent government in the new settlement. But this self-created government was not willingly recognized by the other Colonies, whose rights were founded on Royal Charters.

Boston had not yet adopted the theory that governments "derive their just powers from the consent of the governed," and it was therefore finally decided by the local self-constituted government of Rhode Island in 1642 that Roger Williams should go to England and obtain a

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* Albany Records, G. G., 98—*Id.*, 173–4.

† "1630, February 5. The ship Lyon, Wm. Peirce, Master, arrived at Nantasket. She brought Mr. Williams (a Godly minister) with his wife, Mr. Throckmorton * * * and others, with their wives and children, about twenty persons, and about two hundred tons of goods. She set sail from Bristol December 1. She had a very tempestuous voyage."—Winthrop, I., 49.

Royal Charter for his colony. He could not sail from Boston, because he was banished from Massachusetts, and hence he went to the more tolerant Dutch of the New Netherland, and sought a ship in New Amsterdam, at the same time that John Throckmorton and Thomas Cornell were seeking a settlement there. It is, therefore, certain that Roger Williams was with John Throckmorton and Thomas Cornell in New Nether land in the winter of 1642–3, and it is on record that Roger Williams did not finally sail for Europe until June, 1643.

And we have further record of Roger Williams in New Amsterdam during the winter before he sailed. A serious Indian war, although of short duration, was caused by Governor Kieft's unwise attack upon two neighboring camps of Indians, on the night between the 25th and the 26th of February, 1643; and in retaliation the Indians, within the following month or two, destroyed many of the white settlers outside of the city, and many of those who escaped fled panic stricken to New Amsterdam.*

Writing of this Indian retaliation, and of the consequent sufferings of the settlers, Roger Williams says:

"Mine eyes saw the flames of their towns, the frights and hurries of men, women and children, and the present removal of all that could to Holland." (R. I. Hist. Coll., III., 156.)

Governor Winthrop, referring to this brief but destructive war, says:

"The Indians on Long Island took part with their neighbors on the main * * * and fell to burning the Dutch homes. But then, by the mediation of Mr. Williams, who was then there to go in a Dutch ship to England, were pacified, and peace re-established between the Dutch and them."—(Winthrop, II., 117.)

This peace was settled with Governor Kieft on the 22d of April, 1643. It was not, however, to be of long continuance, but the Indians, as well as the Dutch, desired to begin their spring planting. It seems certain that, after peace was thus re-established, Throckmorton and Cornell, and perhaps Mrs. Hutchinson, were pushing their improvements, the first ever made by white settlers in what is now the town of Westchester or of Pelham, the first settlements after those of Bronck in 1638, in what afterward became the County of Westchester. There is also reason to believe that Roger Williams, when not with Throckmorton and Cornell in the spring of 1643, or with the other English settlers, was talking with the Dutch. We know that Williams was a trained scholar, able to converse with the Indians and with the Dutch. Referring to these events

* O'Callaghan (I., 267) quotes Kieft's commission, dated 25th of February, 1643, to Maryn Adriensen "to attack a party of savages skulking behind Corlear's Hook, and act with them in every such way as he shall deem proper." Winthrop evidently refers to this commission when he says, using, according to Dutch custom, the Captain's first name: "One Marine, a Dutch Captain, obtained from the Governor a commission to kill as many as he could."—(Winthrop II., 117.)

some years later (12th of July, 1654), he says that in former times "it had pleased the Lord to call him to practice Dutch;" and during the summer of 1643, when on his voyage to England, he wrote a "Key to the Indian language."

But there is no record that Thomas Cornell acquired much fluency in Dutch, although no doubt some of his children did so. For here come in social events in the infant Dutch city in which the Cornell family were concerned, and ultimately Cornell's Neck and Westchester County history. We have record of two of Thomas Cornell's daughters who were with him at this time in New Amsterdam, and who subsequently inherited his estate in Westchester—Sarah and Rebecca Cornell. In the month of June, 1643, they witnessed the departure of Roger Williams for Europe, and no doubt John Throckmorton and other friends, both English and Dutch, saw him on board his ship.

One of the young Englishmen with whom Thomas Cornell's daughters ripened their acquaintance in the Dutch colony of New Netherland was Thomas Willett of Bristol, England. This Thomas Willett of Bristol was probably of the same family with Captain Thomas Willet of Plymouth, Mass., who at that same time was building up a profitable trade with New Amsterdam, and who, twenty-two years later, was the first English Mayor of New York. But the Captain Thomas Willett of Plymouth had been married since 1636, and the Thomas Willett of Bristol was, in 1643, making love to Thomas Cornell's eldest daughter, Sarah. The marriage record of the Dutch Church of New Amsterdam, the only church in the city, in the year 1643, contains eight entries, the sixth of which, translated into English, reads that

"On the 1st of September, 1643, were married, Thomas Willett, previously unmarried, of Bristol, England, and Sarah Cornell, not before married, of Essex, England."

None of the marriage records give the names of the parents, but we know that this Sarah (Cornell) Willett subsequently inherited Cornell's Neck, as the daughter of Thomas Cornell; and it is because her children and her grandchildren were prominent in Westchester County for more than a century that this special mention is now made of her. We know that her eldest son, William Willett, lived and died on Cornell's Neck; but whatever visits she may have made to the Neck, there is no record that she herself ever made her home there. She remained in the city, where her husband was in business, and escaped the dangers of an isolated habitation surrounded by Indians.

Sarah Cornell's marriage with Thomas Willett seems to have been accomplished on the eve of another Indian war. She was married on the 1st of September, and under date of September, 1643, Governor Winthrop writes:

"The Indians near the Dutch having killed fifteen men, as is before related, proceeded on and began to set upon the English who dwelt under

the Dutch. They came to Mrs. Hutchinson, in way of friendly neighborhood as they had been accustomed, and taking their opportunity they killed her and Mr. Collins, her son-in-law (who had been kept in prison in Boston, as is before related), and all her family, and such of Mr. Throckmorton's and Mr. Cornell's families as were at home, in all sixteen, and put their cattle into their barns and burned them. By a good Providence of God there was a boat came to them, the same instant, to which some of the women and children fled, and so were saved; but two of the boatmen going to the houses were shot and killed."*

Governor Winthrop seems to place Mrs. Hutchinson and John Throckmorton and Thomas Cornell in one group, for they were not only situated within a mile or two of each other, but, in the Governor's orthodox view—for he was staunch in Massachusetts orthodoxy—Mrs. Anne Hutchinson and the Rhode Island seceders were alike unsound. And he goes on to say:

"These people had cast off ordinances and churches, and now, at last, their own people, and for larger accommodation had subjected themselves to the Dutch, and dwelt scatteringly near a mile asunder."

This record from Governor Winthrop shows that Throckmorton and Cornell had already made considerable progress with their improvements on Throgg's Neck, and also indicates something of surrounding circumstances and perils. And it also implies that at this time neither of them was on his plantation. Thomas Cornell was apparently in New Amsterdam with his family, or at any rate with some of his children, and instead of attempting to restore his plantation and to rebuild on Throgg's Neck what had been destroyed by the Indians, he made application to the Governor for a new grant directly to himself. He asked for an adjacent tract fronting on the Sound and west of that of Throckmorton, from which it was only separated on the shore by the mouth of Westchester Creek.

GRANT OF CORNELL'S NECK.

These references to contemporary events show the local situation at this date, and bring into view the English colony in the Dutch city at the time when Thomas Cornell made one of the beginnings of Westchester County history.

It will be noted that at this date (1644–5) the grant to Throckmorton of 1643, and the one earlier grant to Jonas Bronck of 1637, were the only private grants of land so far as we have any record in all the territory which we now call Westchester County. The next or third grant was that of 26th of July, 1646, to Thomas Cornell, of what has since been called Cornell's Neck; unless possibly that of Adrian Van der Donck of what we now call Yonkers, which was made also in 1646, may have pre-

* Winthrop's New England, II., 163.

ceded it by a few days, but the exact date of the grant to Van der Donck is not known. This grant to Thomas Cornell was made nearly four years after his first coming to New Amsterdam with John Throckmorton and Roger Williams.

All titles to land on Cornell's Neck are still traced back to this grant of Governor Kieft to Thomas Cornell in 1646. The description in the grant is rather blind, but it was no doubt understood at the time, and the confirmation, twenty years later, by the first English Governor, Nicolls, to William Willett, the grandson of Thomas Cornell, cures any defect in description.*

None of the improvements made on this estate by Thomas Cornell now remain, but we know that improvements were made, and that buildings were erected; for in September, 1665, several years after the date of the grant, Thomas Cornell's daughter Sarah testified that her father, after acquiring this land by a "patent from the Dutch Governor Kieft," and while lawfully in possession of it, "was at considerable changes in building, manuring and planting the same, and that after some years the said Thomas Cornell was driven off the said land by the barbarous violence of the Indians, who burnt his house and goods and destroyed his cattle." —(Albany Assize Record, page 15.) The isolated situation of Cornell's

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*TRANSLATION OF GOVERNOR KIEFT'S PATENT OF CORNELL'S NECK, 1646.

We, William Kieft; Director General, and the Council, in behalf of the High and Mighty Lords, the States General of the United Netherlands, the Prince of Orange and the Noble Lords the Managers of the Incorporated West India Company, in New Netherlands residing, by these presents do publish and declare that We, on this day, the date underwritten, have given and granted unto Tomas Coornal a certain piece of land lying on the East River, beginning from the Kill of Bronck's land, East South East along the River, extending about half a Dutch Mile from the River till to a little Creek over the Valley (Marsh) which runs back around this land, with the express condition and terms that the said Tomas Coornel, or they who to his action hereafter may succeed, the Noble Lords and Managers aforesaid shall acknowledge as their Lords and Patroons, under the Sovereignty of the High and Mighty Lords the States General; and unto their Director and Council here, shall in all things be conformed, as all good citizens are in duty bound. Provided, also, that he shall be furthermore subject to all such burdens and imposts as by their Noble Lords already have been enacted, or such as hereafter may yet be enacted, Constituting over the same the aforesaid Tomas Cornel in our stead, in the real and actual possession of the aforesaid piece of land, giving him by these presents the full might, authority and special license, the aforesaid piece to enter, cultivate, inhabit and occupy in like manner as he may lawfully do with others his patrimonial lands and effects, without our, the grantors, in the quality as aforesaid, thereunto any longer having, reserving or saving any part, action or control whatever; but to the behoof as aforesaid, from all desisting from this time and forever more, promising furthermore this their Transport, firmly, invioably and irrevocably to maintain, fulfill and execute; and furthermore to do all that in equity we are bound to do, without fraud or deceit, these presents are by us undersigned and confirmed with our seal of red wax here underneath suspended. Done in the Fort Amsterdam, in New Netherland, this 26th July, A. D. 1646. Willem Kieft.

By order of the Noble Lords, the Director-General and the Council of New Netherland.
Cornelis Van Tienhoven, Secy.

—(Translation of book of Dutch Patents, G. G., 1630 to 1649, page 351.)

Neck exposed it to Indian depredations when the more settled neighborhood of New Amsterdam was comparatively safe. And we may infer from the above testimony of his daughter that after this second destruction of his plantations there would be some delay before making a third attempt.

Thomas Cornell at length returned to Portsmouth, R. I. We find a record of him there as serving on a Coroner's jury in 1653, and as Commissioner in 1654.*

He died and was buried in Portsmouth in 1655, after having held his estate of Cornell's Neck only nine years. Adrian Van der Donck, the first Patroon of Yonkers, died the same or the previous year, having owned his estate there nearly the same length of time. But Van der Donck's estate soon passed out of his family as well as out of his name,† while Cornell's Neck remained in the descendants of Thomas Cornell's daughter Sarah for more than a hundred years.

THOMAS CORNELL'S DESCENDANTS.

Thomas Cornell of Cornell's Neck had five sons and four daughters. His sons were:

1. Thomas, of Portsmouth, R. I., above mentioned.
2. Richard, of Rockaway, Long Island, where he maintained an honorable position for many years. He was in Flushing before 1655;‡ was deputy to the Convention of 1665; was Justice of the Peace in Flushing as early as 1666, and had an estate at Little Neck, whence, in 1685, he removed to Rockaway, where he died in 1694. He has many descendants.
3. Joshua, who settled in Dartmouth, where his mother deeded him land in 1663.
4. Samuel, also of Dartmouth, and his mother deeded him land there in 1669. He also has many descendants.
5. John, of Cowneck, Long Island, who settled first at Dartmouth, and thence, to escape the dangers of King Philip's war, removed to Hempstead, Long Island, where Governor Andros granted him land, in 1676, near Sands' Point, where some of his descendants still reside. Many are also in Westchester.

Thomas Cornell's four daughters were:

1. Sarah, who came to New Amsterdam with her father, and there, as above mentioned, married first, in 1643, Thomas Willett, of Bristol, England, who died in 1645, and she married, second, in 1647, Charles Bridges. Her children and her grandchildren, as

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* J. O. Austin, page 55.

† But his title, Jonkheer, Anglicized Yonkers, is still retained.

‡ John Bowne's account book.

already stated, inherited and occupied her father's estate of Cornell's Neck for more than a hundred years.

2. Rebecca, who also came with her father to New Amsterdam; there married, in 1647, George Woolsey.
3. Ann, who married Thomas Kent, and her mother deeded them ten acres of land, in 1659.
4. Elizabeth, who, in 1661, married Christopher Almy, son of William Almy, the founder of the numerous Almy family of Rhode Island.

One account gives Thomas Cornell also another son, William, and a daughter, Mary.

The descendants of these children of Thomas Cornell are numerous in many parts of the world, and there seems to be reason to believe that all of the name of Cornell or of Cornwell now in this country are descended from this Thomas Cornell of Cornell's Neck.

After Thomas Cornell's death in 1655, his widow, Rebecca Briggs, remained with some of her children in Portsmouth, R. I., but at least two of her daughters, Sarah and Rebecca, and one or two of her sons, remained in the Dutch settlements, and Sarah testified in 1665 that her mother, "the Widow Cornell, was left sole executrix of the last will and testament of her husband, Thomas Cornell, deceased," and as such executrix she conveyed Cornell's Neck to her two daughters, Sarah and Rebecca. Rebecca subsequently conveyed her interest in it to her sister Sarah, who thus became the sole owner of Cornell's Neck.

Sarah (Cornell) Willett had two sons; each of whom successively was the owner of Cornell's Neck. Her oldest son, William Willett, according to the record of the Dutch Church of New Amsterdam, was there baptized on the 27th of June, 1644, Governor Keift being one of the sponsors. This baby, William Willett, grandson of Thomas Cornell, became the owner of Cornell's Neck in 1667, when he was twenty-three years old, and he died there a bachelor in 1701, at the age of fifty-seven. The second son, Thomas Willett, was baptized in the Dutch Church of New Amsterdam on the 26th of November, 1645. But this child never knew his father, as the elder Thomas Willett died about the time of baby Thomas' birth, leaving the widow some property and two young children to care for. She proved to be an attractive widow, and was compelled to appeal to the local court for protection from disagreeable attentions. On the 11th of August, 1647, John Dolling, one of her admirers, was ordered by the court not to visit nor to trouble Sarah Willett. A little later she found more efficient protection in Charles Bridges, an Englishman long esteemed among the Dutch of New Amsterdam, whom she married on the 3d of November, 1647. His Dutch neighbors had translated his name into Carel Ver Brugge, and under this name he was made English Secretary for the Province by Governor Stuyvesant in 1652; was in the Governor's Council, and was Military Commissary in 1660.

He had no children of his own, but he seems to have been a kind protector to his Willet stepchildren and a good husband to their mother.

After the English occupation of the New Netherlands, in 1664, Thomas Pell of Pelham attempted to seize Cornell's Neck, claiming it under his English license from Connecticut, and alleging that the Dutch occupation was never legal. But Charles Bridges and Sarah his wife defended her inheritance in the courts, and showed how the land had been granted to her father, and that even the Governor under the King of England, in the articles of capitulation, had confirmed all grants made by the Dutch, and the Court now confirmed the title in Sarah Bridges under her father, Thomas Cornell's title, and on this a new patent was issued by Governor Nicolls, at Sarah Bridges' request, on the 15th of April, 1667, confirming the whole of Cornell's Neck in her eldest son, William Willett. He took possession as already stated, and lived and died there, unmarried, thirty-four years after the patent to himself, and fifty-five years after the Dutch patent to his grandfather, Thomas Cornell. Having no children, William Willett had with him on the Neck his nephew and namesake, a younger William Willett, the son of his brother Thomas, who at this time had become the distinguished Colonel Thomas Willett of Flushing. When Governor Fletcher, in 1696, granted the charter making Westchester a Borough town, with a right to send a member to the Provincial Assembly, and governed by a Mayor and six Aldermen, "William Willet, gentleman," was created one of the Aldermen by the Charter, and Colonel Caleb Heathcote Mayor. This is quoted as showing that Thomas Cornell's grandson, William Willett, was then living on the estate.

Charles and Sarah Bridges had removed to Flushing some years before this time, while the Willett children were quite young, and, contemplating the giving of the Cornell's Neck property to William, the eldest son, they provided an estate for Thomas, the younger, at Flushing. The younger son, Thomas Willett, proved to be a man of much greater force than his elder brother William, and as he, too, was a grandson of Thomas Cornell, and inherited and was at one time the owner of Cornell's Neck, a word should be said of him. He began early to make his mark in local affairs. We find him first (1673) named as Lieutenant Willett in the militia, and then a little later (1685) Major Willett, and soon after Colonel Willett, commanding the militia of Queens County, with an efficiency for which he was at one time publicly thanked by the Governor, and which under him became the most numerous regiment in the Province. And in political office he became still more prominent. At the age of thirty-one, in 1676, he was Sheriff of Yorkshire, which included Long Island, Westchester County and Staten Island. In 1679 he was one of the Justices of the Peace. He was Sheriff of Queens County when that County was first erected in 1683; was in the Governor's Council from 1690 to 1697, where he sat with Colonel Stephen Van Cortlandt, Frederick Phillipse, Colonel Caleb Heathcote, and other magnates of the

Province. Colonel Thomas Willett was subsequently Judge of Queens County, from 1702 to 1710, when he attained the age of sixty-five years, and retired from public affairs, but lived in dignity and affluence at Flushing until his death in September, 1722, at the age of seventy-eight. During the last twelve years of his life, he had the satisfaction of seeing his eldest son William, of Cornell's Neck, sitting continuously in the Provincial Assembly for Westchester County, while at the same time his second son, Thomas Willett, continuously represented the County of Queens. In order to distinguish the elder Thomas Willett from other members of the Willett family, several of whom were prominent during the times in which he lived, he is usually spoken of as Colonel Thomas Willett of Flushing.

The military rank of Colonel seems to have been for a long time the highest known in the Province. Even the Colonial Governors were sometimes only Majors, as Major Andros in 1674, and Major Ingoldsby in 1691. Brigadier Robert Hunter was Governor in 1710, and Admiral George Clinton in 1743; and finally, in 1762, the Governor was Major-General Robert Moncton (N. Y. Civil List, page 165). All these, however, were in the British regular army.

It will be remembered that, before 1700, Colonel Thomas Willett's eldest son, William, was living with his uncle, whose name he bore, on Cornell's Neck. For as the elder William Willett, the brother of Colonel Thomas, was unmarried, it was understood that after his death the estate should ultimately go to his nephew, the younger William. The elder William Willett died, as already mentioned, at his home on Cornell's Neck, in 1701, and the Neck descended to his brother, Colonel Thomas Willett of Flushing. Colonel Thomas Willett was ambitious for his own sons. It was avowedly to give his son William the rank in the county of a large landowner living on his own acres that he now determined to convey to him his grandfather's plantation of Cornell's Neck. The deed is dated 28th of March, 1701. Colonel Thomas says that he makes the conveyance "as well in consideration of fatherly love and affection, and for the advancement and preferment of ye same William Willett, as for divers other good causes and lawful considerations." The Neck had then been in the family for fifty-six years.

The younger William, the eldest son of Colonel Thomas Willett of Flushing, was thus settled in dignity on the plantation of his great-grandfather Thomas Cornell. He was elected to the Provincial Assembly from Westchester County in 1701, and took his seat on the 12th of September, and his younger brother Thomas took his seat as representative from Queens County on the same day. The County of Queens did not re-elect the younger brother, Thomas Willett, until several years later; but William Willett of Cornell's Neck represented the County of Westchester in the Assembly almost continuously for more than thirty years, until his death in 1733.

Provincial Assemblies were, at this date, the highest legislative bodies west of the Atlantic, and a seat gave much greater consideration than does membership in State Assemblies, now that they are overshadowed by the higher dignity of the Federal Congress. The Provincial Assemblies followed the stately ceremonies of the British Parliament.

And it may be noted that William Willett always sat for the county, although he lived in the Borough town of Westchester, which, under the charter, also sent a member to the Assembly. In the latter part of his time, William Willett's colleagues from the county had been Adolph Phillipse and then Frederick Phillipse; and his associates from the Borough had been Chief Justice Lewis Morris, and at one time (1730 to 1732) his own son, Gilbert Willett (a young man of great promise, who died in March, 1732); and his brother, Thomas Willett, sat with him, as representative from Queens, continuously from 1710 to the death of Thomas in 1725.

On the death of Colonel Caleb Heathcote in 1720, William Willett of Cornell's Neck succeeded him as Judge of the County of Westchester, and also as Colonel of the Westchester County militia, holding each office until his death in 1733.*

But this paper was only designed to make a brief chapter in some of the beginnings of Westchester County history. An account of the Willetts of Cornell's Neck who were prominent in the county and in the

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* After the death of Colonel William Willett (in 1733), his eldest surviving son, William —the third William Willett of Cornell's Neck in consecutive order—succeeded his father as Colonell of the Westchester County militia. Several orders from General Sir William Johnson and from the Council, relative to services in the French and Indian War (1750–60), addressed to "Colonel William Willett of Westchester," and to the Colonels of the other counties then in existence, are preserved in the State Records (Eng. MSS., LXXXII, 137, &c.) Colonel William Willett had been elected to the Provincial Assembly as representative of Westchester County to succeed Chief Justice Lewis Morris, who resigned his seat in September, 1738, on his appointment as first Governor of New Jersey. Colonel William Willett subsequently lived in Rye, Westchester County, and later was again at Cornell's Neck. He died after he was eighty years old.

This third William Willett had not, however, the force of his father nor of his grandfather. His elder brother, Gilbert, had he lived, would have better maintained the rank and dignity of the family. Their father, apparently, had thought so, and in order to give Gilbert the standing of a landed proprietor, had deeded to him as early as 1720 one half of Cornell's Neck. Gilbert served the County as Sheriff from 1723 to 1727, and represented the Borough of Westchester in the Provincial Assembly from 1728 to his death in 1732. Gilbert seems to have also felt that his brother Isaac was the best fitted of the family to become the owner of the family estate, and in his will, made a few months before his death, Gilbert gives his half of Cornell's Neck to Isaac, on condition that Isaac pays to his brother Thomas £300; to his sister, Mary Rodman, £100; to his sister, Anna Jones, £100, and £100 equally divided between his three brothers, William, Thomas and Cornelius. Isaac a little later acquired the remainder of the Neck by purchase, and kept it as a whole until his death in 1774, when he gave a life interest in it to his widow, Margaret Graham. They had no children, and on the widow's death, in 1784, the Neck was finally divided between his nephews, Isaac Willett, and her nephew, Lewis Graham, both of whom had been brought up together in his house on the Neck.

Province for half a century would be of much interest, but it would make a chapter in itself.

It was said at the beginning of this paper, that Thomas Cornell of Cornell's Neck was the earliest settler in Westchester County whose descendants have been continuously identified with the history of the county down to the present time. Perhaps, therefore, time may be taken here to add that, while the Willetts were in their prosperity, lending political and social importance to their residence of Cornell's Neck, one of their cousins of the Cornell name as well as blood, came into Westchester County and established a family which has ever since been numerous and respectable there. This was Richard Cornell of Scarsdale, a first cousin of the first William Willett of the Neck, and the eldest son of John Cornell of Cowneck and Mary Russell, his wife. Richard Cornell was brought up in Cowneck, and became an active member of the Society of Friends, and in 1701 he married Hannah Thorne, daughter of John Thorne, of Flushing, and granddaughter of the immigrant William Thorne, whose descendants are very numerous.

Richard and Hannah (Thorne) Cornell had ten children born on Cowneck, but between 1725 and 1727 he removed across the Sound to Scarsdale, where he acquired much land, and, as the County records show, was staunch to his Quakerism and suffered some unjust persecution for it. The descendants of Richard Cornell of Scarsdale are still numerous in this and the neighboring counties. One of the most prominent of them is the Honorable Thomas Cornell of Rondout, who was born at White Plains in 1814. And it may be noted that at the first independent election for town officers after the Revolution, which was held in Scarsdale on the 22d of December, 1783, out of the ten town officers chosen six bore the name of Cornell, descendants of the first Richard Cornell of Scarsdale, grandson of Thomas Cornell.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

DESCENT OF THE WILLETTS OF CORNELL'S NECK,

from Thomas Cornell (born 1595, died 1655), from Essex, England, first owner of the Neck, 1646:

Second owner, Sarah Cornell, eldest daughter, married, in New Amsterdam, 1643, Thomas Willett, of Bristol, England.

Third owner, William Willett, of Cornell's Neck, born in New Amsterdam 1644, died s p 1701, on the Neck.

Col. Thomas Willett of Flushing, born 1645, died 1722, fourth owner; inherited the Neck from his brother; married Helena Stoothoff.

Fifth owner, Col. William Willett, of Cornell's Neck, born about 1670, died 1733, married Mary Doughty.

Thomas, of Flushing, died 1724, married Keziah ——.

Abraham.

John, married, 1714, Mary Rodman.

Sarah, married Capt. Jacobus De Key.

Elizabeth married —— Steven-son.

Mary married, 1723, Saml. Rodman.

Gilbert Willett, 6th owner; his father deeded him half of the Neck.

Col. William Willett, d. 1775; m. 1st, —— ——, no chil'n. m. 2d, Alice Colden, b 1725, daughter of Governor C. Colden.

Mary Willett, married —— Rodman.

Anna Willett, b 1704, d. 1750, m., 1724, Judge David Jones of Fort Neck.

Isaac, d. s. p. 1774, 7th and last owner of Cornell's Neck; married— 1st, Isabella Morris. 2d, Margaret Graham.

Thomas Willett, m. —— ——.

Cornelius Willett, married Elizabeth ——.

John Willett,

Thomas Willett, sold their farm in Flushing to Governor C. Colden.

Sarah Lawrence,

Helenah Whitehead.

Elizabeth Willett.

Keziah Willett.

Gilbert Colden Willett, Captain in De Lancey's 3d Battalion of Royalists, married Susan Murray, daughter of Robert Murray, of Murray Hill, New York.

Alice Willett, married Henry Nicoll.

Anna Willett, married Thomas Colden.

Judge Thomas Jones, author of "History of New York," married Anne, daughter of James De Lancey.

Arabella Jones, married Col. Richard Floyd, 4th of the name, of Brookhaven.

Gilbert Willett.

Mary Willett.

Anne Willett.

Euphemia Willett.

Edward Stevenson. — Hannah Willett, married —— Stevenson.

Willett Leycraft. — Richard Willett, married— 1st, —— Leycraft. 2d, —— Haviland.

Cornelius Willett Van Zandt. — Mary Willett, married— 1st, —— Van Zandt.

James Graham. — 2d, —— Graham.

Martha Willett.

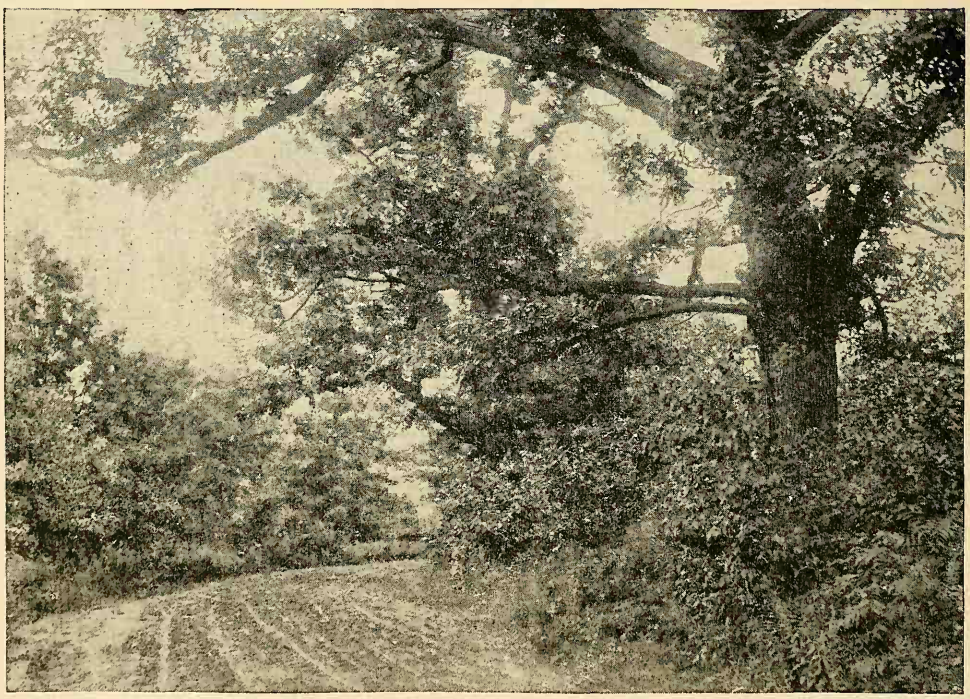
Sarah Willett.

Elizabeth Ogilvie, Amelia Ogilvie. — "Mille" Willett, married Rev. George Ogilvie.

Elizabeth Willett, died 1772, Æ. 27.

CORNELL'S NECK.

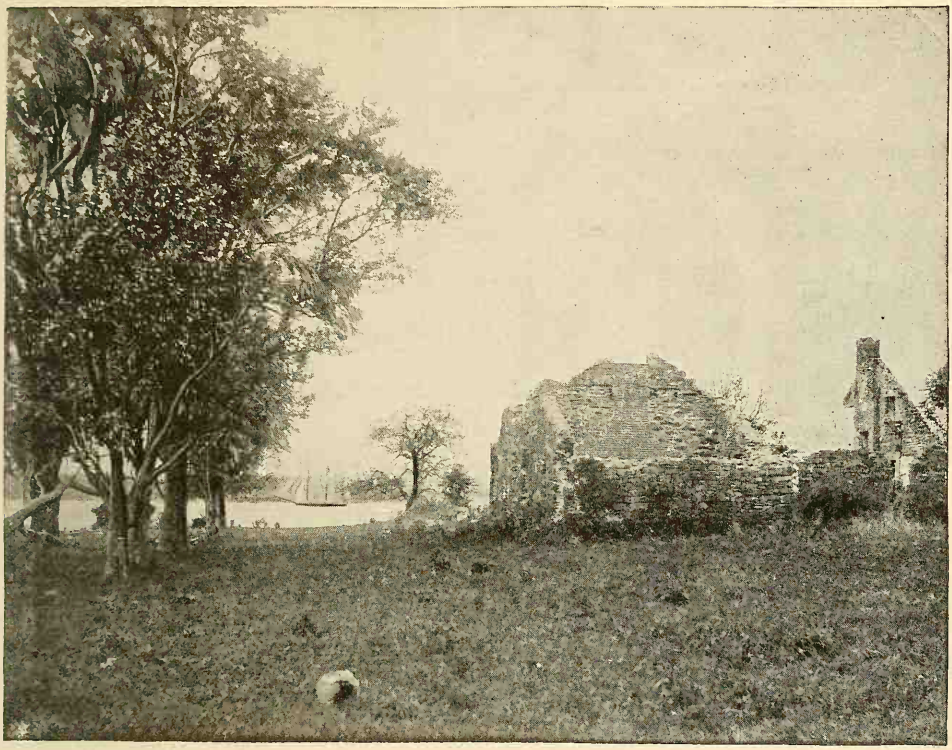
The map given on a previous page shows the situation of Cornell's Neck and its immediate surroundings. The Neck is bounded by water courses, and along the water, in many places, are salt meadows, often of considerable width, occasionally overflowed by the high tides. The upland is generally level or slightly undulating, but attains no great elevation above the Sound, although from many points there are beautiful views over surrounding land and water and across the Sound to Long Island, and the deep indentations of Flushing Bay. The land has the usual characteristics of Westchester County, in some places grey, moss-covered boulders are abundant, and occasional ledges of rock occur and woodland alternates with green pastures and cultivated fields, and in these modern days a dozen pleasant homes divide the neck that for a hundred and forty years the descendants of Thomas Cornell kept as a whole.



ENTRANCE TO THE NECK FROM THE NORTH.

The old Neck road, entering from the north, leads on slightly devious lines southeasterly through groves of ancient oaks, and along the fences inclosing the grounds around modern dwellings, down two miles to the point where the wide mouth of Westchester Creek meets the shore of

the Sound. Here, near the shore, stand the old stone walls, with thin, wide, flat, ancient looking bricks around chimneys and windows, of an old house burned years ago, which probably came down from the early Willett times. On the Ludlow estate, near the Bronx, stands a hand-



REMAINS OF OLD WILLETT HOUSE NEAR THE POINT.

some stone house, probably built half a century ago or earlier, in spacious and well kept grounds. But the principal house now on the Neck is a large stone chateau, built about the end of the last century by Dominick Lynch, a wealthy New York merchant, for his own residence. It is on an elevated situation near the middle of the Neck, overlooking the Sound and the adjacent country. It is now owned and occupied as an Academy by the Christian Brothers, who have with it between seventy and eighty acres of land, running down to the Sound near the mouth of the Bronx. A photograph of the view looking southerly from the upper floor of the Veranda of this Institution is here reproduced. The foreground is gay with the good Brothers' flower garden, and Flushing Bay lies in the distance.

It is the tradition that the Willett Mansion stood a few hundred feet east of the Academy, near the present residence of Mrs. Speer, on the

elevation overlooking the valley of Westchester Creek, but the old house was burned long ago.

VIEW FROM THE ACADEMY.

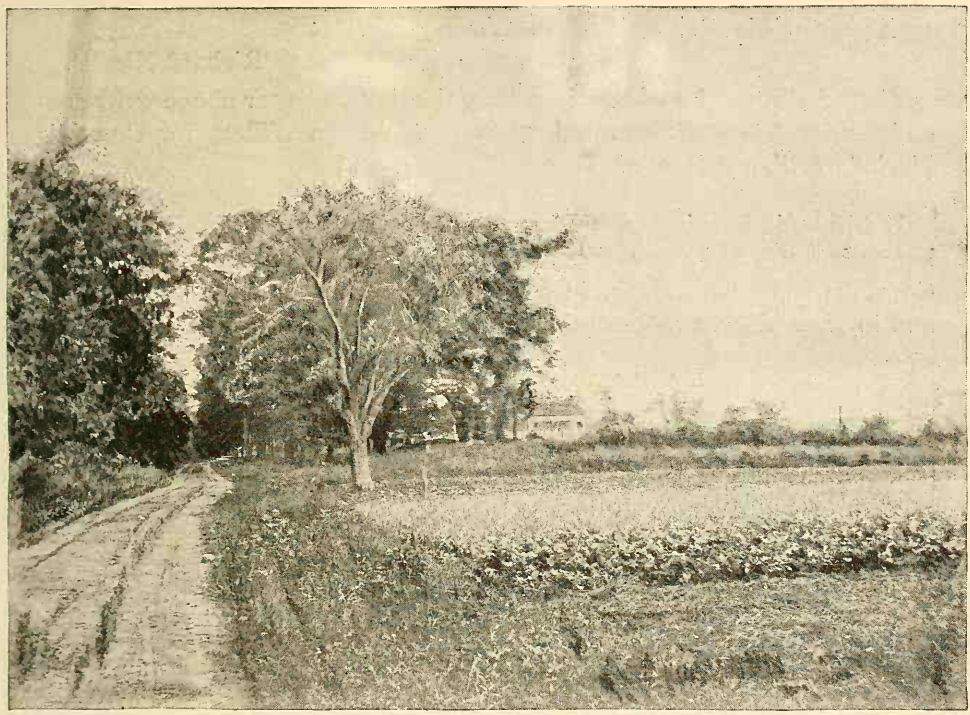
Looking Southerly Across Long Island Sound. College Point and Flushing Bay in the Distance.

GOVERNOR NICOLLS' PATENT OF 1667, TO THE ELDER WILLIAM WILLETT, OF CORNELL'S NECK.

Richard Nicolls, Esqr., Governor General under his Royal Highness James, Duke of York and Albany, &c., &c., of all his territory in America; to all to whom these presents shall come; greeting:

Whereas there is a certain parcelle of land contained within a Neck commonly called, and known as Cornell's Neck, lying and being on the Maine towards the Sound or East River, being bounded on the west by a certain creek or Rivolette, which runs to the Black Rock and so into Bronck's creek or kill; then the Neck stretching itself east southeast into the sound, is bounded on the East by another Rivolette which divides it from the limits of Westchester, and a line being drawn from the head of each Rivolett where, with a narrow strip the said Neck is joined to the main land, it closes up the Neck and makes the North bounds thereof. And whereas there was heretofor a patent or Ground brief granted by the Dutch Governor William Kieft unto Thomas Cornell for the said

Neck (where among other things) it is mentioned to be bounded along the River about half a Dutch mile,* which said Patent or Ground brief so granted as aforesaid bears date the 26th day of July, 1646, now the Right, Title and interest in the premises being devolved on Sarah Bridges, the daughter of the said Thomas Cornell, deceased, who having made proof of her Title at law, hath, by deed of gift made over the same with all her interest therein unto William Willett, her eldest sonne—for a confirma-



LOOKING NORTH—THE NECK ROAD—COMING UP FROM THE POINT.
The Catholic Protectory Buildings in the distance on the right.

tion thereof unto the said William Willett, in his possession and enjoyment of the premises. KNOW YEE, that by virtue of the commission and authority unto me given by his Royal Highness, I have given, Ratifyed, confirmed and granted, and by these presents do give Ratify confirm and Grant unto said William Willett, his heirs and assigns, all the aforesaid Parcell and Neck of land so bounded as aforesaid, together with all woods, marshes meadows, Pastures, Waters, lakes, Creeks, Rivoletts, fishing, hunting and ffowling, and all other profits commodities and emoluments of the said parcell and Neck of land, belonging or in anywise appertaining, with their, and every their appurtenances, and of every part

* About two miles English. But this seems to be a mistranslation of the Dutch grant given on a previous page, which makes the tract "extend about half a Dutch mile from the River to a little Creek." The Neck does in fact extend about two miles back from the East River and about two miles along the shore line.

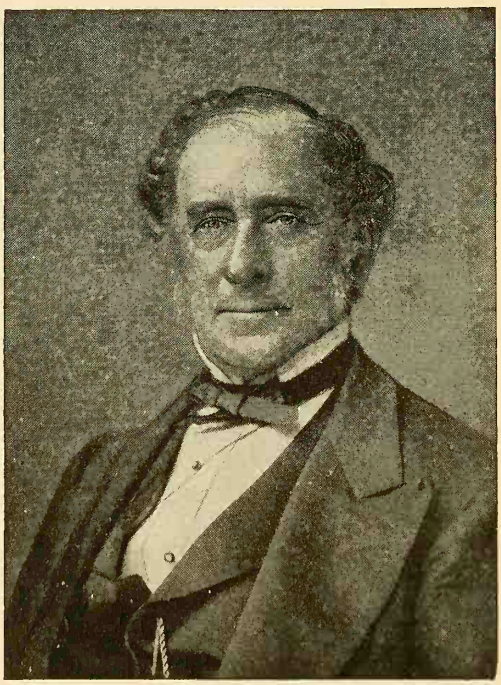
and parcel thereof To have and to hold the said parcell and Neck of land and premises unto the said William Willett, his heirs and assigns, unto the proper use and behoof of the said William Willett, his heirs and assigns forever. Paying and Rendering such duty and acknowledgment as now are, or hereafter shall be constituted, and established by the laws of this government, under the obedience of his Royal Highness and his heirs and successors. Given under my hand and seal at Fort James, in New York, in the Island of Manhattan, the 15th day of April in the 19th year of his Majesty's reign. Annoy D'n'i 1667.

Richard Nicolls.

Recorded by order of the Governor, the day and year above written—endorsed "A Patent granted unto Mr. William Willett for Cornell's Neck." (Albany Records.)

It will be in keeping with Governor Cornell's paper if the Editor adds here a few notes of some of the representatives of the immigrant Thomas Cornell, of Cornell's Neck, in 1646, as they are known in Westchester and in New York, two centuries and more after his death.

I. THOMAS CORNELL, OF RONDOUT.



Thomas Cornell, born in White Plains, in 1814, and later of Rondout, mentioned above in Governor Cornell's paper, was a son of Westchester County through half a dozen generations, and the Westchester County Historical Society may well take note of him. He died since the reading of the above paper.

He was Presidential Elector at the last Election, and cast one of the votes of the State of New York for Benjamin Harrison. Thomas Cornell was first elected to Congress in 1866, and again in 1880, in each case a Republican elected by a large majority in a strongly Democratic District. He was founder and President of the Cornell Steamboat Company, of the First National Bank of Rondout, of the Ulster and Delaware Railroad, &c., &c. He had acquired wealth running up into the millions, and was long prominent in political and financial circles.

Perhaps I may be permitted to endeavor to bring this Thomas Cornell before the reader, by a brief narrative of a visit to his house, in August of 1889. We were returning from the Western Catskills, over the Railroad that he chiefly owned. I had sent him word over night that my wife and I would stop over one train and take dinner with him. His nephew, Thomas Cornell Hoornbeck, met us at the railroad with his uncle's handsome carriage. We drove to his elegant offices to bring him home. Do you leave these sumptuous offices, I asked, after walking through them, to go down and preside over your Board meetings at the bank and elsewhere? Oh no, he answered, if the Board wants to see me, they must come and meet here.

The large and handsome, but plain, and old fashioned house, stands back in quiet dignity in ample grounds in the city. His invalid wife honored us by coming down to dinner, and sat beside him at the end of the broad table. He had called our attention to the photograph on the wall of his seven grandchildren, the children of his eldest daughter, Mary Augusta, who lived across the street, who also had kindly come to meet us at dinner. We asked her to bring her children over to meet us after dinner, and the sweet face of the fourteen years old daughter among her six brothers, make a picture it was a pleasure to see and to remember.

I led the talk to his business life. He went when a boy from White Plains to New York as a clerk, worked hard, made himself necessary, and saved a little money every year, until as a young man he had laid up eight hundred dollars. By this time his father had gone to Kingston, on Rondout Creek, and the young Thomas went there and decided to go into freighting on the Hudson River. This was in 1837. He bought a sloop for eighteen hundred dollars, paid his eight hundred cash, and remained in debt for the rest. In a couple of years he was able to buy a second sloop and soon after a third. He was prospering, and his eyes were open to every opportunity. An opportunity came to him in this way. Let me quote his own language:

"The Delaware and Hudson Canal," he said, "had opened new access to the coal mines of Pennsylvania. One day one of the directors came to me and said they wanted to put fifty thousand tons of coal into New York before winter. This was a great undertaking for those days. It was then late in the season. But I turned it over in my mind, and told him I would do it. For how much? he asked. I said for fifty cents a ton. He seemed to doubt whether it could be done, and asked how I would do it, I answered, as soon as you are gone, I will put on a clean shirt and take the next boat to Troy, and I'll hire all the barges I can find, and I'll hire steamboats to tow them, and if I can't get barges enough, I'll hire sloops. The Director seemed to think it could be done in this way, but he asked, can you do it for fifty cents? I said I thought I could. Well, he said, we want to get it done, and if you will do it in time, we will do better than fifty cents, we will give you sixty cents. And it was done in time, and they paid me sixty cents a ton for it. And that was the beginning of our towing business."

Your towing business has grown to a very large business. "Yes," he replied, "it paid expenses the first year, and in five years it paid two hundred thousand dollars a year, and one year we cleared two hundred and eighty thousand dollars." "You don't do that now?" I said. "Well no, we don't make more than a hundred and forty or fifty thousand dollars a year now."

He said they owned about forty-five steamboats, but I don't think he knew how many barges and other vessels they owned.

At length it came time for us to leave to catch the three-twenty down train on the Hudson River road, at Rhinebeck. The carriage came round, and the nephew came to see us in our train. We drove down to the ferry, but there was no ferry boat. Rhinebeck was in plain sight across the river, a mile away, but the boat was not coming. We waited. At length young Hoorenbeck said the ferry boat was detained on the other side, and would not be in time for our train. "But I don't want to miss that train," I said. "I'll put you on it," he answered, and he stepped to the telephone and the next moment said to us, "We'll have a steamboat here in five minutes." And a handsome tug boat took us to Rhinebeck in time, and Thomas Cornell Hoorenbeck saw us in our car.

It is not often that travelers find themselves in the hands of a friend, who, if the ferry boat fails them, can bring a special steamboat to their aid in five minutes, and without charge!

Thomas Cornell was a man of genial and pleasant manner, rather slight in person, and his strength of character and high ability were not exhibited in any rugged or harsh outline. He had dropped the Quakerism, which from his ancestor, the first Richard Cornell, of Scarsdale, had come down through four generations to his grandfather, Thomas Cornell, of Scarsdale (born 1754, died 1817). Thomas Cornell, of Rondout, was in sympathy with the Baptists and was liberal to his Church.

The following tabular statement gives the descent from the immigrant Thomas Cornell, of Cornell's neck, 1646, to Thomas Cornell, of White Plains and Rondout, 1814–1890:

1. Thomas Cornell, of Essex, England, born 1595, died 1655, Cornell's Neck, 1646.

2. John Cornwell and Mary Russell, of Dartsmouth, came to Cowneck, 1676.

3. Richard Cornell and Hannah Thorne, of Cowneck, and of Scarsdale, from 1725.

4. Second Richard Cornell, of Scarsdale, born 1708; married Mary Ferris.

5. Peter Cornell, of Mamaroneck, born 1732, died 1765; married, 1751, Sarah Haviland.

6. Thomas Cornell, of Scarsdale, born 1754, died 1817; married, 1779. Hannah Lynch, born 1762, died 1813.

7. Peter, of White Plains, born 1780; married, first, Margaret Gedney; married, second, Mary Catharine Snyder.

8. Thomas Cornell, the second of his father's fifteen children, born at White Plains, January, 1814, died at Rondout, 1890; married Catharine Ann Woodmancie, and had four children, two sons who died in infancy, and two daughters:

I. Mary Augusta, married Samuel D. Coykendall, and has six sons and one daughter, lives in Rondout.

II. Cornelia Lucy, married Robert B. Carpenter, and has no children, lives in New York.

II. EZRA CORNELL, FOUNDER OF CORNELL UNIVERSITY.

Another son of Westchester County, and descendant of Thomas Cornell of Cornell's Neck, was Ezra Cornell, the founder of Cornell University, who was born at Westchester Landing, a mile from Cornell's Neck, on the 11th of January, 1807, and died in Ithaca on the 9th of December, 1874. He was a descendant in the fifth generation of Thomas Cornell's son Samuel, who in 1669 was living at Dartsmouth, Mass.

It has been permitted to but few men in the history of the world, to found such a magnificent monument to their own memory as Cornell University. Let Westchester County claim a share in its honors.

It was as a builder of electric telegraph lines that Ezra Cornell laid the foundations of a great success. He was associated with Professor Morse in the construction of the experimental line from Washington to Baltimore, laid in 1843 under an appropriation from Congress of $30,000 to test the invention. Professor Morse had proposed an underground insulated wire. By the time ten miles was laid, it was found that the insulation was imperfect, and the line would not work. The appropriation was nearly expended, and the whole project looked like a failure. Then

Ezra Cornell proposed to set the wire on poles. After considerable delay, Professor Morse assented; the lines were thus suspended in the air, and the telegraph was an immediate practical success. It was some years, however, before it became a financial success. But in the end Ezra Cornell was rewarded financially for his patient and intelligent energy in building up and organizing the present great system of telegraphy in the United States.

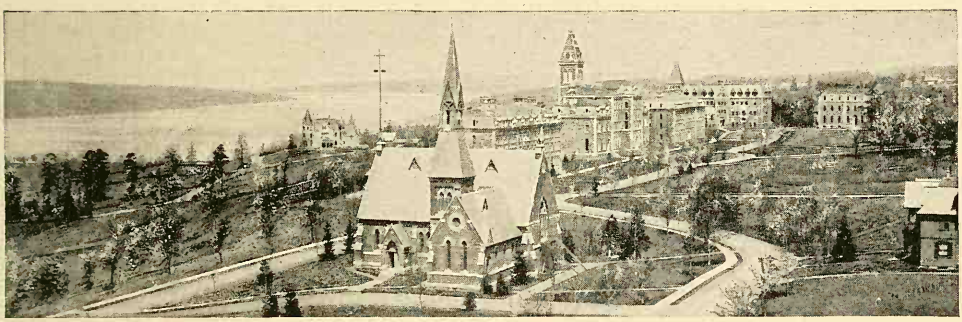
Yours Respectfully
Ezra Cornell

The founding and building up of Cornell University is an interesting illustration of the origin and growth of a great idea in the hands of a man able to grasp opportunities. Let us trace its development.

Ezra Cornell was brought up on a farm, and was always interested in agriculture, and when his growing prosperity gave him the means he bought a beautiful farm of three hundred acres adjoining the village of Ithaca, on the upper part of which the University now stands. He became a leader in the agriculture of the county, and in 1858 was President of the Tompkins County Agricultural Society. In 1862 he was President of the New York State Agricultural Society, and as President of the State Society he found himself *ex-officio* a trustee of the

State Agricultural College, then struggling for existence in the town of Ovid, in Seneca County. This effort of the State to found an Agricultural College interested him much. Other efforts were making to create a "People's College" in Schuyler County on the Congressional land grant, with but little other backing. Congress had recently appropriated to the several States in proportion to representation in Congress grants of public lands in support of agricultural and mechanical education. The share of the State of New York was 990,000 acres. But this grant was not money. It was a right to the land, and the right could be sold if the State found buyers, or the land could be located from any of the public lands of the nation, and the land itself subsequently sold when a market could be found for it.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY.



Cayuga Lake. Fiske House. Sage Chapel. Morrill Hall McGraw Hall. White Hall. Physical Laboratory. Sibley College.

General View of earlier buildings of Cornell University, from Sage College.

Ezra Cornell was a member of the State Assembly in 1862 and 1863, and State Senator from 1864 to 1867. He was very much interested in the State Agricultural College, then without means for its work, and he at length proposed to contribute of his own money $300,000 to its funds, provided the institution was removed to Ithaca, and the State would donate to it one-half of the Congressional land grant. Out of this proposal finally grew the Charter of the Cornell University, enacted in 1865. Ezra Cornell gave in the first instance half a million of dollars, and the State contributed the whole of the Congressional land grant. This land grant without excluding other studies, was to be primarily devoted to teaching Agriculture and the Mechanical Arts. The Cornell University put Agriculture at the head of its list of studies, but its founder said:

"I would found an institution where any person can find instruction in any study."

And now he contributed, without compensation two hundred acres of the upland plateau of his farm, as a site for the University. No finer situation could be found in the State. It is about four hundred feet in elevation, above Cayuga Lake, which it overlooks for thirty miles.

These gifts were the beginnings of the great University. Ezra Cornell's liberality was contagious. Morrill Hall, named in honor of Senator Morrill, the author of the land grant, and White Hall named in honor of the first President of the University, Andrew D. White, were hardly built when John McGraw, a wealthy citizen of Ithaca, and one of the first trustees of the University, contributed a hundred thousand dollars for the erection of McGraw Hall, for the library and museum. Then Hiram Sibley, of Rochester, built and equipped, at his own cost, the Sibley College, with complete appliances for mechanical instruction and practice. Henry W. Sage, one of the original trustees, and now Chairman of the Board, has built and endowed Sage College, for the education of girls, and erected the University Chapel at a cost of more than three hundred thousand dollars, and is now erecting a magnificent new library building.

Ezra Cornell made some millions of dollars for the University by his management of the Congressional Land Grant. The scrip for the land was in the hands of the State Comptroller, when the University received its Charter, in 1865, and 76,000 acres had been sold at about eighty-five cents an acre, and the price was now run down to about fifty cents. The large amount of this scrip from the shares of the several States, being on the market, ran down the price. If sold at that time the whole share of New York would have hardly brought half a million dollars. But if the land would be eligibly located and held for a good market, it would bring many times that amount. The University could not legally locate this land and wait for a market. The expense of the location, and of the consequent local taxation while it was being held, would be very large. Ezra Cornell finally undertook to have the lands located, and to pay all expenses growing out of it, and to account to the University for every dollar of profit. This undertaking cost him a million and a half of dollars and much labor, but the University after paying all the cash outlay has netted more than three millions of dollars from this land grant and has still much land to sell.

Cornell University, in 1868, had three hundred and fifty pupils. In 1890 it has more than twelve hundred.

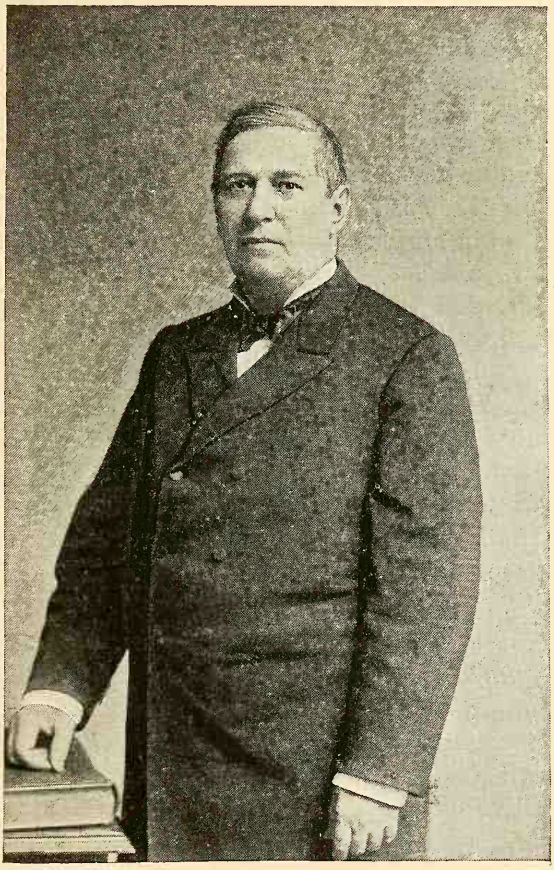
A visit to the University, similar to one made by the writer, at the commencement exercises in the summer of 1889, in the company of Ezra Cornell's son, Ex-Governor Alonzo B. Cornell and his family, enables a stranger to appreciate something of its grandeur. When Ezra Cornell died, in December, 1874, he had nearly completed his sixty-eighth year.

The following tabulated statement shows the descent of Ezra Cornell from the immigrant Thomas Cornell of Cornell's Neck in 1646:

1. Thomas Cornell, of Essex, England, and of Cornell's Neck, born 1565, died 1655.

2. Samuel and Deborah Cornell, of Dartsmouth.
3. Stephen and Hannah Cornell, of Swansea.
4. Stephen Cornell ; married, 1719, Ruth Pierce.
5. Elijah Cornell, of Swansea ; married, 1769, Sarah Miller.

III. EX-GOVERNOR ALONZO B. CORNELL.



I am very truly yours
A. B. Cornell

6. Elijah Cornell, at one time of Westchester County, and subsequently of Ithaca ; born 1771, died 1862 ; married Eunice Barnard.
7. Ezra Cornell, born at Westchester 1807, died, 1874 ; married, at Ithaca, 1831, Mary Ann Wood.
8. Governor Alonzo B. Cornell, born 1832 ; married, 1852, Ellen A. Covert.

9. Charles Ezra Cornell, born 1855; married, 1882, Katherine Bouck, granddaughter of Governor William C. Bouck.
10. William Bouck Cornell, born 1883.

Governor Cornell is a descendant of Thomas Cornell, of Cornell's Neck, in the seventh generation. He is the eldest son of Ezra Cornell, the founder of the University, and was born in Ithaca, in 1832, and when his father was building the first telegraph lines in the United States, was eleven years old. He became a telegraph operator, and the click of the instrument, if he happens to sit within hearing is still as intelligible to him as the human voice.

He early became a leader in the Republican party, first in his own neighborhood and then in the State, and was Chairman, for ten years, of the Republican State Committee. He was appointed Commissioner of the new Capitol in May, 1868, was made Surveyor of the Port of New York in March, 1869, was elected to the State Assembly, taking his seat in January, 1873, and was immediately made Speaker. He was appointed Naval officer in 1877, and was Governor of the State of New York 1879–82.

Governor Cornell is also a Director in the Western Union Telegraph Company.

Governor Cornell is a member of the Board of Trustees of the Cornell University, under the provision of the Charter, that the eldest male descendant of the founder shall always be one of the Board of Trustees.

IV. JOHN B. CORNELL, OF NEW YORK.

Another of the later descendants among us, of the immigrant of 1636, Thomas Cornell, of Cornell's Neck, was John B. Cornell, of New York, whom many of the readers of these pages will have had the pleasure to know personally.

John B. Cornell was descended in the sixth generation from Thomas Cornell's son Richard, who died at his home in Rockaway, Long Island, in 1694. Richard, of Rockaway, was himself a prominent man in his time, first in Flushing aud then in Rockaway.

Richard Cornell's grandson, Thomas Cornell, of Rockaway, born in 1702, represented Queens County in the Provincial Assembly, from 1739 to his death, in 1764.

Whitehead Cornell, grandson of above Thomas Cornell, of Rockaway, represented Queens County in the State Assembly from 1788 to 1798.

John B. Cornell, of New York, was one of the grandsons of Whitehead Cornell and Abigail Hicks his wife.

John B. Cornell, born 1820, died 1887, was a man of great ability and of great charity. His abilities found their exercise, not in seeking personal or political advancement, but in the creation and the practical management of a very large and prosperous Iron Works, and in practical and unostentatious deeds of charity and benevolence. He gave freely of his

time as well as of his money in wise aid to the poor, to the building of churches, and to all works which he believed to be for the good of the world. For the last forty years of his life, his contributions to charities and to church work averaged more than thirty thousand dollars a year, beginning of course with less, but aggregating a good deal more than a million of dollars. He had a large family and was liberal in expenditures

for their comfort and pleasure, but he made it a rule that his charities should always equal if they did not exceed his personal and family expenditures.

He began with small means, but he soon prospered. From the first he had contributed in charity freely, as he thought he could afford. But when money came in more freely, he found his willingness to give grew less. One day he refused a contribution which he afterwards felt that he

ought to have made. "Avarice grows by what it feeds on," he said to himself, as he told the story afterwards; and he then determined that he "must break the back of avarice." To the next applicant, whom he thought worthy, he responded by a contribution so liberal that the applicant was more astonished than had been the previous one who had been refused. "But avarice never troubled me again!" he said.

He was a zealous Methodist, but did not forget charity in his zeal. When John Kelly, who knew his zeal for the Methodist Church, came to Mr. Cornell and asked him for a contribution towards a Roman Catholic Church at Rockaway, the home of his ancestors, he promptly answered, "Mr. Kelly, I will give as much as you will." Of course the Catholic Church was built.

Several of the children and grandchildren of John B. Cornell are now living in Westchester County, and a good many of his more remote cousins have long been there. He was himself an occasional resident in the County, and gave some of his means to its good works. As he was descended from one of the earliest settlers in the County, and was an honor to the name he bore, the editor is glad to make this brief notice of him in a paper on Westchester County history.

The following tabular statement shows the descent of John B. Cornell from the immigrant of 1636, Thomas Cornell, of Essex, England, and of Cornell's neck in 1646:

I. Thomas Cornell, of Cornell's Neck.
II. Richard Cornell, of Rockaway, died 1694.
III. Thomas Cornell, of Rockaway, born 1675, died 1719.
IV. Thomas Cornell, born 1702, died 1764; married Sarah Doughty, in Provincial Assembly 1739–1764.
V. Thomas Cornell, of Rockaway, born 1722, died 1766; married Helenah Whitehead.
VI. Whitehead Cornell, Assembly 1788–1798; married Abigail Hicks.
VII. Thomas Cornell, married Hannah Hewlett.
VIII. John B. Cornell, of New York, born 1820, died 1887. He had nine children who grew to maturity:

1. Mary Cornell, married, 1875, Charles R. Leffingwell, of Yonkers.
2. Julia Cornell, married Francis A. Jayne, of Tarrytown.
3. John M. Cornell, married Sarah A. Keen, of Philadelphia. He now carries on the business.
4. Thomas Irwin Cornell, died at the age of eighteen.
5. Minnie Cornell, married William H. Baker.
6. Jay Black Cornell, died at age of twenty-five.
7. Margaret L. Cornell, married Charles G. Treat, U. S. A., now on staff of General O. O. Howard.
8. Henry M. Cornell, married Rose Bretherton.
9. Helen H. Cornell.

V. REBECCA CORNELL WOOLSEY.

Rebecca Cornell Woolsey, one of the daughters of the immigrant Thomas Cornell, of Cornell's Neck, was also at one time joint owner of the Neck, with her sister Sarah. Her descendants are numerous under the Woolsey name, and a branch of the Woolsey family has been in Westchester County for the past two centuries. Many of her descendants in New York and New England, have become eminent, and for the sake of one of them, Mrs. Edgar L. Heermance, formerly of White Plains, whom many of the members of the Westchester County Historical Society have personally known and honored, a brief note of them will be made here.

Rebecca Cornell, as elsewhere stated, married in New Amsterdam in 1647, George Woolsey, of Bristol, England. Their grandson, the Reverend Benjamin Woolsey, of Dosoris (born 1687, graduated at Yale, 1707, died 1756), was a man of honorable standing in the Church near two centuries ago. His wife, Abigail Taylor, brought a dowry of several hundred acres of land on the northwest shore of the town of Oyster Bay, between Glen Cove and the Sound, whence came the name still retained. Dosoris, the wife's dower (*dos uxoris*). Here he built a Church and preached in it for many years gratuitously, and for his hearers who came from a distance he provided a dinner after the morning service.*

Colonel Melancthon Taylor Woolsey, born 1717, eldest son of Reverend Benjamin Woolsey and his wife Abigail Taylor, died in the service of his country, at Crown Point, in the fight against the French, in 1758.

General Melancthon Lloyd Woolsey (born 1758, died 1819), son of above Colonel Woolsey, was aid of Governor George Clinton, in the Revolution; and was afterwards Major General in the New York Militia.

Commodore Melancthon Taylor Woolsey (born 1780, died 1838), son of above General Woolsey, entered the United States Navy in 1800, fought under Decater, at Tripoli, and under Commodore Chauncey in the war of 1812, and was subsequently in command of the West Indian and of the Brazilian Squadrons of the United states Navy. His son, Melancthon Brooks Woolsey, U. S. N., has been much employed at Washington.

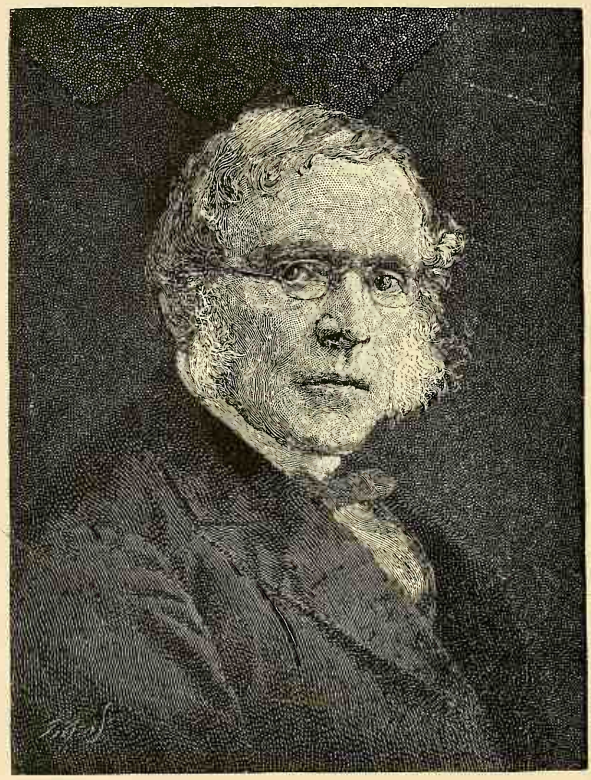
Rebecca Woolsey (born 1755, died 1813), daughter of above General Woolsey, bearing the name of her greater-grandmother, in the fifth generation, Rebecca (Cornell) Woolsey, married, in 1782, Hon. James Hillhouse, of New Haven, a member of Congress 1790–1796, and later United States Senator (1796–1810). Their daughter, Rebecca Woolsey Hillhouse, married in 1810 Reverend Nathaniel Hewett, D.D., and was the mother of the Reverend Augustine F. Hewett, of the Paulists, of New York.

Another grandson of the Reverend Benjamin Woolsey, of Dosoris, was William Walton Woolsey, of New York, born 1766, died 1839, who

*N. Y. Gen. Rec., IV, 144.

married Elizabeth Dwight, granddaughter of Jonathan Edwards, and their son Theodore Dwight Woolsey, descendant of Rebecca Cornell Woolsey, in the fifth generation, was President of Yale College for a quarter of a century, 1846 to 1871.

Agnes Woolsey, born 1838, daughter of President Woolsey,* married, in 1863, our lamented friend the Rev. Edgar Laing Heermance, who at



Theodore D. Woolsey

Copied by permission of Charles Scribner's Sons, from Portrait in their volume of President Woolsey's Sermons.

the time of his death, in 1888, was the Chairman of the Executive Committee of our Westchester County Historical Society, and many of our members will recall the graceful hospitality they have shared at her house.

Major Theodore Winthrop, born 1828, killed in the fight at Big Bethel, Va., 10th June, 1861, was a son of President Woolsey's sister, Elizabeth Woolsey, who married Francis Bayard Winthrop. Major Winthrop was therefore a descendant of Rebecca Cornell Woolsey, in the sixth generation.

The editor hopes that these few notes of some of the descendants of Thomas Cornell, of Essex, England, and then of Cornell's Neck, in Westchester, as they have lived among us 200 years after his death, will be of interest to any one who is interested in Thomas Cornell, or in the first settlement of what is now Westchester County.

They also tend to make good the claim of Governor Cornell's paper, that Thomas Cornell was the earliest settler in what is now Westchester County, whose descendants are still numerous and in good esteem among us. THOMAS C. CORNELL.

YONKERS, July, 1890.

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*N. Y. Gen. Rec., V, 15.

DESCENT OF SILAS CORNELL.

Thomas Cornell, of Essex, England, and of Cornell's Neck.

John Cornwell, of Cowneck, married Mary Russell, and had—

I. Richard, of Scarsdale, married Hannah Thorne.*

II. Joshua, married Sarah Thorne, sister of Hannah.

III. Mary, born 1679; married James Sands.

IV. John, born 1681; married Mary Starr.

V. Caleb, born 1683; married Elizabeth Hagner.

VI. Rebecca, married ——— Starr.

Richard and Hannah (Thorne) Cornell removed to Scarsdale about 1725. Their four sons and six daughters were as follows, all born at Cowneck:

1. Mary, born 1703, died 1762; married Henry Sands.
2. Deborah, born 1705, died 1772; married Matthew Franklin.

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* William Thorne[1], probably of Essex, England, was made Freeman at Lynn, Mass., on the 2d of May, 1638, and the same year he had 30 and 10 acres of land there. In 1645, he was in Flushing, L. I.—the original patent of that town granted by Governor Kieft on the 19th of October, 1645, naming him among the eighteen patentees. In 1646, he was granted a plantation at Gravesend. In 1657, he was one of the proprietors of Jamaica, and probably resided there for a time.

There seems to be reason to believe that this William Thorne[1] was the ancestor of all the early Thornes who have lived in the neighborhood of New York. The name is written either with or without the final e, the same branch of the family sometimes adopting one form at one time and later another. But Thorne seems to be the original orthography.

It is probable that William and Sarah Thorne, the immigrants, were buried in the grounds of Friends Meeting house at Flushing. Many of the Flushing Thornes are still Friends, as well as those who have settled elsewhere, but probably the larger number now go in other directions. [N. Y. Gen. Rec., XIX., 153, and XX., 77.]

William and Sarah Thorne, the immigrants, had at least four sons and one daughter, as follows:

William[2] and Winniefred Thorne, of Hempstead, who settled at Great Neck, on lands which their descendants still occupy. Of this family was probably Elizabeth Thorne, who, in 1696, married the first Richbell Mott.	John[2] (b. 1643, d. 1709) and Mary Thorne, of Flushing, had 1. William[3], m., 1708, Meribah Alling. 2. John[3], m. Catherine ———. 3. Joseph[3], of Flushing, m., 1695, Martha Joanna, daughter of John Bowne. 4. Mary[3]. 5. Elizabeth[3]. 6. Hannah[3], married Richard Cornell. 7. Sarah[3], m. Joshua Cornell.	Joseph[2], of Flushing, m. Mary Bowne, and had 12 children, of whom the 10th, Isaac, b. 1698, was the great-grandfather of Jonathan Thorne[6], born 1801, of New York.	Samuel[2], b. 1657, d. 1732, of Flushing.	Susannah[2], married John Lockerson.

3. Richard, Jr., born 1708; married Mary Ferris.
4. Joseph, married Phebe Ferris.
5. Hannah, married Joshua Quimby.
6. Phebe, born 1715; married Ebenezer Haviland.
7. John, born 1717, died, s. p. 1781.
8. Rebecca, born 1718; married Edward Burling.
9. Elizabeth, born 1720, died 1795; married, first, Aaron Palmer; married, second, Aaron Quimby.
10. Benjamin, born 1723, died 1771; married, 17th of 9th month, 1742, Abigail Stephenson, daughter of Stephen Stephenson of Rye and Jane Clement of Flushing, his wife.*

* ANCESTORS OF ABIGAIL STEVENSON.

Abigail Stevenson, who in 1742 married the elder Benjamin Cornell of Scarsdale, was the great-granddaughter of Thomas Stevenson, the immigrant. The name is written either Stevenson or Stephenson. [N. Y. Gen. Rec., XIII., 117.]

Thomas Stevenson[1], the immigrant, called himself of London, and was probably born in the parish of Amwell, about fifteen miles north of London, in 1620. He was in Stamford, Conn., in 1643, with Captain John Underhill; in 1644, was in Southold, L. I.; in 1645, he married, in New Amsterdam, Maria Bullock, widow of William Bernard; in 1647 he was in Flushing, and in 1651 in Newtown, and finally settled there on the Van der Donck farm, where he passed the remainder of his life, diligent and prosperous, and respected among his neighbors.

The immigrant, Thomas Stevenson[1], left five children:

1. John[2]. 2. Thomas[2]. 3. Edward. 4. Abigail. 5. Sarah.

The second Thomas Stevenson[2], second son of the immigrant, was born about 1650; remained on the Newtown homestead, prospering at home and active in local affairs. He was commissioned Justice of the Peace in 1685, and in 1691 he and his brother Edward erected a Fulling Mill on Ludovic Creek. He became a member of the Society of Friends, and was prominent in the Society. He was chairman of the committee which, in 1696, built the first Friends Meeting House in New York. He married, first, in February, 1672, Elizabeth, eldest daughter of William Lawrence, of Flushing, and had—

1. Thomas[3], born 1674. 2. William[3], born 1676. 3. John[3]. 4. Elizabeth, who died unmarried in 1703.

These three sons married, respectively, Sarah Jennings, Anne Jennings and Mary Jennings, daughters of Samuel Jennings, a minister among Friends from the Yearly Meeting of London, who, in 1680, was sent out by William Penn as Governor of West Jersey, and who lived in dignity on his estate of Spring Hill near Burlington, and was ruler, legislator and preacher for twenty-eight years—until his death in 1708. Thomas[3] and William[3] Stevenson acquired large landed interests in West Jersey, and were very prominent there.

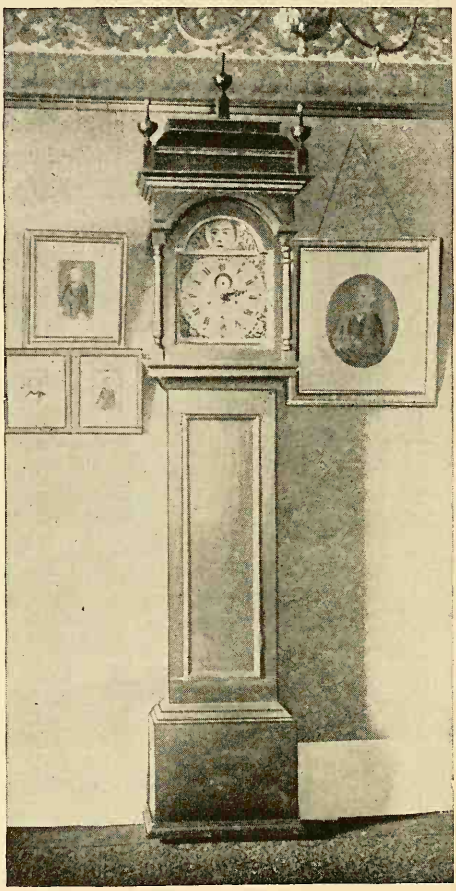
After the death of his first wife, Elizabeth Lawrence, Thomas Stevenson[2] married Ann Field, by whom he had—

5. Daniel[3] Stevenson, who remained in Newtown.
6. Stephen Stevenson[3], who married Jane Clement, daughter of James and Abigail Clement, of Long Island. The sons of James Clement removed to West Jersey, and their descendants are among the best known and most influential families there.
7. Nathaniel Stevenson[3]; removed to Nottingham, West Jersey, and died there 1736.
8. Susannah Stevenson; married Thomas Betts.
9. Anne Stevenson; married Samuel Thorne.

Stephen[3] and Jane (Clement) Stevenson had four children, named in his will in the following order: 1. Abigail. 2. Ann. 3. James. 4. Nathaniel.

The above Abigail Stevenson, daughter of Stephen and Jane (Clement) Stevenson, married, in 1742, Benjamin Cornell, the elder, of Scarsdale, and had ten children, who are given under her husband's name.

This Richard Cornell, the first of his name, of Scarsdale, was my Grandfather's Grandfather. I have of him no portrait, for Friends seem to have thought portraits a little ostentatious, nor any autograph, but I have the clock which ticked in his house 200 years ago, and reproduce a photograph of it here as it ticks in my dining-room to-day, and runs within less than a minute a month.

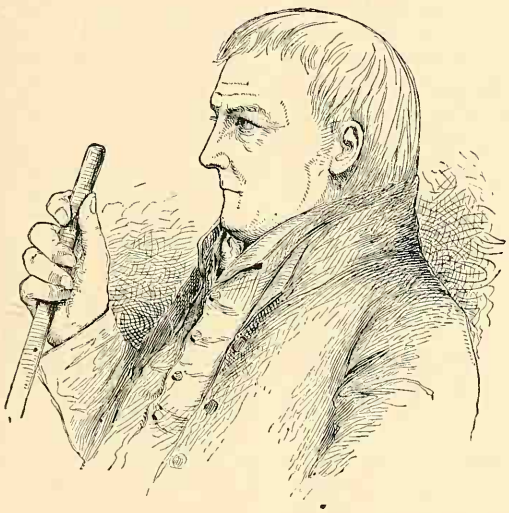


Richard left it by his will to his "youngest son, Benjamin," born 1723, died 1771, my great-grandfather, who in his turn left it to his youngest son, Benjamin, my grandfather, born 1761, died May, 1841. When I made my last visit to my grandfather, in April, 1841, he was 80 years old. He talked freely of his earlier life, and called my attention to the old family clock, and promised me that it should be mine after his own death and that of my father.*

* My grandfather had also inherited an old family Bible from his step-grandfather, Thomas Haviland, and this Bible has been now for many years in my library. Jane (Clement) Stephenson, daughter of James and Abigail Clement of Flushing, and mother of my great-grandmother, Abigail (Stephenson) Cornell, was first left a widow in 1732 by the death of her first husband, Stephen Stephenson, by whom she had four children: Abigail, my great-grandmother; Ann, James and Nathaniel Stephenson. Two years after the death of Stephen Stephenson, she became the third wife of Thomas Haviland, son of Benjamin Haviland of Rye, to whom she bore four Haviland children, the eldest of whom, named Sarah, married, in 1751, Peter Cornell of Mamaroneck, and they were the great-grandparents of Thomas Cornell of Rondout. Peter Cornell died in 1767, and Sarah, his widow, married, 1774, Joshua Hatfield. Thomas Haviland died in 1762, leaving his wife a second time a widow. Her eldest daughter, Abigail (Stephenson) Cornell, my great-grandmother, was also left a widow in 1771, when my grandfather was ten years old, and her mother, my great-great-grandmother, Jane (Clement-Stephenson) Haviland, made her home with her, and died at her house in Scarsdale in 1792, at the age of 90, leaving the Haviland Bible, with the record of the Haviland children, with her daughter Abigail, my grandfather's mother. My grandfather, Benjamin Cornell, inherited the homestead, and with it, apparently, the Haviland Bible, which had been brought there by his grandmother. And thus the Haviland Bible has drifted to me.

Benjamin and Abigail (Stephenson) Cornell, of Scarsdale, had ten children, as follows :

I. Hannah, born 1744 ; married John Burling.
II. Jane, born 1746; married Joseph Griffen.
III. Stephen, of Mamaroneck, born 1748, died 1802 ; married Margaret Haviland.
IV. Deborah, born 1751 ; married Willett Brown.
V. Anne, born 1753 ; married Benjamin Haviland.
VI. Phebe, born 1753 ; married John Gibb.
VII. Sarah, born 1755, died 1764.
VIII. Abigail, born 1758, died 1834.
IX. Benjamin, born 1760, died 1760.
X. Benjamin (my grandfather), born in the old homestead at Scarsdale, 1761, died 1841 ; married, first, 19th of 3d month, 1783, Alice, daughter of William Sutton of Greenwich and Dorcas Clapp*



of Scarsdale, Æ 80, b. 1761, d. 1841.

* ANCESTRY OF DORCAS CLAPP.

George Gilson Clapp , M. D., ancestor in the fifth generation of Dorcas Clapp, was born in England probably about 1620 He was ardent in the pursuit of knowledge, was educated as a physician, traveled much in Europe and the far east, acquired several languages, and returned to England about 1660. There was a tradition of Italian blood in the family, and possibly he brought home with him an Italian wife. He was in London during the great plague of 1665, ahd soon after emigrated to South Carolina with his family, including a young son John[2]. He came to New York about 1669, and practiced medicine there. [Clapp Memorial.]

(who was subsequently left a widow, and on 14th of 10th month, 1767, married Francis Nash of Greenwich); married, second, 9th of 5th month, 1804, Pamelia Farrington of Flushing, and had ten children, as follows:

1. John, born 1783, died 1864; married Sarah Matthews; 2d, Mary Ann Porter, and had: William H. of Newtown, Elizabeth, Andrew J., Jesse, Arvin, Alice, Anna Maria, Sarah, Emily and John H.

Captain John Clapp[2], the Doctor's son, was prominent in Flushing and in New York; was clerk of the first Provincial Assembly in New York (1691), and of the succeeding Assemblies until 1698. He acquired large landed interests in the north part of Westchester County between 1703 and 1710, and became a resident of the county, and was Clerk of the county 1707 to 1711. He probably passed the latter part of his life at Purchase. He had four children:

1. Henry[3]. 2. Gilson[3]. 3. John[3]. 4. Elias[3].

The third son, John Clapp[3], Jr., born 1690, died 1730; married Dorcas Quimby, born 9th September, 1690, the eldest of the twelve children of Josiah Quimby[3] of North Castle and Mary Mullinex, his wife, Josiah Quimby[3] was the third son of John Quimby of Westchester, and grandson of William Quimby[1], the immigrant. John Quimby[2] was in Westchester as early as 1664, and, with Edward Jessup, represented Westchester in the Convention called by Governor Nicolls in 1665. John and Dorcas (Quimby) Clapp had five children:

1. John, born 1714, died 1778.
2. James, born 1715, a seafaring man.
3. Silas, born 1717, who settled in Warwick, R. I.
4. Phebe, born 1719; married Edward Hallock.
5. Thomas, born 1722.

John Clapp[4], eldest son of John Clapp[3] and Dorcas Quimby, married, 1735, Alice Allen, of Long Island, born 1711, died 1787, who inherited considerable property. They lived in Greenwich, Conn., on the borders of the Westchester line, and had eight children:

1. John Clapp, born 1736.
2. Dorcas Clapp, born 27th of June, 1738; great-grandmother of this editor.
3. James, born 1740.
4. Silas, born 1742.
5. Thomas Clapp, born in Greenwich 6th of October, 1744, died 1st of March, 1828, from whom this editor inherited his name.
6. William Clapp, born 1746.
7. Jesse Clapp, born 1748.
8. Mary Clapp, born 1750; married Joseph Carpenter.

Dorcas Clapp, eldest daughter of above John Clapp and Dorcas Quimby, was born 27th of June, 1738, and married, first, in 1758, William Sutton, born 1730, died 1764, fourth son of Joseph Sutton and Mary Sands, and had—

1. Jesse, born 1759.
2. William, born 1761.
3. Alice, born 1763; married, 19th of 3d month, 1783, Benjamin Cornell, the younger, of Scarsdale.

Dorcas (Clapp) Sutton was left a widow by the death of William Sutton, when his youngest child, Alice, was about a year old, and three years later, on the "14th of 10th month, 1767," she married Francis Nash, of Greenwich, whence her title of "Grandmother Nash." She bore to Francis Nash two children—James Nash and Sarah Nash. The children of her daughter, Alice Sutton, are given under the head of the younger Benjamin Cornell, her husband.

Thomas C Cornell
Yonkers N.Y. 1884-

Jane E Cornell
Yonkers May 1890

2. Jesse, born 1785, died 1805.
3. Jane, born 1787, died 18—; married David Arnold.
4. Silas, born 1789, died at Rochester 1864; married, 1815, Sarah Mott, born 1791, died 1872, daughter of Adam and Anne Mott.
5. Phebe, born 1791; married Stephen Underhill.
6. Thomas, born 1794, died 1797.
7. Dorcas, born 1796, died 1878; married Joseph Arnold.
8. Thomas Tom, born 1807, died 1823.
9. Mary F., born 1809, died 1874; married Edmund Field.
10. Benjamin, born 1813, died 1814.

DESCENDANTS OF SILAS AND SARAH (MOTT) CORNELL.

Some account of Silas and Sarah M. Cornell has necessarily appeared in these pages in the account of Adam and Anne Mott, down to the death of Anne Mott, in their house, in 1852. They continued to occupy the house No. 9 Kent street. Silas Cornell was in active business as Surveyor and Civil Engineer, and active also in all the affairs of the Society of Friends. He usually attended the Yearly Meeting in New York, in the Spring, and the "Representatives meeting" every December. He died of Erysipelas, which first appeared in the hand, after a week's illness.

Sarah M. Cornell was thus left with her eldest daughter, Anna M. C. Barnes, who had made her home with her parents after her husband's death in 1848. In response to the urgent invitation of her youngest daughter, Sarah Alice Walbridge and her husband, Sarah M. Cornell and her eldest daughter visited Toledo, intending only a temporary stay, but they were never separated again while they lived. Ebenezer Walbridge was in very active and very prosperous business, and for business reasons removed, with all the family, to Chicago, in 1866. In 1867 he found his health giving way under the strain of overwork and they came east for a change, and he died in New York, in March, 1868, leaving his family in good circumstances, with large interests at Toledo. They concluded, however, to make their home at Yonkers, and Sarah M. Cornell, died there in March, 1872, just before the family removed into the handsome stone house S. Alice Walbridge built at Mt. St. Vincent, adjoining her brother's. S. Alice Walbridge herself, died less than three years later, leaving her sister and her three boys in the house. In 1878 Anna M. C. Barnes removed with the boys to Toledo where their property was chiefly situated and where they have ever since made their homes.

I. Thomas Clapp, born at Flushing 7th of 1st month, 1819, married at St. Patrick's Cathedral, N. Y., 2d May, 1850, Jane Elizabeth Bashford, born in Yonkers 13th September, 1829, daughter of John and Esther Ann (Guion) Bashford, and had

(*a.*) Mary Aloysia, born at Yonkers 22d April, 1854, died there 17th July, 1854.

If I am to say a word of my outward life, such as I would be glad to have been able to say of all my cousins, it might be that in 1836 I left the farm near Rochester, with my father, to establish his office in the city, where he soon after became the official City Surveyor of Rochester. In 1840, having come of age, I entered the Engineer Department of the State of New York, on the Erie Canal Enlargement, at Lockport, and was fortunate enough to make myself so much a favorite with the Chief Engineer, Alfred Barrett, and his wife, that they always afterwards wanted me with them. The following winter (1840–1) Mr. Barrett sent for me to Albany, where he and Canal Commissioner Geo. H. Boughton were in attendance on the Legislature, and needed my help in their Canal work. It was on one of his visits to my friends, in the hotel, that I first met the Governor, William H. Seward. Here, early in April, came the news of the death of President William H. Harrison, at Washington, just one month after his inauguration. I had the preceding autumn cast my first vote for him. The Legislature adjourned for a fortnight, and a large party of us went to New York and put up at the City Hotel, then the most fashionable hotel in the city. Here came my opportunity to visit at Uncle Robert's, in Market street, and with other relatives, and I made the opportunity to visit my father's father in Westchester County, and to spend the night with him and my step-grandmother and Aunt Mary. The occasion of this visit is quoted because it gave the opportunity to make the pencil sketch of him copied in these pages, the only portrait of him extant. And this proved my last visit, for he died the following month. Mr. Barrett subsequently brought me to Montreal, where he was Chief Engineer of the Lachine Canal (1843–5). Montreal was at that date the Capital of Canada, and Parliament, the Governor-General and the Government Departments were all there, and I soon found myself drifting from the Lachine Canal to the Department of Public Works, and during the latter half of my stay the Chief Engineer of the Board, in order to have me near him, had a drawing table set up for me in his own private room.

In January, 1846, I left this work for Europe, and after an absence of a year and a half returned to New York in the summer of 1847, and found Chief Engineer John B. Jervis waiting for me to send me on the original construction of the Hudson River Railroad, and this brought me to Yonkers. On the completion of this division of the Hudson River Road, in 1850, I was about accepting an invitation to go to Ohio as Resident Engineer in charge of a railroad to be built there, when the friends I had made in Yonkers induced me to give up public works, and to settle down in Yonkers as Civil Engineer. In 1854 I was solicited by some of my neighbors to co-operate in founding the Yonkers Gas Light Company, and I seemed to drift into the charge of it, and in 1857, to my surprise, was asked to take its Presidency, and as the gas business grew, Civil Engineering and other work had to be abandoned. All the ma-

FROM DAGUERREOTYPE TAKEN ABOUT 1853.

Sarah Alice Walbridge

Ebenezer Walbridge

FROM DAGUERREOTYPES TAKEN ABOUT 1859.

terials of these pages have been gathered and arranged as one of the recreations of the brief leisure the past twenty years have permitted from the gas office and the gas works.

II. James Mott (who afterwards prefixed Frederick to his name), born at Flushing 13th of 10th month, 1820, died at Morrisania, 5th of 9th month, 1868; married at Kingston, Canada, 26th of 4th month, 1858, Eliza A. Leavens, born ——, 1830. died at Kingston, ——, 1863, leaving

(*a.*) Anna Caroline Alice, born at Rochester, 7th of 12th month, 1862, died at Toledo, O., 7th of 7th month, 1864.

Frederick James Mott Cornell, second son of Silas and Sarah M. Cornell, went from the farm, in 1836, to his father's office, in Rochester, but subsequently was for some years clerk in a book store (Fisher & Co.) He afterwards returned to the office, and when his father went to Providence, in 1847, he continued the business as Civil Engineer, and received the appointment of City Surveyor, having charge of all the city engineering and street work. He also continued the manufacture and sale of a terrestrial globe, arranged on a system which his father had patented. After the return of Silas Cornell to Rochester, in 1852, James spent most of his time as a much needed assistant in his brother's engineering work at Yonkers, and had charge of many local improvements. One of the works he was asked to undertake was the laying out of a rural Cemetery (the Cataraqui), near Kingston, in Canada, which occupied him many months, and here he made the acquaintance of Eliza A. Leavens, whom he married in 1858. She was a widow with three children. He established his household in Rochester until after her death, in 1863, but spent half of his time in Yonkers. In 1866 he established a separate office for himself, at Morrisania, where he had with him three stepchildren. Here he died suddenly on the morning of the 5th of September, 1868. He had been weakened by much overwork and a cold brought on a congestion of the lungs.

III. Richard Mott, born at Flushing 5th of 5th month, 1822, died at Greece, near Rochester, 8th of 8th month, 1823.

IV. Anna Mott, born at Greece, near Rochester, 26th of 7th month, 1824; married at Rochester, 13th of 4th month, 1847, Aaron Barnes, born 2d of 1st month, 1819, died at White Plains, 12th of 7th month, 1848, son of Samuel and Letitia Barnes.

V. Sarah Alice, born in Greece, 11th of 4th month, 1830, died while temporarily at Rochester, 15th of 12th month, 1874; married at Rochester, 13th of 1st month, 1859, Ebenezer Walbridge, born at Syracuse, N. Y., 4th of December, 1829, died in New York, 31st of 3d month, 1868, son of Heman and Mary (Hoskins) Walbridge. Ebenezer and Sarah Alice Walbridge had—

(*a.*) Carlton Hoskins Walbridge, born in Toledo, O., 31st of 1st month, 1860; married there 21st of 11th month, 1882, Jessie

Sinclair, born 20th of July, 1860, daughter of John and Ann Sinclair, and have

1. Kitty Alice, born 9th of 10th month, 1883. 2. Lester, born 24th June, 1888.

(*b.*) Silas Cornell Walbridge, born at Toledo, 27th of 3d month, 1861.

(*c.*) Anna Barnes Walbridge, born in Toledo, 24th of 9th month, 1865, died at Buffalo, 27th of 7th month, 1866.

(*d.*) Ebenezer Franklin Walbridge, born at Yonkers, 10th of 3d month, 1868.

IV.

MARY U. MOTT AND ROBERT HICKS.

Mary Underhill Mott, the fourth child, and third daughter of Adam and Anne Mott, the second daughter who lived to maturity, was born in the Mill house at Cowbay, then the residence of her parents, on the 28th of 2d month, 1793, and died at her own residence, No. 211 East Broadway, New York, on the 30th of 10th month, 1862, having nearly completed her seventieth year. She had married at Mamaroneck Meeting house on the 19th of 5th month, 1814, Robert Hicks, born in New York on the 15th of 3d month, 1793, died at his own residence, No. 46 Market street (changed to No. 54), New York, on the 26th of 5th month, 1849, in his 57th year, son of Isaac and Sarah (Doughty) Hicks, of Westbury.

Something is said of Robert Hicks and of his father, on pages 84 and 85 of this volume, and also on pages 89 and 95, and some account of the Hicks family will be in place here.

THE HICKS FAMILY.

Robert Hicks, who in 1814 married Mary Underhill Mott, daughter of Adam and Anne Mott, was descended from one of the oldest English families on Long Island.

The immigrant, an earlier Robert Hicks, came from London in the ship Fortune, which followed the Mayflower with a second body of Puritans, and arrived at Plymouth, (Mass.) on the 11th of November, 1621.

Robert Hicks, the immigrant, is said to have been of a Gloucestershire family, but he had been a leather-dresser in Bermondsey, a suburban parish of London, on the south side of the Thames, and still a great seat of the tanning of leather. This Robert Hicks was born about 1575. His father, James Hicks, was lineally descended from Sir Ellis Hicks, who was knighted by Edward, the Black Prince, on the field Poictiers (Sept. 9th, 1356), for bravery in capturing a set of colors from the French.

I. Robert Hicks, the leather-dresser, of Bermondsey, had married in England, in 1596, Margaret Morgan, by whom he had four children, Elizabeth, Thomas, JOHN and Stephen. Margaret Morgan died about

1607, leaving these four young children, and in 1610 Robert Hicks married in London, a second time, Margaret Winslow, by whom he had four other children, Samuel, Ephraim, Lydia and Phebe. While this second family of children were still young, Samuel, the eldest of them, being hardly ten years old, Robert Hicks emigrated to the new Colony of Plymouth. His wife and her children followed in the ship Ann, which arrived at Plymouth in the latter part of June, 1622. This family subsequently settled in the adjoining town of Duxbury, Mass. Robert Hicks, the immigrant, lived a substantial citizen of the Puritan Colony for 26 years after his first arrival, and saw his children and grandchildren growing up around him. He died in Plymouth, on the 24th of March, 1647. His will, and that of his second wife, are both on record.

II. JOHN HICKS, the second son of Robert, the immigrant, was also himself born in London, about 1606, and was grown to manhood when he emigrated to America in 1635. He had previously married Horod Long, a young woman of good family and considerable estate, with whom he lived two or three years at Weymouth, Mass., and subsequently at Newport, R. I., and by whom he had THOMAS, Hannah and Elizabeth. At Newport he had disagreements with his wife and "the authority" parted them, and he went to Stamford, taking—it was alleged—much of her estate, and thence in 1642 to Hempstead. She subsequently married George Gardener, by whom she had a large family, and became a Friend, for which she was brutally whipped at Boston. Stephen Hicks subsequently followed his brother John to Long Island, and later John's children joined him. This John Hicks was the ancestor of our Robert Hicks. Stephen Hicks acquired a large tract of land at Little Neck, where he ultimately made good improvements, built a handsome house and lived to an advanced age, but left no male descendants to perpetuate his name. John Hicks was in Flushing as early as 1645. The first patent for Flushing was granted by Governor William Kieft, 10th Oct., 1645, to a company of English immigrants, Thomas Farrington, John Lawrence, John Hicks, John Townsend, Thomas Stiles, Robert Field, Thomas Saul, John Marston, Thomas Applegate, Lawrence Dutch, William Lawrence, Henry Sawtell, William Thorne, Michael Willard, Robert Furman, and William Widgeon, for themselves and their associates. The name of John Hicks also appears as representative from Flushing to the Conventions of November and December, 1653, called in New Amsterdam, by Governor Stuyvesant. Not long after this date John Hicks removed to the adjoining town of Hempstead, and in the patent of confirmation of the town of Hempstead, by Governor Nicolls, on the 6th of March, 1666, the grantees named are "John Hicks, Justice of the Peace, Captain John Seaman, Richard Gildersleeve, Robert Jackson, John Karman, John Smith." Having divorced his first wife, John Hicks married, second, Rachel, widow of Josias Starr, by whom he had no children. John Hicks had been educated in England and was a man

of intelligence and force, and a leader in the colony. He died in May, 1672, leaving but one son, Thomas, who however had many children.

III. Thomas Hicks, only son of above John Hicks, was born 1640, probably in Weymouth, Mass., but came to Long Island after his father, and there married, Mary Washburn, by whom he had Thomas and JACOB. His first wife died young, and in 1677, July 6, Thomas Hicks married, second, Mary Doughty, by whom he had ten children, Isaac, William, Stephen, John, Charles, Benjamin, Phebe, Charity, Mary and Elizabeth. In 1666 Thomas Hicks obtained of Governor Nicolls a patent for about four thousand acres of land in the vicinity of Little Neck, where he built a good house and lived as the Lord of his Manor, for many years. Thomas Hicks lived out his hundred years, and died in 1740, and the newspapers of the times said that he left behind him more than three hundred descendants.

IV. Jacob Hick, the second son of above Thomas Hicks and Mary Doughty, was the ancestor of our Robert Hicks. He was born about 1669, and married probably about 1690, Hannah Carpenter, by whom he had ten children, 1 Samuel, 2 Stephen, 3 Thomas, 4 Joseph, 5 Jacob, 6 BENJAMIN, 7 Elizabeth, 8 JOHN, 9 Sarah and 10 Hannah. Jacob Hicks died in 1755, and he and his wife were buried in the old Hicks burial plot at Rockaway.

We have to take note of two of the sons of this Jacob Hicks, of Rockaway, and Hannah Carpenter his wife:

Benjamin Hicks, the sixth son of Jacob Hicks and Hannah Carpenter, was the great-grandfather of our Robert Hicks, being the grandfather of Robert's father, Isaac, and of Isaac's brother, Valentine.

John Hicks, of Rockaway, the youngest son of Jacob Hicks and Hannah Carpenter, was the father of Elias Hicks, the Preacher, who was born at Rockaway on the 19th of March, 1748, and died at Jericho on the 27th of February, 1830. John and Martha Hicks, the parents of Elias, were nominally Friends but do not seem to have taken any active part in the Society, and Elias himself, who was apprenticed to a carpenter, was at first disposed to prefer the gay society of young people, but as he grew older he became more sedate, and more religiously disposed, taking his part in Friends' affairs, and in 1775, when about 27 years old he began to preach. Elias Hicks married, 2d January, 1771, Jemima Seaman, a descendant of Captain John Seaman, also an early and prominent settler of Hempsted, and one of the early converts to the preaching of George Fox, and also one of the ancestors of Anne Mott. Abigail Hicks, one of the daughters of Elias Hicks, the Preacher, married, as is also elsewhere stated, her second cousin, Valentine Hicks, brother of our Robert Hicks' father, Isaac Hicks. Now from this it follows that when, in 1836, Elias Hicks Jr., the son of Valentine Hicks and Abigail Hicks his wife, married Sarah, the daughter of Robert Hicks and Mary U. Mott, the Hicks and the Mott blood was so mingled that the children of

Elias Jr., and Sarah Hicks, were equally the great-grandchildren of Adam and Anne Mott, and of Elias and Jemima Hicks. The children of Elias and Jemima Hicks were as follows:

1. Martha, born 20th October, 1771; married Royal Aldrich.
2. David, born February 5th, 1773, died February 25th, 1787.
3. Elias, born 14th December, 1774, died 1st March, 1789.
4. Elizabeth, born 4th March, 1777, died 20th December, 1779.
5. Phebe, born 5th July, 1779; married Joshua Willets.
6. Abigail, born 3d March, 1782; married Valentine Hicks.
7. Jonathan, born 24th September, 1784, died 1st May, 1802.
8. John, born 1st February, 1789, died 13th November, 1805.
9. Elizabeth[2], born 16th September, 1791, died July 5th, 1871, unmarried.
10. Sarah R., born 9th October, 1793; married Robert Seaman.

The children of Valentine and Abigail Hicks were,

1. Phebe, born 24th December, 1804; married Adonijah Underhill.
2. Mary, born 17th August, 1806, died 13th August, 1826, unmarried.
3. Caroline, born 11th July, 1808; married Dr. William F. Seaman.
4. Elizabeth, born 1st August, 1812, died 29th November, 1820.
5. Elias, born 10th May, 1815; married Sarah Hicks, daughter of Robert and Mary U. Hicks.

V. Benjamin Hicks, above mentioned, the sixth son of Jacob Hicks of Rockaway, and Hannah Carpenter his wife, was born about 1716, and died the 18th of June, 1744. He married on the 2d of December, 1736, Phebe Titus, and had 1 Silas, 2 Benjamin, 3 SAMUEL and 4 Sarah. As Benjamin Hicks died under thirty years of age he left all these children young, the eldest not seven years old, and the youngest son, Samuel, not quite three. This Samuel was the grandfather of our Robert Hicks.

VI. Samuel Hicks was born on the 30th of August, 1741, and died on the 20th of November, 1819. He married on the 26th of June, 1765, Phebe Seaman, and had 1 ISAAC, 2 Elizabeth, 3 Samuel, 4 Valentine, and 5 Phebe. After the death of his first wife, Phebe Seaman, he married second, on the 2d of Februury, 1794, Amy Brooke, widow of Charles Brooke, and daughter of Joseph Shotwell. He had no children by his second wife. Samuel Hicks had not inherited a fortune, he lost his father, as above mentioned, when not three years old, and he was taught the trade of a tailor, and carried on the business after he grew up, in the rural districts about Westbury, and he became a prosperous man, in his rural community.

VII. Isaac Hicks, the eldest son of above Samuel, was the father of our Robert Hicks. Isaac Hicks was born 19th April, 1767, and died on the 10th of January, 1820, at the age of 54. He married 12th May, 1790, Sarah Doughty, and had 1 John D., 2 Robert, 3 Benjamin D., 4 Isaac, 5 Elizabeth, and 6 Mary.

Of Samuel Hicks and of his son Isaac, and of their thrift and diligence and prosperity, I heard much in my youth, and their example was often held up for my guidance. Isaac had learned his father's business, and when a young man "worked round" as the phrase was, in the rural homes of his neighborhood, receiving the modest pay that was then current, and making out of his savings and frugality the foundations of a great fortune. He then obtained, as a step upwards, the position of teacher in the local school, perhaps getting $12 a month, or less, and boarding among the patrons of the school. After a reasonable time he asked for an increase of pay for his school work, but it was refused, and he determined to go to New York to seek his fortune. He packed his things in a bundle, and with his savings went to the city. He hired modest premises in Fly Market, as it was then called, at foot of Maiden Lane, and opened a grocery store with supplies for vessels coming to the Market and vicinity. He carried on his early trade in all the intervals of leisure. His diligence brought business. It was soon known that his store was always open as soon as it was light in the morning, and he began to prosper. He developed the qualities of a great merchant. He opened new methods of trade, and shared in new profits. This illustration is quoted. It was then the custom for the Nantucket whaling ships to discharge their cargos into sloops at Nantucket, and the sloops came to New York and lay near Fly Market until they could dispose of their oil, or whalebone, or spermaceti. Isaac Hicks undertook to receive these goods and to sell them on commission, leaving the sloops at liberty to return to Nantucket for another cargo. This new arrangement proved a success, and was one of the beginnings of a large commission business. The business was afterwards removed to South street, and while yet a young man, Isaac Hicks became one of the wealthiest merchants of New York. He said that he never owned a ship until he was worth a hundred thousand dollars, but he afterwards owned many ships.

Isaac Hicks was always diligent; he continued to be an early riser, and as a matter of principle as well as inclination always retained the simple Quaker habits in which he was brought up. Some of his letters to his son Robert, quoted in earlier pages of this volume (p. 85) show how little his simplicity had been changed by wealth. While he continued in business, his clerks lived in the house with him, and in winter they all breakfasted by candlelight, and went immediately to business. He was specially kind and liberal to his clerks. One of them, Jacob Barker, afterwards noted as a banker, while there employed, at the age of 19, was allowed to own and to run a sloop for his own profit. Sylvanus Jenkins, another clerk, was made a partner, and Isaac Hicks also took in his brother Samuel, and later his brother Valentine. The firm of Hicks, Jenkins & Co., continued to prosper, but Isaac Hicks retired about 1808, before he was forty years old, with a large fortune. He bought a farm and built a house at Westbury where he passed the remainder of his life

and where he died at the age of 54. And this writer desires to record the pleasure with which he recalls his occasional visits to this house, once the home of Isaac Hicks, and now of his grandson, Isaac Hicks Cock, whose wife it will be remembered is a granddaughter of cousin Mary Titus.

Valentine Hicks, a younger brother of Isaac, in later years, after a few years in the firm, found himself worth fifty thousand dollars, and retired with it to Jericho, where he passed the rest of his life at leisure. When questioned why he retired from business so soon he said that he loved his children too well to be willing to leave them rich. I remember him well, as a handsome Quaker gentleman. He had married, as already stated, Abigail, the daughter of Elias Hicks, the Preacher, so that his son Elias Hicks Jr., who afterwards married Sarah, the daughter of his cousin Robert, was a grandson of the Preacher.

After the retirement of Isaac Hicks, and of his brother Valentine, and after the death of Sylvanus Jenkins, the business was carried on by Isaac's younger brother, Samuel Hicks, in his own name. In 1825 he took in his two sons, John and Henry, and the firm was Samuel Hicks & Sons, and under this name the firm was represented by Uncle Richard Mott on his first going to Toledo, in 1836. Samuel Hicks died in 1837, and the firm became Hicks & Co.

Robert Hicks, the second son of Isaac, was born in New York on the 15th of March, 1793, and married Mary Underhill Mott, at Mamaroneck, on the 19th of May, 1814, immediately after the return of her parents from Nine Partners.

It has been elsewhere related in these pages how Robert's father wished to establish him as a farmer near his own residence at Westbury, and how Robert preferred to go into business in New York, and how, with the exception of perhaps a year that they spent as an experiment on the farm at Westbury, the young people made their home with the wife's parents, until in 1819 Robert built his own house in Market street, No. 46 (afterwards No. 54), where he passed the remainder of his life, and where he died on the 26th of May, 1849, at the age of 56. In May, 1819, Robert Hicks went into the ship chandlery business on the north-east corner of Front street and Burling Slip, with Captain Laban Gardiner, under the name of Gardiner & Hicks. Captain Gardiner retired a year or two later to take charge of the Bloomingdale Asylum, when Robert took in his brother, Benjamin D. Hicks, and the firm was R. & B. D. Hicks, until Benjamin died, in 1835. In 1836 James and Elias both became of age, and the firm became Robert Hicks & Sons, Elias having become his son-in-law that year. About 1839 or 40, the store was burned down, and the business was removed to South street, one or two doors west of Burling Slip. Up to near this time, perhaps a little before this time, Burling Slip, at the foot of what is now Fulton street, was open up to Front street, vessels lying there with their jibbooms run-

ning partly across Front street. About 1846 the store was removed, still on South street, to one door east of Burling Slip, opposite the Fulton Ferry. Robert Hicks, however, at this time, had retired from the business, and the firm was now Elias & James M. Hicks, and in May, 1847, the business was removed to the northeast corner of South and Pine streets, where it still remains. In the same year Elias Hicks retired from the firm to go into the shipping business (Frost & Hicks), and the Ship Chandlery business remained with James M. Hicks. In 1850, George Bell, previously a clerk, became a partner in the business and the firm name became James M. Hicks & Co., and soon after Hicks & Bell, and the business has remained on the corner of South and Pine streets for now forty years.

Robert Hicks was always steadfast in his Quakerism, on the Hicksite side, and zealous in its "testimonies." His Anti-Slavery feelings were strong, and he became an active member of the New York Manumission Society, and when opportunity occurred would conceal escaping slaves in his house and forward them on their way. One of these, a woman, was disguised in his wife's dress, and with veil down, took the arm of his brother-in-law, Richard Mott, and walking down past her master's store, was placed on board a sloop belonging to Samuel Mott, of Cowneck, in whose house she found safe shelter.

Robert Hicks had a peculiar personal power in quelling the turbulence of angry men. Street fights were more common in New York in the first half of the century than now, near its close, and it was his custom, when he saw a fight, to make his way immediately into the crowd, and separate the angry men, demanding what they meant, and sending them away. It would seem that he was doing this at the risk of his own life, and yet he was never subjected to a blow or an insult, and never failed to suppress the fight. Perhaps his Quaker coat and language did something to protect him.

He was always a great reader, and fond of discussion. The writer recalls many occasions on which he was called upon to defend the Pope and the Papal church from his vigorous attacks, in which, however, there was never a word of unkindness. He lost his sight late in life from cataract, and was always night blind. He never saw the stars. He was also what is called trumpet-sighted, that is, he could only see what was immediately before his eyes, and they took no cognizance of the objects on each side, which are conveniently in the range of ordinary vision.

Robert Hicks had been living for thirty years at 46 Market street, at the time of his death, and he always kept his children and his grandchildren with him. Here his daughter Sarah brought her husband after her marriage in 1836, and here her children were born, James Hicks on the 22d of October, 1837, Mary Hicks on the 4th of September, 1839, Elias Hicks Jr. (who gave himself the name of Dickey, by which he was always known), on the 26th of 3d month, 1843; but Caroline Hicks, the

Sarah H. Hicks.

About 1865.

Elias Hicks Jr.

From Daguerreotype taken in 1852.

youngest daughter, was born at 175 East Broadway, on the 6th of 5th month, 1850. Robert Hicks' son James was also married from the Market street house in 1848, but during the few months that his wife lived they made their home near by, in Madison street, just below Market, and after her death he returned again to his father's house, and the family always afterward remained as one household under the same roof, and moved together when any removal was made.

After the death of Robert Hicks (in 1849), his widow and the family removed in 1850 to No. 175 East Broadway, then a street of pleasant residences, to which a line of omnibuses from lower Broadway made convenient access.

It was at 175 East Broadway that Robert Hicks' son-in-law, Elias Hicks, died in 1853, at the age of 37, a prosperous merchant and a man of mark among the merchants of New York, and at the time of his death President of the New York Chamber of Commerce. It was said that he was the youngest President the Chamber ever had, and no President ever gave brighter promise of a great future till his premature death cut him off.

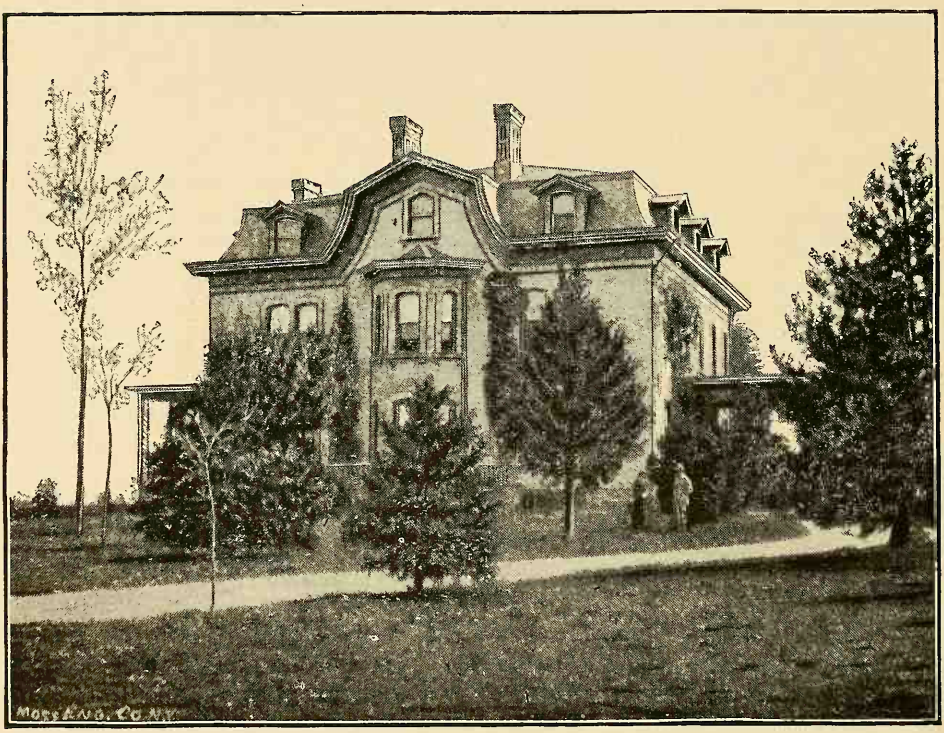
In 1856 the family removed to No. 211 East Broadway, and here the younger Elias Hicks (Dickey) died on the 6th of April, 1860, having just entered his eighteenth year. And here Mary U. Hicks died on the 30th of 10th month, 1862. She had been in failing health, and the preceding summer, my mother, her only surviving sister had returned with us after our summer visit to Rochester, and remained with Aunt Mary as long as she lived.

And here, at No. 211 East Broadway, Sarah Hicks' daughter Mary, married on the 8th of November, 1866, Peter Bertine Franklin, who also became henceforward a member of the household, and here was born on the 20th of January, 1868, their only child, Anne Mott Franklin.

In 1870 the surviving members of the family of Robert and Mary U. Hicks removed to the new house they had just completed on Cowneck, back of Sands' Point, in the immediate neighborhood of the old Mott homestead. The large and handsome house stands on the upland near half a mile from the beach, overlooking the Sound and the Westchester and Connecticut shores for forty miles. More than a hundred acres were allotted to the house and grounds, and in the extensive woods on the western side, the night herons had a noisy encampment, whence naturally came the name of "Heronwood" to this model country home. Its generous hospitality was in keeping with its material beauty, and this present writer desires to record the pleasure with which he always recalls the many happy days and nights passed under its kindly roof. And he may add that from an old trunk in the garret of this house came more than half of the old family letters and papers quoted in these pages.

The Mott family, of whom these pages have made a record, had lived in the neighborhood of Heronwood for more than two centuries. The

two nearest neighbors, less than half a mile distant, were the grandsons of uncle Stephen Mott, Benjamin Mott, who lived in uncle Stephen's old home, and his brother Adam, whose newer house was back on the upland of uncle Stephen's farm. A mile to the east, where the shore of the Sound turns south into Hempstead Harbor, lived Silas Mott, the youngest surviving son of uncle Samuel Mott, the younger brother of our Adam Mott. Silas Mott had from boyhood been one of the most intimate associates of Adam Mott's youngest son, Richard Mott, of Toledo, and a year or two after the settlement of the Hicks family at Heronwood, uncle Richard Mott, of Toledo, bought the farm of seventy acres, just south of Silas Mott on Hempstead Harbor, and here made his summer home for the remainder of his life. And on the shore of the Sound, in the Old Mott Homestead, half a mile from Heronwood, Silas Mott's



HERONWOOD.
Home of James M. and Sarah H. Hicks after 1870.

son, Thomas Mott, and Martha Willetts his wife, lived in the home of his ancestors.

After removing to Cowneck James M. Hicks still remained the senior partner in the house of Hicks & Bell, in South street, and often visited the city for the day, usually going in the Sands Point steamer, the

Mary Hicks Afterwards MARY H. FRANKLIN

James M. Hicks

FROM A DAGUERREOTYPE TAKEN IN 1854.

Seawanhaka,* and was returning home on board of her on the fatal afternoon of the 28th of June, 1880, when she was burned. He labored to save the women and children, after the vessel was run ashore, until his strength was exhausted. He was in the stern of the boat, shut off from land by the flames, and not able to swim, and when driven to the water supported himself by a rope attached to the burning vessel until the rope was burned off, and he was apparently drowned. He was at length taken to the shore by a boatman, and left for dead. One of the physicians from a neighboring hospital saw him there, a remarkably fine looking man, and although he seemed to be dead, thought he was worth his utmost efforts to save. He could elicit no signs of life for a long time, and it was several hours before consciousness was restored. After a few weeks he appeared nearly as well as usual, and I remember meeting him early in the following autumn, at uncle Richard's, and at his own house, apparently in his former health, as one risen from the dead. But he died before the year was out, from the nervous prostration following the shock from the burning of the Seawanhaka.

James Mott Hicks was a man of literary tastes, a great reader and an occasional writer, but never published much. He inherited his mother's gentle spirit rather than his father's aggressive desire to suppress evil. He was always a collector of curiosities, gathering them from all parts of the world.

Sarah H. Hicks survived her brother four years, but in gradually failing health, and died at Heronwood on the 27th of 11th month, 1884. All of the family were buried in the burial ground at the old Friends Meeting House at Westbury.

DESCENDANTS OF ROBERT AND MARY U. HICKS.

I. James Mott Hicks, first born of Robert and Mary U. Hicks, was born at Mamaroneck 3d of 3d month, 1815, died at Cowneck, 24th of 11th month, 1880; married 29th of 7th month, 1848, Catharine Hicks, daughter of Whitehead Hicks, who died 14th of 10th month, 1848.

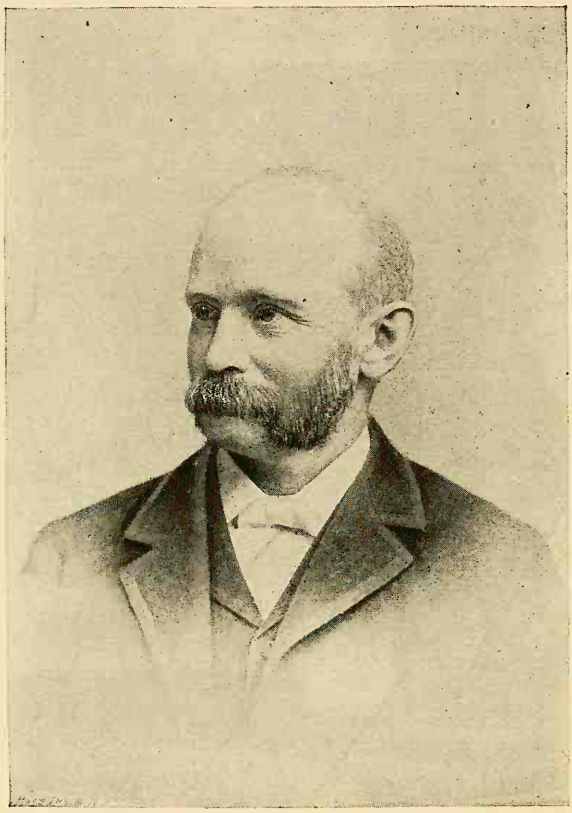
II. Ann Mott Hicks, born in Lombardy street, and died there a few days old, 8th of 1st month, 1817.

III. Sarah Hicks, born in Vandewater street, New York, 27th of 2d month, 1818, died at her house on Cowneck, 27th of 11th month, 1884; married 8th of 6th month, 1836, Elias Hicks, born 10th of 5th month, 1815, died at 175 East Broadway, New York, 9th of 1st month, 1853, son of Valentine and Abigail (Hicks) Hicks, daughter of the preacher, Elias Hicks, and had—

* Named by William Cullen Bryant, the Indian name of Long Island, Isle of Shells, pronounced in four syllables, with an accent on the first and the third.

a. James Hicks, born 22d of 10th month, 1837, died 31st of 8th month, 1839.

b. Mary, born 4th of 9th month, 1839; married 8th of 11th month, 1866, Peter Bertine Franklin, born 8th of 10th month, 1838, son George and Catharine (Bertine) Franklin, and has Anne Mott Franklin, born at 211 East Broadway, New York, 20th of 1st month, 1868.



With love to
you both thy Cousin —
Peter B. Franklin

c. Elias Jr. (Dickey), born at 46 Market street, New York, 26th of 3d month, 1843, died at 211 East Broadway, New York, 6th of 4th month, 1860.

d. Caroline, born in New York, 6th of 5th month, 1850.

Peter B. Franklin kindly offered to prepare the index of this volume, which it will be noted, is a work of much labor. The general map was also drawn by him, for this book. He has collected or verified many of the genealogical tables and many of the statements made, and his intelligent co-operation in the preparation of this volume has been second only to that of uncle Richard Mott, of Toledo. I think, therefore, that every one who looks over these pages will be glad to see his portrait here added.

V.

ABIGAIL L. MOTT AND LINDLEY M. MOORE.

Abigail Lydia Mott, the youngest daughter of Adam and Anne Mott, was born at her parents' residence, in the Mill house, at Cowbay, on the 6th of 8th month, 1795, and died of consumption, at her own residence, in Rochester, on the 4th of 9th month, 1846, having entered her 52d year. She married, a few days after her 18th birthday, on the 19th of 8th month, 1813, in Mamaroneck Meeting House, Lindley Murray Moore, born in Nova Scotia, 31st of 5th month, 1788, died at the residence of his son, Dr. Edward M. Moore, in Rochester, on the 14th of 8th month, 1871, in his eighty-fourth year. He was son of Samuel and Rachel (Stone) Moore, Friends, formerly of New Jersey.

So much of the lives of Adam and Anne Mott was passed with their youngest daughter, down to Adam Mott's death, in her house, in 1839, that some account of Lindley M. and Abigail L. Moore has necessarily come into the previous pages of this volume, especially in Chapter V, pages 82 and 83, and in Chapter XIII, pages 164–175. But since those chapters were printed, I have had opportunity to read some of the manuscript pages of a "History of Haverford College," prepared under authority of the College, by some of its Alumni, and am permitted to copy here some notes of Lindley M. Moore, from the pen of Richard Wood, who was a pupil when Lindley M. Moore was at the head of the college, and is now one of its trustees.

The History says: "Haverford School was re-opened on the 5th of 10th month, 1848, under the charge of Lindley Murray Moore, as principal and teacher of English Literature; Hugh D. Vail, teacher of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy; Joseph W. Aldrich, teacher of Latin and Greek and Ancient History," &c. * * "Lindley M. Moore was then at the close of his 60th year. He was a portly man of commanding height and mein, of benevolent countenance and expressive features. His birthplace was in Nova Scotia. * * * Those who have known him will lovingly remember this genial gentleman. His students will not soon forget his kindly ways, nor the sonorous tones with which he repeated the verses of Milton and other English poets. * * * It was well, perhaps, that Haverford re-opened under the attractive influence of this fine old man."

CHILDREN OF LINDLEY M. AND ABIGAIL L. MOORE.

I. Edward Mott Moore, M.D., born at Rahway, 15th of 7th month, 1814; married at Windsor, Vt., 11th November, 1847, Lucy Richards Prescott, born at Windsor, Vt., 17th April, 1820, daughter of Samuel and Mary (Pettes) Prescott,* and had—

*Some account of Dr. Moore is given in Chapter XIII of this volume, p. 174–5.

ANNA MARIA (COMSTOCK) MOORE.

From Oil Painting after a Daguerreotype of about 1842.

Thy Cousin G. H. Moore.

From Daguerreotype taken about 1860.

(*a.*) Mary Pettes Moore, born at Rochester, N. Y., 6th Sept. 1848,

(*b.*) Edward Mott, born at Windsor, Vt., 25th August, 1850; married Clara Durand, born ———, died March, 1884, leaving

1. Jeannette, born September, 1882, died ——.
2. Clara, born March, 1884.

(*c.*) Lindley Murray, born at Rochester, 19th March, 1852.

(*d.*) Samuel Prescott, born at Rochester, 3d January, 1854.

(*e.*) Richard Mott, born at Rochester, 23d November, 1855; married Caroline Jennings, and has Mary Pettes.

(*f.*) Abbie Joy, born at Rochester, 25th August, 1857, died October, 1876.

(*g.*) Frederick Pettes, born at Rochester, 16th February, 1859; married Frances Whiting, and has

1. Pettes Louise, born in Rochester, 1881.
2. Frederick Pettes Jnr., born ——.
3. Lucy Prescott, born July, 1884.

(*h.*) Charlotte Lucy, born at Rochester, 9th June, 1861, died 15th April, 1863.

II. Gilbert Hicks Moore, born in Lombardy street, N. Y., 29th of 7th month, 1816, died at Titusville, Pa., 19th of 12th month, 1868; married first, 1836, Anna Maria Comstock, born 5th of 4th month, 1819, died 6th of 5th month, 1843, daughter of Nathan and Chloe Comstock, and had

(*a.*) Walter C. Moore, born 14th July, 1837; married Amanda M. Harrison, born 4th May, 1842, died 22d September, 1686, and had—

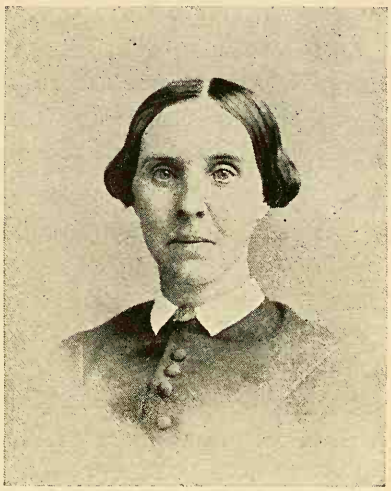
1. Gilbert Harrison Moore, born 16th January, 1869.
2. William Edward Moore, born 5th February, 1871.
3. Alfred Haines Moore, born 23d January, 1873, died 6th May, 1880.
4. Harrison Lindley Moore, born 17th September, 1879.

(*b.*) Edward, born 6th of 5th month, 1839, died 21st of 11th month, 1840.

(*c.*) Edward D., born 13th of 7th month, 1841; married 10th June, 1868, at Monroe, Mich., Zoe C. Compton, born 17th April, 1850, at Syracuse, N. Y., daughter of Benjamin S. and Charlotte (Cody) Compton, and have

1. Lotta Anna Moore, born 18th April, 1869.
2. Zoe Abbie Moore, born 22d November, 1874.
3. Abbie Mott Sibyl Moore (called Sibyl), born 8th September, 1882.

Gilbert married, second, 8th of 10th month, 1845, Phebe Webster, born 21st of 1st month, 1824, daughter of Crowel andMargaret Webster, and had—



PHEBE (WEBSTER) MOORE.

(*d.*) Murray C., born 8th of 6th month, 1855; married Clara Note man, and has one son, Edward.

III. Ann Mott Moore, born in 61 Chrystie street, N. Y., 19th of 6th month, 1818; married n Rochester, 27th of 9th month, 1843, Emmor Haines, born 7th of 12th month, 1818, son of Reuben and Anna H. Haines.

Emmor and Ann M. Haines, after their marriage in 1843, commenced a farm life, at Shelby, in Orleans Co., N. Y., where his father had long lived. In 1849 they removed to Trout Run, Pennsylvania, where Emmor purchased three or four thousand acres of woodland, and operated a saw mill, and went largely into the lumber bnsiness, which he carried on with varying success for ten years, removing, in 1856, to Williamsport, but still in the same business. In 1860 he sold out his interests in Pennsylvania, and in the Spring of 1861 they went to Buffalo, taking with them four young children. Here Emmor Haines went into a wholesale lumber business, which soon prospered and gave him a competence. Since 1875 they have lived at leisure and have traveled much on both sides of the Atlantic.

Emmor and Ann M. Haines have always been active members of the Society of Friends, maintaining the best standing in Orthodox Quakerism, and for many years have both been members of the New York Representative Meeting. Few things will contrast more strikingly the change

Ann M. Haines

Emmor Haines

FROM PHOTOGRAPHS TAKEN IN 1882.

in Orthodox Quakerism in the last half century, than to state that when they are at home in Buffalo, where there is no Friends' Meeting, they are regular attendants on the services of the Congregational Church, and when we last visited them, in the late autumn of 1888, we found Emmor was the chairman of the Church Committee to find a new minister for the Congregational Church, in the place of one who had left them! And he was at the same time a member, in the best standing, of the Representative Meeting of the Orthodox Yearly Meeting of Friends! Where, I asked with a little laughter, where is Friends' ancient "testimony against a hireling ministry."

Emmor and Ann M. Haines had—

(*a.*) Mary M. Haines, born in Shelby, Orleans Co., N. Y., 31st of 7th month, 1844, died there 1st of 2d month, 1845.

(*b.*) Alfred Haines, born in Rochester 8th of 5th month, 1846; married, first, 9th of 6th month, 1869, Helen M. Jackson, born at East Shelby, N. Y., 8th of January, 1848, died at Buffalo 25th May, 1870, daughter of Philip Burr and Ann D. Jackson, and had 1st, Harrison Emmor Haines, born in Buffalo, 4th April, 1870. Alfred Haines married, second, 19th September, 1872, Emily Potter, born at Batavia, 25th of November, 1846, daughter of William and Martha A. (Heston) Potter, and had, 2d, William Potter Haines, born in Buffalo, 19th Oct., 1879.

(*c.*) Mary Moore Haines, born at Somerset, 15th of 2d month, 1849, died 8th of 1st month, 1863.

(*d.*) Anna H. Haines, born in Lycoming Co., Pa., 11th of 5th month, 1852, died 18th of 1st month, 1863.

(*e.*) Lindley M. Haines, born in Lycoming Co., Pa., 9th of 10th month, 1859, died 2d of 4th month, 1865.

IV. Mary H. Moore, born in Suffolk street, N. Y., 14th of 9th month, 1820, died at Flushing, 22d of 2d month, 1822.

V. Lindley Murray Moore Jr., born at Flushing, 19th of 11th month, 1822, died at Rochester, 29th of 12th month, 1846. (See note p. 183.)

VI. Mary H. Moore, born at Flushing, 29th of 7th month, 1825, died at Rochester, 6th of 12th month, 1844; married at Rochester, 26th of 10th month, 1844, Elijah Pope.

VII. Richard Mott Moore, born at Rochester, 18th of 11th month, 1831, died there 12th of 11th month, 1835.

VIII. Alice Maria Moore, born June, 1839, at Rochester, died September, 1839.

VI.

Thomas Underhill Mott, 6th child of Adam and Anne (Mott) Mott, was born at the Mill house, Cowbay, 19th of 2d month, 1798, died there 1st of 7th month, 1801.

VII.

RICHARD MOTT AND ELIZABETH M. SMITH.

Richard Mott, the youngest son of Adam and Anne Mott, was born at his parents' residence, at Premium Point, Mamaroneck, on the 21st of 7th month, 1804, and died at his own residence, in Toledo, on 22d of 1st month, 1888, in the middle of his 84th year, bright and clear in mind and memory, and in good health until about a week before he died. He married in New York, on the 12th of 11th month, 1828, Elizabeth M. Smith, born in New Bedford, Mass., 12th of 2d month, 1804, died of consumption, at Mackinaw, on Lake Huron, Mich., whither she had been taken for her health, on the 31st of 8th month, 1855, having completed a little more than half of her fifty-second year. She was a daughter of Elihu and Mary (Slocum) Smith, of New Bedford.

Captain Elihu Smith was one of the staunch Quaker sea captains, of which New Bedford and Nantucket furnished many examples. He sailed a ship in the China trade, but subsequently removed to New York and was in business there. A few words are said of him on p. 151 of this volume, and he is mentioned once or twice elsewhere, and this comprises all that I have been able thus far to learn of him.

Captain Elihu Smith married, first, in New Bedford, Mary Slocum, daughter of John and Martha Slocum, and sister of Avis Slocum (Folger Barnard) who became the second wife of uncle John Alsop, of Hudson, and of Athens, N. Y. (Ante p. 151 and 210.) Elihu and Mary Slocum Smith had—

1. Henry Mitchell Smith, born 1802, died young.
2. Elizabeth Mitchell Smith, born 1804; married Richard Mott Jr., afterwards of Toledo.
3. John Tillinghast Slocum Smith, born 1805; married Amelia Franklin, and had—
   (*a.*) Thomas Franklin Smith; married Emma Clark.
   (*b.*) Henry M. Smith, M.D.; married 1st, Jennie V. Knight; married 2d, Mary Morehouse.
   (*c.*) Mary F. Smith; married J. William Cox.
   (*d.*) Sarah H. Smith; married A. E. Macomber.
   (*e.*) Frederick P. Smith.
4. Caroline Earl Smith, born 1808.

After the death of his first wife, Mary Slocum, Elihu Smith married in 1814, Catharine Farrington, and had—

5. Jane Farrington Smith, born 1816, died unmarried.
6. Maria Farrington Smith, born 1818.
7. Thomas Thom Smith, born 1820; married Sarah B. Cromwell, and had—
   (*a.*) Catharine Smith, died young.
   (*b.*) Cornelia Smith, died young.

Connie Mott Mary S. Mott

E. M. Mott. Richd. Mott -

FROM A DAGUERREOTYPE TAKEN IN 1855.

ARTOTYPE. E. BIERSTADT, N. Y.

(*c.*) William F. Smith ; married Annie Titus.
(*d.*) Augustus Smith, died young.
(*e.*) Percival C. Smith.
(*f.*) Alice C. Smith.

Richard and Elizabeth M. (Smith) Mott, had—

1. Mary S., born at New York, 11th of 3d month, 1831, died at Toledo, 2d of 11th month, 1860, of consumption, supposed to have developed from sickness contracted in Washington when her father was in Congress, and was buried near her mother, in Mt. Hope Cemetery, Rochester.
2. Anna Caroline (Cannie), born in New York, 30th of 3d month, 1835.

Further account of Richard Mott and his family will be found on pages 150 to 163 of this volume.

APPENDIX.

A SUGGESTION OF THE ORIGIN OF THE QUAKERS.

The ancestral portion of these papers carry us back through many generations and through many lines of descent for more than two centuries. I seem sometimes to have been, myself, straying into the simple rural households of our devout Yeoman forefathers of two hundred years ago. They were all English with the exception of the one strain of Dutch blood which comes to us from our greater grandmother, Helena Underhill, the first wife of Captain John Underhill.* And they all became Quakers. Before the death of George Fox, nearly all of the ancestors of Adam and Anne Mott, who were then living had become his converts.

This seems to me a suggestive fact. Whence came the sympathies in common which thus brought all these previously unrelated families into this new Quaker fold? What had been the common influences through preceding generations, perhaps through centuries, which had developed the devout spirit, the mingled gentleness and firmness, the faithfulness to what they believed to be duty, which we recognize in the whole range of our Quaker ancestry? These questions, suggested by the simple statement of the facts, lead to a dim vista, back through the generations, into some softening, some humanizing influences under which the forefathers of the ancestors whom we know had become more gentle, more devout than their neighbors. This dim vista lighted up a little when I chanced to read a year or two ago, in a paper by Charles B. Moore, that,—"the Quakers, as a body probably came from the farmers of the monasteries—the best farmers in

---

* Since the Underhill Ancestry in this volume was printed, I have learned that the records of Southold, L. I., give the date of the death of Helena Underhill in 1658. Her husband was then the owner of a good house and lot there. The historical address of Charles B. Moore, of New York, read in Southold in August, 1890, speaks of the good name Capt. Underhill left in Southold, and discredits most of the evil said of him. Mr. Moore quotes Whittier's eulogy, and we who are Captain Underhill's descendants may repeat it:

> "He coveted not his neighbor's *land*,
> From the holding of bribes he shook his hand,
> And through the camps of the heathen ran,
> A wholesome fear of the Valiant Man,
> Frailest and bravest, the Bay State still
> Counts with her worthies, John Underhill."

"But would it not be better," adds Mr. Moore, "to discredit the supposed frailty which was punished while denied, and while the debt due him was refused to be paid."

The year after his wife's death, Captain Underhill sold his house and lot to Thomas Moore, the father of Martha Moore, who became the second wife of Captain John Seaman, and their daughter, Martha (Seaman) Pearsall, was the grandmother of Anne Mott's grandmother, Sarah (Pearsall) Mott-Alsop.

England—and generally religious, who adhered to their religion after their priors and their priests were forbidden to be seen in England."*

We know that around the Monasteries, and under their religious and civilizing influences, had grown up among their tenants and farmers, rural communities of more gentleness of manner, of more devout lives, and of greater diligence and thrift than was usual in English Yeomanry. As Mr. Moore put it, they were the best farmers in England, and their weavers, and their cordwainers, and their carpenters and masons were as skillful as their farmers, and we may safely assume that a large proportion of the ancestors of Adam and Anne Mott were thus living a hundred years before George Fox was born. The working people of England were then better fed, more prosperous, and happy, than they are to-day. There were few towns then in England where a houseless and penniless wanderer need be in doubt where to go for shelter and food and kind words. And no man, whether peasant or noble, then felt himself a beggar when he shared the hospitality of the monks. This was one of the purposes for which the endowments were made, and for which the monks become their custodians and trustees.

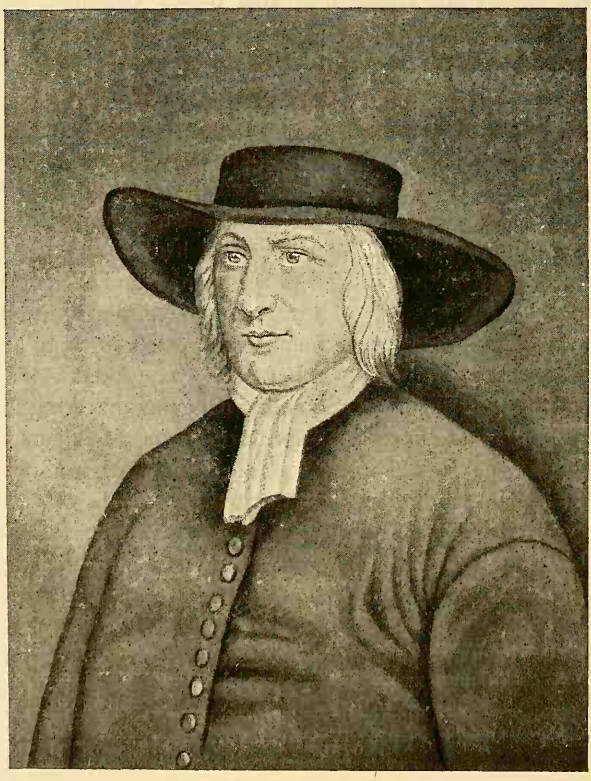
The world but imperfectly knows how this happy condition was broken up. But some of the ancestors of Adam and Anne Mott were among those who suffered these evil changes. Let us, who are their descendants, recall some of the evil scenes through which they passed. They were but little disturbed when the Pope refused to sanction some of Henry the Eighth's marriages. But the situation became more serious when the king made open revolt against the Pope, and when, a little later, he attacked the monasteries which were giving the Pope vigorous support. Then the king's followers became eager for the suppression of the monasteries; for this, they began to see, would lead to the distribution among themselves of the highly cultivated land of the monks, and the endowments for the benefit of the poor. The passions of the king co-operated with the greed of his followers and the monasteries were finally suppressed in 1539. To justify this spoliation it was necessary to invent evil tales of the monks, and of the ancient church which had fostered them. And so effectually was this done that even to-day many people, otherwise intelligent, still speak of "monkish superstition and ignorance, and idleness." This was a change for the tenants, and for our ancestors among them, from good landlords, who taught them lessons of virtue and fed the poor, to bad landlords, who did not teach lessons of virtue and did not feed the poor. Then came the subtle, the long continued, merciless, terrific propaganda of Elizabeth's reign. To drive Catholics from the faith of their forefathers, children were set at enmity with their parents and the husband against his wife; the rack was supplemented with new instruments of torture, and to ruinous fines and imprisonments in fearful dungeons, were added hanging and quartering and burning at the stake. "Talk of Catholic tyrants!" exclaims Cobbett, "The Spanish In-

* C. B. Moore, in N. Y. Gen. Rec., XV., 65. Mr. Moore tells me that he finds this opinion supported by the writings of others, and that it is claimed that certain lines of Ancestry which could be traced, tend to prove it. Mr. Moore is a good lawyer of New York, descended from Thomas Moore, of Southold, but I never heard that his own branch of the family were Quakers.

quisition from its first establishment to the present day (1825), has not committed so much cruelty as Queen Elizabeth committed in any single year of the forty-three years of her reign.*

If it may be assumed that among the ancestors of Adam and Anne Mott were martyrs who, refusing to be driven from the faith of their fathers, were broken on the rack or burned at the stake, there remains but little human record of them. But God remembered them, and the early Quakers inherited something of their patient firmness, when the Quakers themselves faced the dungeons of England and the gallows of Boston.

But a century of such a propaganda, continued with constant pressure on generation after generation, had finally, by the time of George Fox, crushed out all knowledge of what the Catholic church really was, and in the place of knowledge had planted falsehoods and evil tales. Two hundred years ago, however, there still remained among the descendants of the tenants of the monasteries much of the devout spirit of their ancestors, but this spirit of devotion was without knowledge. They were like sheep who have lost their shepherd. They wandered in uncertainty.



GEORGE FOX.

The founder of Quakerism ; born in Drayton, Leicestershire, July, 1624 ; died in London, 13th January, 1691.

On this field, in the year 1648, George Fox began his work at the age of twenty-four. Many of his hearers derided him. Magistrates punished him. But a cer-

* Cobbett's History of the Reformation in England, I., § 339.

tain limited class heard him gladly. He had recovered something of the lost lessons of their common ancestors. In the wreck around him, Fox, as faithfully as he could, had sought to learn God's will, and to his faithfulness something of the ancient light had come back. And then he told his hearers that God would give light to every heart that humbly asked to be taught. They must seek light before it would come to them. He said he was "commissioned to turn people to the inward Light—even the Divine Spirit which would lead men to the truth." And his followers, after they had learned the lessons that he taught, stood before princes with head erect, and only bowed their necks to help to bear the burdens of their weaker brethren. And the Divine Light led them to the toleration for others which had been denied to themselves. Lord Baltimore and the Catholics of Maryland, in 1649, and William Penn and the Quakers of Pennsylvania in 1682, first introduced religious toleration in America.

It is to me a striking illustration of the wide departure of the new churches from the old faith, that the appeal of Fox to the inward Light was considered a new thing. I am tempted to relate how I first learned how much older it was than Fox.

When I found myself, in 1844, in the French and Catholic population of Montreal, I sought the acquaintance of French Catholics. It was an opportunity I had long desired, to know what the Catholic Church was, to its own worshippers. A French Catholic gentleman occupied the room next to mine in our hotel. I was told he was very devout. He had but recently immigrated from France, and he could speak no English. After we had become somewhat intimate I ventured to question him about his Church, and was surprised at his answer that unless I was seeking the truth, and was willing to accept it and would ask God to teach me, he did not want to discuss the question. "Unless God enlightens your heart," he said, "You cannot understand it." This French Catholic, it seemed, was repeating to me the teachings of George Fox!

Some weeks—perhaps it was months later—I was calling on Monseigneur de Charbonnel, then the most eloquent pulpit orator of the city, and soon after Bishop of Toronto. It was a Sunday evening and we were walking in the garden of the Seminary of St. Sulpice where he belonged when I ventured to question him also about the Catholic Church. The high bred, courtly French gentleman suddenly stopped as though these things were too sacred for idle talk, and then he said—"If you are really seeking for the truth and will pray God to show you the truth, I am willing to tell you anything you may ask." I said I wanted to know the Catholic side of these questions. He answered, "I can do nothing, and you can understand nothing unless God shows it to you, and God will not show you unless you first ask him." Mgn. de Charbonnel spoke almost sternly in contrast with the genial grace of his previous utterances. But to me he seemed to strike the key-note of the Quakerism in which I had been educated. We had many talks after this, as well in the garden walks, as in his own little room where the simple furniture, the bit of rag carpet by the side of his narrow bed, the two wooden chairs and plain wood table, and plain shelves filled with books,—the whole outward life of this popular preacher in all its "apostolic simplicity" was to me an eloquent sermon. And the Catholic Church which he described, gradually took shape before me as a grand development of the rude and simple roots of my Quaker Christianity. But it did not yet seem possible to me that this was its legitimate development.

A year or two later, while travelling in Europe, similar conversations with educated Catholics in Germany, in France and in Italy, and among the Jesuits of Rome were all alike in this, that the Inward Light which George Fox had preached, they also taught with a breadth of development to which Fox never attained.

And yet I feel in sympathy and at home with my Quaker ancestors from the days of George Fox, and with my Quaker relatives and friends of to-day.

When I commenced what I supposed would be a page or two of prefatory notes, I had no thought of drifting into these questions on which I have here written. But since they are written I will let them stand as a little appendix instead of part of the Preface. And as I find a portrait of George Fox within my reach, he, too, shall be added to our list of Quaker portraits.

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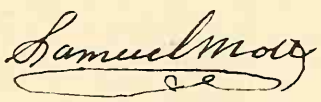
ERRATA.

Page.	Line.	
18	24	For his father's death read her father's death.
19	35	For Daniel Batty read David Batty.
42	9	and thence to bottom of page should have been leaded, as "Second Hand Reminiscences" ends with 8th line of the page.
174	31	For Miss Lucy Frederick Prescott read Lucy Richards Prescott.
218	33	For Martha Willits read Martha Willets.
218	34	For Edward Willits read Edmond Willets.
218	—	On this page the same person is once named Cornell Willis and once Cornwall Willis, because I have found the name written both ways and suppose either to be correct.
251C	26	For Frances read Francis.
254	29	For David H. Carpenter read Daniel H. Carpenter.
255	30	For Mary (Coddington) read Anne (Coddington).
282	17	For Mary (Willis) Seaman read Mary (Jackson) Seaman.

The following autographs were omitted in their proper places:



Omitted on page 48.

Omitted on page 357.

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